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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

Part V. The history of the Life of Humaioon, the Son of Baber.

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HINDOSTAN.

# PART V.

The History of the Life of HUMAIOON, the Son of BABER.

## SECTION

The reign of HUMAIOON, till his expulsion from HINDOSTAN.

TASIR ul Dien Mahummud HUMAIOON, immediately A. D. 1530. after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, Mahummud in Hindostan. He was a great astronomer, and took much a great astrodelight in judicial astrology. He fitted up seven houses of entertain-nomer. ment, and named them after the feven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dreffes of those who waited upon him, to bear fomething that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. He even endeavored to suit the people, who came to pay their respects, to the supposed influence of the planet, which prefided over the time of their attendance. In the house of the



A. D. 1531. Moon met foreign embassadors, travellers, and poets. Military men attended him in the house of Brisput \*, and judges, lawgivers, and fecretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven +.

Defigns of his brother

But the urgency of important affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent whims. Such only suited the days of peace, when the mind might enjoy her harmless follies. He scarcely had ascended the throne, when his brother, Mirza Camiran, who against him. was then in Cabul, formed a design of making himself master of Punjaab. To conceal his intentions, he gave out, that he was going to Hindostan, to congratulate Humaioon upon his accession. The king being, however, apprized of Camiran's views, by his behavior in those countries through which he passed, and being extremely unwilling to make war upon his brother, confented to let him govern Punjaab, Pilhawir, Lemghan, Cabul, Candahar, and Biana. This effectually stopped the progress of Mirza Camiran. Promotions. The king, in the mean time, conferred the government of Mewat upon Mirza Hindal, his brother, and appointed Mirza Askari to that: of Simbol, the other provinces being left in the possession of the former fubas.

Humaicon belieges Callinger.

Humaioon, in the year nine hundred and thirty eight, led and army against the strong fortress of Callinger, and invested the place. While the king carried on the fiege, Mahmood, the fon of Sultan Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein Afgan, took possession of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the east. Humaioon, . having received intelligence of these commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinstated Juneid Birlass in his former goment of that province.

\* The planet Mars.

+ Mercury.

The

The fultan, after this fignal victory, returned to Agra, and be- A. D. 1531. flowed chelats upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He, in the mean time, dispatched a herald to Shere Chan, and demanded Demands possession of the fortress of Chinar \*, which being refused, the sultan Chinar. marched his army that way. When Humaioon lay before Chinar, he was informed, that Sultan Bahadur, of Guzerat, had turned towards him the points of his spears. This obliged him to patch up a kind of a peace with Shere Chan, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub Chan, the fon of Shere Chan, whom the emperor had taken as an hostage, found means, on the way, to make his escape, and to return to his father at Chinar.

Mahummud Ziman Mirza, the grandfon of Sultan Huffein Mirza, A confpiracy aspired to the throne, and was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the leader of the conspiracy pardoned: But Humaioon finding him, a second time, meditating treasonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortress of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mahummud Sultan and Nuherit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious defigns; but the person to whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment, saved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to escape to Guzerat. Mahummud Sultan, by the aid of his fons Ali Mirza and Shaw Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Kinnoge, where he was joined by about fix thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

Humaioon fent to Bahadur, the governor of Kinnoge, and com- Rebellion at manded him to deliver up Mahummud, but he rejected the orders Kinnoge. in an infolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of

\* Chinar is a very strong fortress in the province of Oud, within seven crores of Benaris; Both Shere Chan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

Chiter.



A. D. 1532. Chitor from Rana Bickermagit. Rana threw himfelf under the protection of Humaicon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualier, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana Bickermagit, despairing of relief, sent a crown, and a considerable fum of money, to Bahadur, which induced him to raife the fiege.

Sultan Bahadur

Sultan Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous fituation, by the reduction of Mendu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mahummud to great honors. He also prompted Sultan Alla ul Dien, the fon of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt to possess himself of the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, made Tatar Chan, the son fends an ar- of Sultan Alla ul Dien, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

my against Humaioon,

This pressing danger awaked the king from his lethargy. He immediately fent Mirza Hindal, with a force, to oppose Tatar Chan. When the armies approached one another, there was fo great a defertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the space of ten days, ten thousand horse scarce remained to him. He however resolved, with these, to stand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army, which is to- but he was totally overthrown, lost the most of his troops, three hundred officers of diffinction, and his own life. Mirza Hindal, after this victory, retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

tally defeated.

Bahador Sultan Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty, marched, a marches second time, towards Chitor; and, in the mean time, Humaioon against Chitor. ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Dien Panna. He, foon after, marched towards

Saringpoor,

Saringpoor, which then held of Bahadur, as fultan of Guzerat, and A. D. 1533. Hig. 940. wrote to him a punning couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majefty Humaioon of a king. Chitor, in the Persian language, signifies, in what man-punning ner; and upon this was founded the miserable witticism contained in the verses. The words were, "O thou plunderer of the city of "Chitor! in what manner canst thou conquer the idolaters? For when "thou wouldst wish to conquer Chitor; thou know'st not in what "manner the king comes to conquer thee."

Bahadur answered Humaioon in his own strain, and in the follow-Bahadur's ing words: "I, who am the plunderer of Chitor, will conquer the answer." idolaters by valor; and he who dares not succour Chitor, shall see "in what manner he himself shall be conquered." The wit is wretched on both sides; but he who began the pun is most to blame.

Sultan Bahadur, after fending the above billet to Humaioon, called Calls a council of war. It was the opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raife the fiege, and march against him, and thus to take up the war by the roots. Others urged, that Humaioon was so rigid in his religious principles, that he would not disturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was most adviseable to finish the fiege, which was now far advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters.

Bahadur himself favoured the latter opinion. The siege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himself upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor, till Sultan Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and Takes Chiter forty one, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, against the hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two emperor, armies appeared in front of each other, near Munsoor. Sultan Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer,

his army.

A.D. 1584 engineer, Romi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from rifquing an attack, and both armies continued in fight of one another for the space of two months. Daily skirmishes were, in the mean time, fought, with various fuccefs.

Humaioon cuts off his supplies.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his supplies. He ordered his horse, in successive bodies of five or fix thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began foon to be feverely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers.

Cowardice and flight of Bahadur.

Bahadur, instead of making one brave effort to relieve himself, permitted base fear and despair to seize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mindu. This was no fooner known, than the flight became general; the chiefs dispersing themselves, with their adherents. Humaioon, in the morning, ordered the pursuit to commence, which was continued, as far as Mindu, with great flaughter of the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themfelves. Bahadur threw himfelf into Mindu, and the place was closely invested.

His army is routed. and he himfelf befieged in Mindu.

Mindu taken by furprize.

In a few days, three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mindu, in the night; and though the garrison confisted of many thousands, fuch was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzerat, while Sidder Chan, his Amir ul Omrah, who was dangeroufly wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being befieged, he capitulated the fecond day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favor. Sidder Chan, during the pursuit, faved Sultan Bahadur, when

Bravery of Humaioon and Sidder Chan.

when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between A. D. 1534. the kings, till his mafter had an opportunity of making his escape. But he himself was attacked with such violence by the king, in person, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

The king, three days after the taking of Mindu, renewed the Humaioon pursuit after Sultan Bahadur, who, having taken all his treasure and tan Bahadur. jewels out of Mahummud Abad and Chapanier, fled towards Amudabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the fiege of the citadel, which still held out, to Dowlat Chaja Birlass, continued to pursue Bahadur. The unfortunate sultan, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambait, but Humaioon purfuing him thither, he retired to the island of Deo, Humaioon arriving in Cumbait, the very evening of the fame day in which Bahadur forfook it.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that Returns to the fultan's wealth was mostly in the citadel of Chapanier, he re- Chapanier. turned to carry on that fiege. Achtiar Chan, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had some years provision in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily supplies from a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood.

The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, observed the pro- His firataceedings of Achtiar Chan, with regard to the provisions. He im-gem. mediately feized upon a party of country people who carried the supplies through the woods. He perfuaded, or rather commanded them, to carry him, in difguise, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the necessary remarks, returned to his camp, and the same night ordered a parcel of iron spikes to be made.

VOL. II.

He

A. D. 1535. takes Chapanier.

He himself, with three hundred select men, went to the place, Hig. 942.

By a gallant while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was entirely drawn towards the different affaults. This furnished the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron spikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himself made the fortieth. Before sun-rise his whole detachment was within the walls, when he displayed a fignal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent affault upon all fides, and Humaioon, in the mean time, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! \* and forcing his way, fword in hand, through the enemy; possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it; and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar Chan and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the fword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained a capitulation.

Divides the Tpoil among his troops.

The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king, equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzerat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and foldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the wealth of Room, Chitta, and Fring+, which had been there collected, to a vast amount, was delivered over to plunder.

Sultan Bahadur having secured himself in Deo, sent Amad ul Bahadur Sul-Muluck Chirkuss to Ahmedabad, to collect the revenues, and levy forces.

- \* That is, God is greatest.
- + The Turkish Empire, China, and Europe.

troops.

troops. He found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand men, A. D. 1535. Hig. 942. and was daily gaining strength and reputation. Humaioon having intelligence of the transactions of Bahadur, appointed Tirdi Beg to command the fort of Chapanier, and the adjacent countries, and marched in person with his army towards Ahmedabad. Amad ul Muluck drew out his army to oppose him, and falling in with the vanguard of the imperialists, commanded by Mirza Ashkari, he was defeated before the rest of the army could be brought up to the en-His army overthrown. gagement.

The king, for this fignal fervice, appointed Mirza Ashkari governor of the splendid city of Ahmedabad. He divided then the Humaioon provinces of Guzerat among his omrahs, and marched against Bur-Guzerat. hanpoor. Burhan Nizam Shaw, Amud ul Muluck, and the other princes of the Decan, apprehensive of his designs to reduce Chandez, wrote to him letters of submission and allegiance.

These letters had scarce arrived, when the news of the insurrection The insurof Shere Chan came to the king. He, however, reduced all the Shere Chan.
countries about Burhanpoor, then marched round to Mindu. Amud
ul Muluck, in the mean time, in conjunction with the omrahs of
Guzerat, began again to acquire strength, and marched, with an
army, towards Ahmedabad,

Humaioon, in the mean time, invested Chinar, and reduced it, after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere Chan, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and sled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, the capital of Bengal, took it, and commanded it to be called Ginnitabad \*. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of that

\* The paradifial city.

T 2

country,

A. D. 1539 country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as well as by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal at Agra, to return.

The brothers difagree. Mirza Hindal, the King's brother, was fent to suppress Mahummud Sultan Mirza, who, we have already observed, had escaped to Kinnoge. But instead of performing that service, he, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it.

The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire Beg and Ibrahim Beg to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mahummud Zeman Mirza, who had formerly joined Sultan Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time, Shere Chan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Jossa. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river.

Mirza Camiran mounts the throne in Agra.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother, Mirza Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched, with ten thousand horse, from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, Mirza Hindal prevailed upon him, to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the siege.

\* Perhaps the Sone, or Carimnaffa.

Fuchir

Fuchir ul Dien Alli, who commanded in the city, acquainted A. D. 1539. Mirza Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be fo ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to hold out to the last drop of his blood; but, that, if he would first possess himself of the capital of Agra, and entirely subdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Mirza Camiran and his brother found him fo determined, and that the fiege would cost them much blood and time, they fet out together for Agra.

When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealoufy, which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Mirza Hindal, being deferted by many of his party, fled to Alwir, with five thousand horse, and three hundred elephants; and Mirza Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Sultan Humaioon endeavored, by every posible argument with Humaioon his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere bring over Chan, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in to his interest. the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father fo much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Chigittai in one common rain; that it was, therefore, adviseable to join against the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with his brothers, They reject who were so blinded by ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoping that after Shere Chan had defeated Sultan Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere Chan; and each had the folly to suppose, that he should be able to exclude the other, and so reign alone.

At this juncture, Shere Chan sent Shech Chelili, a dervish of Humaioon great reputation, to Sultan Humaioon, to treat about a peace, with Shere which Chan.

A. D. 1539 which the king accepted, with gladness, upon the following conditions: That Shere Chan should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

Treachery of Shere Chan.

When the conditions were figned and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere Chan aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprized the sultan's camp, before day-break, and totally deseated him. As the bridge of boats, which the sultan had been preparing, was not finished, there was no way of escape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being seized by a part of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the stream, where eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was Mahummud Ziman Mirza. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in the year nine hundred and forty fix.

Humaioon totally overthrown.

Escapes to Agra.

He is joined by his biothers. The king, by the affistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, sled to Agra. Mirza Camiran hearing of this deseat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother, Mirza Hindal. Finding that now the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behavior to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to support him. In the mean time, all the Mogul omrahs who were dispersed in the provinces, seeing that the power of their nation had sustained such a violent shock, found it also necessary to unite their strength. They accordingly hastened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire Beg, and Ibrahim Beg, having left Bengal, and even Mahummud Sultan Mirza,

Mirza, who had rebelled in Kinnoge, joined now in the general ADD. 1540. cause against the Afghans.

The three brothers having met at Agra, held daily confultations; Quarrels bebut Mirza Camiran, who was not earnest in reconciling their dif- brothers. ferent interests, brought all their councils to nothing, and proposed to return to Lahore, to which refolution he was very much instigated by Chaja Callan Beg. Sultan Humaioon used every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambitious Camiran was determined to be every thing himself, or to give no affistance to his brother.

These impolitic disputes had lasted fix months, when Mirza Camiran was feized with a falfe appetite, which he too much indulged, and confequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poison given him by his brothers. He immediately set out for Mirza Cami-Lahore, leaving a thousand horse with Secunder Sultan, under pre- the king. tence of affifting his unfortunate brother. The inhabitants of Agra were greatly discouraged at Camiran's departure, so that many of them, fearing the issue of the war, accompanied him. Mirza Hyder, disgusted with this behavior, staid behind, and joined Humaioon, to whom he was of great fervice.

Shere Chan, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now shere Chan advanced with an army to the banks of the Gang, and detaching the Gang. his fon Cuttub Chan over the river, possessed himself of the adjacent provinces.

Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Cassim Hassein Sultan Usbeck, in conjunction with Eadgar Mirza and Secunder Sultan, against him, with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement was fought, The imperial in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub Chan, with a feat and flay great CuttubChan.

A. D. 1540. great part of his army, was cut off, and his head fent to Agra. The generals, at the fame time, invited the king to come and have the honor of conquering Shere Chan in person.

marches Chan.

Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, against Shere and croffing the Gang, near Kinnoge, fat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere Chan, which confifted of little more than half his number. In the mean time, Mahummud Sultan Mirza, and his fons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the fultan into diffress; for his army being dispirited, began to defert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy feafon now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water, infomuch that the tents feemed afloat. The king therefore refolved to move his camp to higher ground.

Is deferted by a great part of his army,

and overthrown.

On the tenth of Mohirrim, nine hundred and forty feven, he put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere Chan on his march, and defeated with great flaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and fome thousands, to avoid the swords of the enemy, chose a more ignominious death in the water. A few only escaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the rest submitted themselves to the conquerors, or dispersed by various routs.

Shere Chan advances to Agra.

Shere Chan, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and on the first of Rubbi ul Awil, of that year, joined the greatest part of his Mogul omrahs, who had been difperfed fince the action. Shere Chan Purfues the still continuing the purfuit, to make the best use of his victory, croffed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the fultan, upon the

first

king,

first of Rigib, passed the river of Lahore, and retreated towards Tatta A.D. 1541. and Bicker. Mirza Camiran, now fensible of his ungenerous and who takes impolitic behavior, was himfelf obliged to fly towards Cabul, and Tatts. faw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain.

Humaioon having croffed the Sind, on his way to Bicker, halted His embaffy at Lori, and fent an embaffador, with a horse and dress to Mirza nor of Tatta. Shaw Hassein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzerat. Mirza Shaw Hassein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excufes, for five months, by which means his finall army, diffreffed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. Mirza Hindal, his brother, His brother in the mean time, left him, and went to Candahar, being invited thi- Hindal deferts the ther, by Kirrachi Chan, governor of that province. Mirza Eadgar king. Nafir proposed, at the same time, to quit Humaioon, but this unfortunate king, took great pains to keep him firm to his interest, giving him the government of Bicker. But he had no fooner taken pofferfion of that place, than he began to ftrengthen himself, and to hatch treafon.

Humaioon, in the mean time, had, with his little army, laid fiege Humaioon to Sewan, for feven months, without effect, when Shaw Haffein, de-Sewan. firous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced, with a great force, from Tatta, and furrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army His great were foon greatly diffressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Mirza Eadgar to join him, with what forces he had in Bicker; but this ungrateful man chose rather to be prevailed upon to join Mirza Shaw Hassein, who promised him his daughter, and to fecure him in his government. He immediately deserted the king's interest, at this dangerous crisis, and Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan, towards Bicker. He flies to-He wardsBicker. VOL. II.

A.D. 1541. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats, from his own perfidious subjects, to wast his small army over the river. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some boats that had been sunk, raised them, and transported his troops to the other side.

Notwithstanding this accumulation of misfortunes, Humaioon had Eadgar Nasir strength enough left to strike terror in Eadgar Nasir Mirza, who, to avoid his resentment, came and made his submission. The necessity of the times obtained his pardon; but, in return for Humaioon's clemency, he began to raise sedition among his troops, and privately to draw them over to his own interest. This treason being communicated to the king, the traitor, upon being taxed with it, appeared at the head of his troops, in open rebellion. But the principal officers of the rebellious faction resused to attack their king, so that an action was prevented, when both parties were formed in order of battle.

The king being in no condition, at that juncture, to contend with Humaioon the rebel, thought it high time to provide for his own fafety elfewhere. He therefore marched, by the way of Jasselmere, to Raja Maldeo, then the most potent Hindoo prince in Hindostan, having before received an invitation from him. But as he was passing through the territories of Jasselmere, the raja of that country sent a force to oppose him. The king deseated them, and passed on to the boundaries of Maldeo, where he halted, and sent a messenger to the raja.

But few keep faith with a king, when he is under the cloud of misRaja Maldeo fortunes. Maldeo, feeing he had nothing to fear from Humaioon,
plots against found in his own mind no principle to love him; he therefore resolved,
if possible, to seize the king, and send him to Shere Shaw. One of
Maldeo's servants, who had formerly lived under Humaioon, having
intelligence of this design, immediately informed the king.

Humaioon

Humaioon mounted his horse, at midnight, and fled towards A. D. 1541. Hig. 948. Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His He flies. horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tirdi Beg, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his request. The troops of the raja being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till one Nidim Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and placing her on the camel, ran himself on foot by her side.

The country, through which they fled, being an entire fandy His great defart, the troops began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some distress, ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful foreams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, Calamitous news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humaioon ordered all fituation of his retinue, those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front, to see how it fared with his family.

Night, in the mean time, coming on, the rear lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. Shech Ali, Gallant exploit of with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having Shech Ali, repeated the creed of Martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy, and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were, by the valor of this handful, put to slight. The other Moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of their camels and horses. They then continued their march, found the king sitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

Marching forward, the next day, from this well, they were more The king's diffressed than before, there being no water for two days journey. dreadful studion for On the fourth day of their retreat, they fell in with another well, water.

U 2 which

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A. D. 1542 which was fo deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the caffilas when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The people were so impatient for the water, that as foon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was loft, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves, in agony, on the hot fand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and confequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends!

> The next day, though they reached water, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tafted water for feveral days, now drank so much, that the greatest part of them died. The people alfo, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

Arrives, and is humanely received at Amercot.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of diffress, reached Amercot. The raja being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes. He spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

Humaioon marches against Bick-

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hun-Akbar born, dred and forty nine, the prince Ackbar was brought forth, by Hamida Banu Begum. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Raja Rana, and, by the aid of that prince, marched against Bicker. But a mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed, so that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant Shech Ali, one of his principal

principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. defeated. The king fled towards Kandahar, and was, on his way, is defeated, and flies to-joined by Byram Chan, from Guzerat. Mirza Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Kandahar from his brother, Mirza Hindahar. dal; and Mirza Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Mirza Shaw Hassein wrote to Mirza Ashkari, that the king was in the utmost distress, and that if he would now favor him, so meritorious an action could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his son, and sly himself, with the Sultana Mariam Muckani, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorrassan. Mirza Ash-Is obliged to fly to Chorkari expressed great forrow at the king's escape, and plundering all rassan. his effects, carried the young prince Ackbar to Kandahar.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of Shaw Tamasp ul Husseini, of Iran. He brought Humaioon Is received to Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him Persian gowith all the money he was worth, and furnishing the fultana with seistan, flaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest. He from thence set out for Hêrat, and was, in that city, met by Sultan Mahummud, the king of Perfia's eldest and by the fon. This prince forgot nothing of that generofity and politeness fin's fon. which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to court. In his progress towards the capital of Iran, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram Chan to the Persian king, at Ispahan, and waited his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan, during his exile.

SECTION

### SECTION II.

History of SHERE SHAW, before his accession to the imperial throne.

A. D. 1542.

HE original name of Shere Shaw was Ferîd. His father was Hassin, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh. When Sultan Beloli placed his foot on the mushud of empire, the grandfather of Shere Shaw, Ibrahim Soor, came to Delhi in quest of military service.

of the Afghans of Roh. The original feat of the Afghans was Roh. This word, in their language, fignifies a mountainous country. It extended, they fay, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckuraft, and in breadth, from Huslin Abdal to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many separate tribes; among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive themselves from the princes of Ghor. One of the sons of the Ghorian family, whose name was Mahummud Soor, having left his native country, placed himself among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was esteemed the noblest among them.

Thrahim Soor Ibrahim Soor, arriving at Delhi, engaged himself in the service arrives at Delhi, of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire sell to Secunder, Jemmal Chan an omrah was appointed suba of Jionpoor, who took Hassen, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He sound him a youth of parts, and savored him so much, that, in a short his son Hassin time, he gave him the pergunnahs of Sehsaram and Chawasspoor obtains a ja-Tanda, in jagier, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Hassen had eight sons; Ferid and Nizam of one mother, of a Patan samily; the other sons were born of slaves.

Haffen

Hassen had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. her fons. Ferîd, upon this, lest his father's house, and enlisted Ferîd slies from his fahimself a soldier in the service of Jemmal Chan. Hassen wrote to the house, Jemmal Chan \* upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal Chan could say had no effect upon Ferîd. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sehsaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so much purpose, Applies himself to letters, that he soon could repeat the works of Shech Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal Chan.

After three or four years had passed, Hassen came to Jionpoor, Is reconciled and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconcither, led. Hassen gave Ferîd the charge of his jagier, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferîd, when he took leave of his father, said, "That the stability of government depended on justice, and that it "would be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this refolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution.

Hassin coming to visit the pergunnahs, was extremely pleased who is please with the management of his son, and therefore continued him in his behavior. office. But the father had a slave by whom he had three sons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda, and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her son Soliman was grown up,

\* Suba of Jionpoor.

and

A. D. 1542. and that he ought to provide for him. She, day after day, continued to teaze Hassin for the superintendency of the pergunnahs for Soliman. This gave the old omrah great concern, knowing the superior abilities of Fersd. The son, hearing that the domestic peace of his father was destroyed, by the importunities of his favorite, made a voluntary resignation of his trust, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman.

Goes to Agra.

Ferîd, and his brother Nizam, set out immediately for Agra, and entered into the service of Dowlat Chan, one of the principal omrahs of Sultan Ibrahim. Ferîd, by his good behavior, soon insinuated himself into his master's affection. Dowlat desired him, one day, to tell him what he was most desirous to obtain, and that he would use his interest with the sultan in his favor. Ferîd replied, That his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful mistress, who had deprived both himself and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their jagier for her own spurious offspring. That if Dowlat would, therefore, by his interest at court, procure the jagier-sonnad in his name, he would promise to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horse for the service of the empire.

Dowlat Chan accordingly preferred this request to the sultan, who The emperor replied, That he must be a bad man indeed, who reviled and unrefuses to grant him his dermined his own father. Dowlat Chan retired in silence, and acfather's jaquainted him of the answer he had received, but comforted Fersid, by telling him that he would take another opportunity to urge his request. In the mean time, the father of Fersid died, and Dowlat which, upon his father's death, he ob- out to Sehsaram with a grand retinue.

Soliman, upon the arrival of his brothers, evacuating the country, went off to Mahummud Chan Soor, who held the purgunnah of Chond,

Chond, and kept up a force of fifteen hundred horse, and com- A. D. 1542. plained of the behavior of Ferîd. Mahummud Chan told him, His brother that Baber, having invaded Hindostan, a war between him and Sul-complains of tan Ibrahim was unavoidable. That, therefore, if he should ac-hummud company him when called to the imperial army, he would endea-Soor; vor to get him redrefs. Soliman was too impatient to wait fo long in suspence. Mahummud Chan, therefore, sent a person to Ferid, to treat about a reconciliation. Ferîd replied, That he was willing to give him a proper share of his father's inheritance, but that he must be excused from parting with any of his power; repeating, at the same time, the old adage, That two swords could never rest in one scabbard.

Soliman could not be fatisfied with fharing the government, and who forms therefore nothing was fettled between the brothers. This irritated gainst him. Mahummud Chan so much, that he resolved to compel him to the measures which he himself had proposed. Ferild being informed of this resolution, began to provide for his own security; but news arriving of Sultan Ibrahim's death, the whole country was thrown into confusion. Ferîd resolved not to lie idle in the midst of the troubles which enfued. He joined Par Chan, the fon of Diria Chan Lohani, who had subdued Behar, and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of Sultan Mahummud, or Mahmood. As the fultan was one day on a hunting party, he roused an enormous tiger; which Ferîd immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his fabre. For this bold action, which was done in the fultan's presence, he Ferid obtains was honored with the title of Shere Chan \*. Shere Cham.

Shere Chan rofe gradually to great influence and favor, in the fultan's service. He was even appointed tutor to the fultan's son, Jellal Chan. He, in the mean time, requested permission to go to his jagier, but he was detained there by business, till his leave of ab-

\* Shere fignifies a lion.

VOL. II.

fence

A. D. 1542 sence expired. Sultan Mahummud, diffatisfied with this behavior, Hig- 949. reproached him, one day in public, with breach of promife; and He is accused Mahummud Chan, an omrah, being present, took that opportunity to Sultan of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favoring the interest Mahmood. of Sultan Mamood, the fon of Sultan Secunder. The fultan was, by this means, fo incenfed against him, that he intimated, at the same time, a design to deprive him of his jagier, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper sense of his duty.

Proceedings against him.

The fultan, however, having a great esteem for Shere Chan, against whom nothing was yet proved, laid afide the violent measure to which he was infligated by Mahummud. He, at the same time, by way of alarming him, gave orders to his accuser to enquire into his father's estate, and make an equal division of it among all the brothers. Mahummud Chan, glad of this order, fent one of his fervants to Shere Chan to acquaint him, that his brothers, according to the fultan's commands, were to have their proportionable dividends of the estate which he had hitherto so unjustly with-held from them.

The nature of tenures in

Shere Chan returned for answer, that Mahummud was very much Hindostan. mistaken in this matter. That there were no heritable estates in Hindostan, among Mahomedans, for that all lands belonged to the king, which he disposed of at pleasure. That as he himself had a personal grant of his jagier, his brethren were entirely out of the question. That he, however, had already consented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, according to law.

Shere Chan attacked.

When the messenger returned with this answer to Mahummud Chan, who was then at Jiond, he was enraged at fo flat a denial, and raifing all his forces, fent them against Shere Chan, under the command of Shadi, his adopted flave, accompanied by Soliman and Ahmed.

Ahmed. His orders were to take possession of the country, and to A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

This resolution being quickly taken, Shere Chan had not who determines to collect his people; but, upon the first alarm, he wrote to pose him. Malleck Sook, his deputy in the pergunnah of Chawasspoor Tandah, to harrass the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in person. But Malleck Sook, desirous to distinguish himself, gave them battle, and lost his life and the victory.

This disaster weakened Shere Chan so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahummud; he therefore evacuated the country, and sled to Juneid Birlass, suba of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, on He slies to the part of Sultan Baber. He made the suba a handsome present, Kurrah. was taken into savor, and obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he deseated Mahummud, who sled to the Returns and mountains of Rhotas, so that he not only possessed himself of his hummud, own country, but added several other pergunnahs to his jagier, which he now held of Sultan Baber. Having rewarded the Moguls who had affisted him, he permitted them to return to their master. He, at the same time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had sled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in those parts.

Shere Chan having thus established himself in his jagier, per-His generosiformed an act of generosity, which, if it was not intended to de-ty to him. ceive the world, does him much honor. He recalled Mahummud Chan, who had sled, and put him in possession of his former jagier. This generous treatment converted his greatest enemy into one of his best friends.

Shere having fettled his affairs, left his brother Nizam in charge of his country, and paid a visit to his benefactor Juneid Birlass, at X 2 Kurrah.

A. D. 1542. Kurrah. Birlass was then going to Agra, and Shere resolved to ac-Hig. 949.

Goes to company him thither. He was, upon this occasion, introduced to Agra. Sultan Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi.

After Shere had staid some time in the Mogul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindostan. His friend asked him, what reason he had to think so? Shere replied, "That the king himself, though a man of great parts, was but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindostan; and that the vizier, who held the reins of government, would be too much biassed in favor of his own interest, to mind that of the public. "That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity among themselves, could be brought to mutual concord, the work was compleated; and should fortune ever favor him, he imagined himself equal to the task, however difficult it might, at present, apspear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion.

His behavior Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, some solid dishes at the king's table set before him, with only a spoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, not to lose his dinner, drew his dagger, without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behavior. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking his manner, turned to occasions a reflection of Baber. This Afghan is not to be disconcerted by "trifles, and is likely to be a great man."

He privately Shere Chan perceiving, by these words, that the king had been withdraws informed of his private discourse to his friend, sled the camp that night, and went to his own jagier. He wrote from thence to Juneid Birlass, that as Mahummud Chan had prevailed on Sultan Mahmood

Mahmood Chan, of Behar, to fend troops against his jagier, he had A. D. 1542.

Flig. 949.

In haste left the king's camp, without waiting upon him for leave.

He, by this means, amused Juneid Birlass from chastising him, and at the same time made up matters with Sultan Mahmood, with Is reconciled with Sultan Wahmood of Behar,

Sultan Mahmood dying a short time after, was succeeded by his who dies. fon Jellal Chan, a minor. The young prince's mother, Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere Chan. The sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into his hands.

Muchdum Allum, the governor of Hadgeepoor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere Chan's protection. Sultan Mahmood, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub Chan, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere Chan made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub Chan was slain, and all Overthrows his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly Bengal.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani, envying the fortune Aplotagainst of Shere, formed a conspiracy, to take away his life. Shere discovered the plot, taxed Jellal Chan with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He told, on this occasion, to the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting quit of him, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that go-He offers to vernment, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, resign.

#### THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A.D. 1542 either suspecting his fincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other Hig. 949. omrahs, would, by no means, confent to his refignation. This fo much difgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible meafure to make a breach between the prince and his minister.

Shere, finding that he had no fecurity, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's Shere obliges jealoufy to fuch a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his omrahs, his mafter, the Sultan of he fled to Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Behar, to fly. Shere Chan, who had usurped his throne.

Mahmood of Bengal affifts army,

Sultan Mahmood, joining his compassion for the young prince, to him with an his personal hatred for Shere, sent Ibrahim Chan, the son of Cuttub Chan, with a confiderable army against the usurper. The Bengalians befieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without fuccess; fo that Ibrahim was obliged to fend home for fuccours. Shere Chan, being informed of this circumstance, came out, offered battle, and, by means of a common stratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the first onset, to draw the enemy into an ambush, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim Chan was flain in the action, and the young prince fled in great diffress to Bengal.

overthrown by Shere.

Ail Behar fubmits to

him.

which is

Shere, by this victory, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. Taje Chan was, at this time, governor of the strong fort of Chinar, which he had held for himself ever fince the death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. His wife Lade Mallecke, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives, by whom he had children, they instigated their fons to make away with her. But one of the fons, who had undertaken the murder, miffed his blow, and only inflicted a flight wound. Taje Chan, alarmed by her cries, came to her affiftance, and drew his fword to kill his fon. The fon, feeing no means to escape, affaulted his father, and flew him. The fons of Taje Chan were yet

too young to be entrusted with the government, and Lade Mallecke A. D. 1542. drew the reins into her own hands, by her address among the chiefs and zemindars. Shere Chan, informed of these transactions, fet a treaty of marriage on foot with Lade Mallecke, which was foon Shere Chan, concluded. Shere seized upon Chinar and the dependant districts, obtains the which was a great acquifition to his power, there being a confider- Chinar. able treasure in the place.

Much about this time, Sultan Mahmood, the fon of Sultan Secunder Lodi, having taken protection with Rana Sinka, by his affistance, and that of Hassen Chan Mewati, advanced against Sultan Baber, and were defeated, as we have already feen, at Janveh. Sultan Mahmood, flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the omrahs of Lodi, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them proclaimed king. He made himself soon master of all Behar. Shere Sultan Mah-Chan perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from the possesses himfultan's interest, and that he had not fusficient force to oppose him, fubmitted to his authority, and, by that means, faved a part of Behar, which the fultan permitted him to retain. The fultan told him, at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering Jionpoor from the Moguls, he would return Behar to him; and a contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them.

Shere Chan, some time after, obtained leave to return to Shessaram, Shere Chan to levy troops, and Sultan Mahmood marching, with an army, to visit his against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed jagier. for some time, the sultan, persuaded by his omrahs that he was playing a loofe game, marched his army through his jagier on his way to Jionpoor. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant entertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him to Jionpoor. The troops of Humaioon evacuated the province upon their approach, so that the Afghans took possession of the country as far as Lucknore.

Humaioon.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

cel Belian, He betravs

Humaioon lay, at this time, before Callinger, and having heard of the progress of the Afghans, he marched against them. Mahmood having, on this occasion, given a superior command to Bein Baezîd, Shere Chan, who thought himself ill-used, betrayed his mood Lodi. master, and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, " That " he esteemed himself a servant of Baber's family, to whom he owed " his advancement, and that he would be the cause of defeating the " Afghans next day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occasioned Mahmood's defeat, for which service he was greatly favored by Humaioon. Sultan Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year nine hundred and fearer in Gour, Sultan Mahmood if forty nine, died in Oriffa. Shere Chan, having fettled affeirs in

Refuses to give up Chinâr to Humaioon.

Propofes terms to Humaioon,

Humaioon, after his victory, returned to Agra, and sent Amir Hindoo Beg to Shere Chan, to take possession of the fort of Chinar. Shere excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Humaioon returned immediately with his whole army to befiege Chinâr, and, having invested it, he received a letter from Shere Chan, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself one of the servants of the " house of Baber, from whom he first obtained a government; and "that he had expressed his fidelity, by being the occasion of the " late victory. That, therefore, if the king would permit him to " retain the government of the fort, he was willing to pay him the " proper revenues of the lands which he held, and would fend his " fon, Cuttub Chan, with five hundred horse, to be maintained at " his own expence, in the fultan's fervice," and and beauther liew

which are accepted.

As at this juncture the affairs of Guzerat, by the conquests of Sultan Bahadur, required the king's presence, and considering also the strength of Chinar, Humaioon consented to these terms, and, accordingly, being joined by Cuttub Chan and Isey Chan Hajbil, with five hundred horse, he marched towards Sultan Bahadur. The king, however,

#### THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

however, had scarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub Chan deserted A. D. 1543. with his horse, and returned to his father. Shere immediately raised what forces he could, and reduced Behar. Not fatisfied with this Shere refuccess, he pursued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of and enters Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country feveral sharp Bengal. battles, before he could make himself master of the passes, which were defended a whole month.

Sultan Mahmood of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, which Shere Besieges Sul-Chan for a long time befieged. One of the zemindars of Behar hav- mood Lodi, ing raifed a disturbance, he left Chawass Chan to carry on the siege, in Gour. and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Sultan Mahmood fled in a boat to Hadjepoor; and Shere Chan, having fettled affairs in Behar, returned and purfued him. Mahmood being necessitated to give battle, was defeated, and Overthrows being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzerat, thought it Humaioon necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere Chan. He for arms against that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chinar. Jellal Chan, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi Soor, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, from whence he very much annoyed the beliegers. The fiege had been carried on fix months, when Rumi Chan, who commanded the king's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he fent down the river close to the Tokes Chiwall, reduced the place.

Humaioon left two hundred foldiers in garrifon there, and marched Marches totowards Bengal. Sultan Mahmood, who, as we have already ob-gal, served, was wounded in the action with Shere Chan, threw himself under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere Chan had VOL. II.



forces the

Chan to the

Jarchund.

paffes.

A. D. 1542 fent Jellal Chan, Chawass Chan, and a good detachment, to guard that pass. The king fent Jehangire Kulli Beg, and some other omrahs, to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being, however, supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in fight, a fuccefsful affault was made, and the Moguls became mafters of the pass. Jellal Chan fled to his father Shere Chan at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated Drives Shere that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, mountains of and begun to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in fecurity.

Shere Chan, by a stratatakes the impregnable fortrefs of Rhotas.

test

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, by which success might be hoped. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkiss, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, and told him, "That as he himself was going to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendship, that he would permit him to fend his family and treasure into the place, with a few attendants." The raja at first rejected this request, but Shere Chan fent an artful embassador to the raja, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women and treasure he requested the raja's protection: That should he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgments for the favor on his return; but if he should lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and wealth should fall into his hands, than into those of the Moguls, his inveterate enemies."

The raja, permitting himfelf to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere's request. Shere Chan having provided covered doolies \*, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He, at the

\* The fame with fedan chairs.

fame.

fame time, filled five hundred money bags with ball, and appointed A. D. 1542. fome of his best foldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with flicks in their hands, to help the treasure up the mountain. The men, who carried the doolies, were difguifed in the fame manner. This train accordingly fet out, and the first and second dooly being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, fo further examination was neglected. The raja was, in the mean time, bufy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the doolies had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and begun to dye the fold with their blood. The porters used their staves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the doolies. They easily maftered the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere Chan, who was encamped at a small distance. The raja himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere Chan, together with much treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages. The merit of the invention of this stratagem is not due to Shere. The fort of Asere, in the Decan, was, long before, taken in the fame manner by Nafir Chan Faroki, governor of Chandez.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain; the only en- Description trance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of one crore, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, is more than five crores. In this space are contained towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the furface. On one fide runs the river Sone, under an immense precipice, and another river, in the fame manner, passes close to the

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other

104

A. D. 1541 other fide, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into a triHig. 948.

angular peninfula. There is a very deep valley on the third fide,
full of impervious woods, which fpread all over the mountains, and
render all access that way next to impossible.

Shere Chan had now a secure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by this piece of success. Humaioon, in the mean time, spent three months in luxurious pleasures, at Gour, or Lucknouti. He there received advices that Mirza Hindal, his brother, had revolted in Agra and Mewat; that he had put Shech Phoul to death, and coined money in his own name. He therefore left Jehangire Kulli Beg, with five thousand horse, in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

Humaioon marches back towards Agra.

By the exceffive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beafts of burthen perished in great numbers, on his march, by fatigue and want of forage. Shere Chan, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Josia, in a place by which the king must of necessity pass, and, by treachery, defeated him with great slaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately push forward to the capital. Anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned to Bengal, engaged Jehangire Kulli Beg in several battles, deseated him, and, at length, cut him and his army to pieces.

Is totally overthrown by Shere Chan.

# SECTION III.

The history of the reign of SHERE SHAW, the Afghan.

Shere Shaw affumes the imperial titic. SHERE SHAW, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, affumed the imperial title, struck the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. He marched, the next year, with a great army, towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was, by this time, deserted

by

By his brother Mirza Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on A.D. 1542. account of his attention to his Turkuman mercenaries. He, however, croffed the river with one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere Chan, who had but fifty thousand. Shere, as we have already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and pursued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshâb; from which place the king retreated towards Sind.

Ismaiel Chan, Ghazi Chan, Fatti Chan, and Billoche Dudai, all omrahs of that country, joined Shere Shaw. The sultan, observing a hill, among the mountains of Balnat, proper for a fortress, ordered one to be built, which he named Rhotas. Chawass Chan, his Makes Chafaithful slave, to whose bravery and conduct he owned himself greatly captain generindebted for his fortune, was now made Amir ul Omrah, with a pension of a tenth of the royal revenue.

Having left the Amir ul Omrah, and Hybut Chan Neazi, with a great army, in the north west, Shere Shaw returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed, that Chizer Chan Sirik, whom he left suba of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmood, the former sultan of that province, and held the state of a sovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting such behavior to go unpunished, he marched immediately to Bengal. Reduces the suba of Bengal was imprisoned. Shere Shaw very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of omrahs, independent of one another, and appointed Kasi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, samous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

In the year nine hundred and forty nine, Shere made a motion towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualier, Suja Chan Afghan, who had before invested the place, on the part of Shere Shaw, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim Beg, governor of Gualier

### THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1543. Gualier for Humaioon, and he delivered up that strong fortress into Takes Gua- his hands.

lava.

Reduces Ma- Shere Shaw having entered Malava, Mullu Chan, governor of that province, submitted without a blow. Being, however, a few days after, alarmed by fomething, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Chan was appointed to that government; Suja Chan had also a jagier conferred upon him in that country. Shere Shaw having marched from thence to Rintimpore, Mullee Chan fell upon the governor of Malava, and upon Suja Chan, but he was defeated. Suja Chan having acquired all the honor of the victory, Hadjee Chan was fuperfeded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Takes Rintimpore.

Shere Shaw arriving before Rintimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortress, from the governor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood Lodi, who had flill kept it. The emperor, after taking Rintimpore, returned to Agra. He remained in that city a whole year, fettling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He, in the mean time, ordered Hybut Chan to wrest Moultan from the Bellochies. This Hybut foon effected by defeating Fatti Chan Bellochi, and entirely fubduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

He marches Paran, for

In the year nine hundred and fifty, Paran Mull, the fon of Raja against Raja Suckdeo Parbia, having conquered some neighbouring pergunnahs, keeping two kept no less than two thousand concubines and dancing girls in his concubines. zinnana. The king, refenting this indignity, marched and invested him in the fort of Raisein. The siege being protracted for a long time, Paran Mull began to treat of a capitulation. This was granted to him upon the honorable terms of marching out, with all his arms, treasure, family, garrison, and effects. Paran accordingly marched out with four thousand rajaputs, and, trusting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a finall diffance.

But

But Shere Shaw, who never kept the faith of treaties, was eafily A. D. 1543. perfuaded, by his base ministers, particularly by Amir Russi ul Dien Histreachery Suffvi, infamoufly to violate his honor. He furrounded the rajaputs, and ordered them all to be maffacred. He, however, paid very dear for this horrid piece of cruelty and treachery. The rajaputs, placing death in one eye and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the affaffins, note: wandoo dented and and the one of the

Shere Shaw, after this infamous transaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwar. During his march he intrenched him- He marches felf every night, as well for fecurity, as to exercise his troops, and war, make them expert in this necessary service. When he came to cross the fands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the raja of Nagor and Todpoor, whose name was Maldeo, and esteemed the most powerful raja in Hindostan. He opposed the king, with fifty thousand rajaputs, and both armies lay thirty days in fight of one another.

marched from thence to Rimingore, Mulles Chan fell-upon the pr

Shere Shaw would now have been glad to retreat quietly. But the danger was too great, at the same time the enemy was so advantageously posted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midst of this alarming fituation, a fuccessful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Raja and, by a Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by d ceives the inheritance, Shere Shaw forged a letter, in the Hindeo language and character, in the name of the raja's generals, addressed to himself, fetting forth, " That, being conquered by the raja, they had, through necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were, in fecret, very weary of his yoke. That if he would therefore, reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to make him a due acknowledgement for the favor." On this letter Shere superferibed, as usual, in Persian, That they should fear nothing, desiring

them

rapa e feniceles del anne

A. D. 1544 them to persevere in their intentions, and that they might rest assured, that he would comply with their demand.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of the raja, who, being always in dread of his omrahs, was eafily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust fuspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner the raja had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found Gallant pro- that the raja's suspicions could not be removed, he told him, That japut omrah. the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true Rajaputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which the raja had thrown upon their reputation, by his own blood, or the conquest of Shere Shaw, with his own tribe.

He returns with his own tacks Shere.

The raja continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few tribe, and at- other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men, turned back, with an intent to furprize Shere Shaw's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was fair day light before they saw the enemy. Shere Shaw immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the fmallest computation, confisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave Rajaputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Chan Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforce-After an ob- ment, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the Rajaputs the rajaputs with renewed vigor, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, were cut to pieces.

Rinate battle, are cut to pieces.

Shere Shaw, finding himfelf in possession of a victory of which he Remarkable had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "That, for a handful of barley, Shere Shaw. " he had almost given the Empire of Hindostan to the wind." This grain,

grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. for which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Raja Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deferted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor.

more and more confirmed in his onjust suspense, by Shere Shaw, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards He takes the fort of Chitor, which was furrendered to him by capitulation. Chitor, He then directed his march to Rintimpore, and gave that country in jagier to his fon Adil Chan, who fixed his residence there. The foltan, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one and sits down. of the strongest forts in Hindostan. The raja of Callinger, on ac-linger, along count of the king's treacherous behavior to Paran Mull, would make no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere Shaw, besieges the having drawn a line of circumvallation, begun to carry on his approaches to the place; he raifed mounds of earth for his artillery, wand funk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now adwanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general affault will dist ordered, when a live shell, which had been thrown against the fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the battery in which the king stood. The shell burst in the midst of a quantity of powder, to which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown The king burnt by the bup; the king, Shech Chalile, Mulla Nizam Danishmund, and Diria blowing up Chan Serwani, were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were of powder, carried for dead to their tents.

agonies; he, however, encouraged the continuance of the attack, and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God," and expired. The death of Shere Shaw He dies, happened on the twelfth of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year nine hundred Vol. II.

A. D. 1545 and fifty two. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the mushud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

His character.

The character of Shere Shaw is almost equally divided between virtue and vice. Public justice prevailed in the kingdom, while private acts of treachery dishonored the hands of the king. He seemed to have made breach of faith a royal property, which he would by no means permit his subjects to share with him. We ought, perhaps, to ascribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had he been born to the mushud, he might have been just, as he was valiant and politic in war: Had he confined his mind to his jagier, he might merit the character of a virtuous omrah; but his great soul made him look up to the throne, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

His magnifi-

Shere Shaw left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal and Sennargaum, to the Sind, or Nilab, which is fifteen hundred crores \*, he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every crore. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and Imams. He ordered that at every serai, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste.

Was the first whoestablished regular horse posts.

Horse-posts were placed at proper distances, for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in Hindostan. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and mer-

\* About three thousand of our miles.

chants,

### THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

171

chants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to fleep on A.D. 1545. the highway.

It is faid that Shere Shaw being told that his beard grew white, replied, It was true that he had obtained the empire towards the evening. He divided his time into four equal parts: One he ap-His attention propriated to public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation. He was buried at Sessaram, in a magnificent sepulchre which he had built in the middle of a great tank, or reservoir of water.

### SECTION IV.

The reign of SELIM SHAW, the Son of SHERE SHAW.

When the Normal Shaw was numbered with the dead, his eldest fon, Adil Chan, whom he appointed his successor, was at Rintimpore, and his younger son, Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Phetah. The omrahs, who favored Jellal more than his brother, then at so great a distance, pretended the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They, for that purpose, dispatched expresses to Jellal Chan, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the in-Jellal Chan fluence of Isah Chan Hugab, and his party, mounted the throne, in throne by the the fortress of Callinger, upon the seventeenth of Ribbi ul Awil, in name of Selim Shaw, which, by false pronunciation, was turned to that of Selim Shaw, by which name he is more generally known.

Selim Shaw, having taken upon him the imperial dignity, wrote to He writes to his elder brother, in the following words: "Adil being at fo great his brother, and I fo near, to prevent disturbance, I took upon me

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"the

A. D. 1545. "the command of the army till his return. But my intentions are Hig. 952." only to forward my brother's interest, and to support his authority."

Jellal, after writing this letter, marched from Callinger towards
Agra, and at Kurrah was met by Chawass Chan, who renewed the
He is placed ceremonies of royalty, and placed Selim Shaw a second time on the
assecond time throne, holding a magnificent festival upon that occasion. From
Kurrah, Selim Shaw wrote another letter to his brother, begging in
the most affectionate terms, that he would come and see him.

His brother's Adil Chan wrote to the omrahs of Selim Shaw, particularly to answer.

Cuttub Chan Naib, Isah Chan Neazi, Chawass Chan, and Jellal Chan Selwani, to know to what purpose he was invited, and what he was to hope from them. He, at the same time, returned to his brother

for answer, "That, if he would send these four omrahs to him, with "proper assurances, he would come." Selim Shaw sent accordingly the four omrahs to Adil Shaw, to assure him, in the most solemn manner, that he would permit him, if he pleased, to depart after the first interview: But that, as the omrahs had invested him with the imperial power, he could not be so ungrateful as to desert them. However, to make some compensation to Adil, for the empire, he was deter-

mined to give him his choice of any of the provinces in free jagier.

Adil Shaw, upon these assurances, proceeded to Agra. When he had reached the village of Sikri \*, Selim Shaw was out on a hunting party, near that place, and appointed carpets to be spread for their interview. Here the brothers dissembled the greatest affection for one another, and after some discourse set out for Agra. Selim Shaw, who wanted to seize his brother, gave private orders, that only a few of his retinue should be admitted into the citadel; but Adil Shaw had also given orders to his people to press in, at all hazards, which they accordingly did, in spite of all opposition.

\* Now Fattepoor.

Selim

The interview of the brothers.

Their defigns against one another.



Selim Shaw faw, that, without running a great rifque, nothing A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. could be effected against his brother, who was so much upon his Transactions guard. He, therefore, had recourse to flattery and diffimulation. He even proceeded so far, as to lay hold of Adil's hand, to place him upon the throne. Adil Shaw, who was naturally a timorous and indolent man, rejected this proposal, knowing how little he had to trust from the omrahs, and a deceitful, ambitious brother. Selim Shaw was well aware of all this, before he made this extraordinary offer.

Just as Selim expected, so it fell out; Adil Shaw, intimidated by Adil makes a folemn resignation of his birthright, and placing Selim Shaw on the throne, faluted him emperor. This was instantly followed by all the court, who were waiting with impatience the issue of this extraordinary farce. They immediately advanced to the throne in succession, and, according to their rank, presented their nazirs \*, while others exhibited the ceremony of the isar †, crying out aloud, "We offer "our lives and fortunes to the king."

The ceremonies being ended, Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, Adil obtains who had passed their words to Adil Shaw, requested, that, as he had of Biana in pitched upon Biana for his jagier, he, according to promise, should jagier. be regularly invested with that province, and permitted to depart. Selim Shaw consented, and all matters being settled, he gave Adil leave to quit Agra, accompanied by Isah Chan and Chawass Chan.

\* Offerings made upon public occasions to the emperor.

+ Ifar, or Teffiduck, is a ceremony used upon the accession of a prince to the throne; the omrahs running three times round the king, waving an offering of money, in a charger, three times over the monarch's head. This money is afterwards delivered over to the royal almoner, to be distributed in charity, as indeed are all offerings made to the emperor.

But

towards

Agra.

A. D. 1545. But after two months, Selim gave to Ghazi Mahli, one of his Hig. 952. eunuchs, a pair of golden fetters, to go and bring Adil Shaw prisoner. Adil Shaw, having timeous intelligence of this defign against him, set out for Mewat, where Chawass Chan then resided. He acquainted Chawass Chanass that omrah, with tears, of his brother's baseness. Chanass Chan, a rebellion in whose honor was concerned in this affair, was rouzed with compassion for the unfortunate prince. He seized upon Ghazi Mahli, placed his fetters upon his own legs, and exalted the spear of rebellion against Selim Shaw.

The interest of Chawass was great among the omrahs. He wrote to them private letters, and brought many over to his party. A great army was foon raifed, and Chawafs, with Adil Shaw and Ifah He marches Chan, marched towards Agra. He, upon his way, received letters from Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan, who thought themselves difhonored by the king's behavior, affuring him of their affiftance.

When the confederate omrahs arrived before Agra, Selim Shaw, Selim in great perplexity. at this unexpected visit, was thrown into the utmost perplexity. He called Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan to his presence, and reproached them for not diffuading him from that impolitic step which had drawn upon him such dangerous consequences. Cuttub Chan replied, "That the bufiness was not yet irremediable; that he would undertake to fettle every thing in an amicable manner." Selim Shaw not suspecting the fidelity of the two omrahs, immediately defired that they should go to Adil Shaw, and compromise affairs.

When they were gone, Selim Shaw discovered to his friends his Propofes to fly to Chinar, intentions of flying to Chinar, where the treasure was lodged, and there to raise an army to reduce his brother, whom he was not at Is diffuaded present in a condition to oppose. Isah Chan Hujab diffuaded him by Ifah Chan, from this resolution. He told him, "That he had with him ten to stand his thousand Chermalli Patans, who had served him before he ascended

the throne, whom he could not suspect of disaffection, besides many A. D. 1545. other faithful fervants. That therefore, it was the heighth of folly, to trust the empire, which God had given him, to the future caprice of fortune, when he had it in his power to defend it instantly in the field. Do not, faid Isah, throw away the friends whom you have acquired in your prosperity, with a vain hope to pick up others in the feafon of diffress. The wifest course for you, continued the omrah, is to appear at the head of your troops, and to fix the foot of resolution on the field of war. This will secure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy."

Selim Shaw, encouraged by this bold advice, resolved to stand his ground. He immediately dispatched a message to Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, who had not yet fet out, to accommodate matters with Adil, and commanded them to his presence. He told them, That having altered his mind, he was refolved not to trust his faithful omrahs in the hands of his enemies. He forthwith ordered his troops to their arms, marched out of the city, and formed his army on the plain. If we will say inadod harto the delle which is

The omrahs, who had promifed to favor Adil Shaw, feeing their king in the field, ashamed to betray him, were necessitated to fight, which greatly disconcerted Chawass Chan, who, every minute, ex- Engages the pected they would join him. He, however, fought with great bra- and oververy, but he was overthrown.

with and Dains Bonston Humainan and Saia Olian, fully

Adil Shaw, after this unfortunate battle, fled towards Patna, but Adil Shaw he foon disappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Chawass disappears. Chan and Isah Chan Neazi, fled to Mewât. Selim Shaw sent an army in pursuit of those omrahs, but they came off victorious, at Firospoor. The imperial army being soon after reinforced, the rebel chiefs were obliged to retreat among the mountains of Cumaoon. Selim sent Cuttub Chan in pursuit of them, and he plundered all the

A. D. 1545. the countries lying about the skirts of the hills, without effecting any thing against them. There is an investment that I agree to historia before to brill the tensites which Cod and given him, storthello

Selim Shaw, after these transactions, marched to Chinar. On the way, he was informed of the treasonable correspondence of Jellal Chan with Adil, before the late decifive battle, and ordered him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the conspiracy. The king having arrived at Chinar, he took out of that fortress all the treasure, fent it to Gualier, and returned himself to Agra.

Cuttub Chan, finding that Selim was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the late disturbances, was afraid to return to court. He fled, therefore, to Hybut Chan at Lahore, known by the title of Azim Humaioon, and claimed his protection. Selim Shaw fent orders to Lahore, that Cuttub should be sent to Agra, with which Azim Humaioon complied. The unfortunate Cuttub, upon his arrival, was fent prisoner to Gualier, with many other suspected perfons, particularly Shebaz Chan Lohani, the king's brother-in-law, whose eyes were put out. Azim Humaioon and Suja Chan, suba of Malava, were, much about this time, called to court. The first excused himself, and the latter, obeying the summons, had the addrefs to clear himself of what he was accused, and so was reinstated in his government. A province of the said die allowing to be the

Several fufpected perfons punish-

The king marches to Rhotas.

The king, after these transactions, moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon, deferted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, A rebellion. concluded that a rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He foon affembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi,

Suja

Suja Chan joined him with the army from Malava. The king re-A. D. 1547.
Hig. 954
mained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took Selim marches to Lahore.

Azim Humaioon, Chawass Chan, and other disaffected chiefs, The rebels with double the king's forces, came out before Selim at Ambatta. Meet him at Ambatta. Selim arriving within fight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with my honor to have any patience with a rebellious army;" and, at these words, he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them.

It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon Disputes the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel gene-among them, rals, about the succession to the throne. Chawas Chan insisted that fearch should be made for Adil Shaw, and Azim Humaioon strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own views. On this head, animosity and faction arose, to that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawas Chan rethey separate, treated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumand are overthrown. Stance so much discouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their resistance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim.

But, in the midst of this tide of good fortune, the sultan narrowly An attempt escaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid Chan, the bro-upon the life ther of Azim Humaioon. This gallant omrah, with ten of his friends in armor, mixed, without discovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who stood near the king, observed and knew Seid, and struck him with his spear: Yet, in spite of all the guards, and the army which stood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, sword in hand, and escaped.

· VOL. II.

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The

### THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1548. Hig. 955. He purfues the rebels in-

The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to Dincot, near Rop, in the to the moun- mountains, Selim Shaw purfuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He, from thence, detached Chaja Weis Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, and from thence foon after proceeded to Gualier.

Suja Chan going one day up to the fort before the king, one Ofmân, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The affaffin rushed He is defert- out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, withed at Gualier by SujaChan, out enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the instigation of the king, and therefore fled, with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malava, with all his forces. The king purfued him as far as Mundu, but hearing that he had fled to. Banswalla, he returned, leaving Isah Chan Soor, with twenty thoufand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions. This happened in the year nine hundred and fifty four.

Caja Weis defeated by the Neazi rebels.

their turn,

overthrown.

Caja Weis having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who purfued him as far as Sirhind. Selim Shaw hearing of this defeat, affembled a great army, and difpatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels They are, in turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great flaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners.

The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the They throw themselves protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashunder the protection of the Gickers, mire. Selim Shaw, finding that he could never rest in peace with-

out

out effectually quashing this rebellion, marched in person towards A. D. 1550. Punjab, and, for the space of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers who supported the Neazies.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, An attempt by which the king, one day afcended the mountain of Mannickcot, and life. rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, faved himself, and killed the affassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Ackbal Chan.

The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without be- The rebels, ing in a condition to face the king, Azim Humaioon, with his fol-among the lowers, went into Cashmire; but the king of that country, fearing Gickers, Selim Shaw's refentment, opposed the rebels, and, having defeated are defeated them, fent the heads of Azim Humaioon, Seid Chan, and Shabafs the king of Chan to the king. Selim being now fecured against further diftur- Cashmire. bance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. Mirza Camiran, much Mirza Camiabout this time, flying from his brother Sultan Humaioon, who was ceived by Senow on his way from Perfia, took protection under Selim Shaw. But 11m. he was very ill received, and fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Selim Shaw, after returning from his expedition, had only remained Selim a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that Sultan Humaioon against Sulhad reached the Nilâb. The king was at that inflant drawing blood tan Huby cupping; he immediately flarted up, iffued orders to march, and he himself encamped, that evening, three crores without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun required between one and two thousand men; yet, in this manner, he marched, with great expedition, to Lahore. But, in the mean time, Humaioon re-who retreats. treated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim

A 2 2

Shaw

A. D. 1551. Shaw returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualier, where he took up his refidence.

againd Se-lim's life.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chace, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been fet on by some of the king's enemies, lay in amboth, to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the mare. When they were feized and examined, they impeached Baha ul Dien, Mahmood Mudda, and others, who were immediately executed, after which the king became extremely fufpicious, and put many to death upon small prefumptions.

Chawass Chan affaffinated.

Chawass Chan, a man justly renowned for personal courage, strict honor, great abilities in war, and extensive generofity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taje Chan Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and now governed Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim Shaw, basely assassinated him. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, they numbering him among their faints.

Not long after this base affasiination, in which Selim Shaw was

concerned, he was feized with a fiftula in ano, by which, in the year

Selim dies.

nine hundred and fixty, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the fame year, Sultan Mahmood, of Guzerat, and Buran Nizam ul His charac- Muluck Bheri of the Decan died. Selim poffessed not the abilities of his father, and confequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to fuch extremes. He, in some measure, suited the times in which he lived; and was rather a necessary than a good prince. A man of an upright mind might stagger in the stream of corruption, which then prevailed, but Selim stood firm, by meeting the world in its own way. He

> possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of tra-

vellers. From Bengal to the Nilab, he built an intermediate ferai, A. D. 1552. between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expence.

In the reign of Selim, Shech Allai, a philosopher of Biana, made a great noise in the world, by introducing a new system of religion. He called himfelf Emam Mendi, whom we believe will be the last of the prophets, and will conquer the world. The impostor having raifed great disturbances in the empire, converted some thousands by force and persuasion. After being twice banished by Sellim, he returned, and kindled fresh troubles, and was, in the year nine hundred and fifty five, scourged to death at Agra, by order of the king. He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death; but his religion was not long maintained by his disciples.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son, Ferose Chan, Ferose was, at twelve years of age, raifed to the throne, by the omrahs at throne. Gualier. He had not reigned three days, when Mubariz Chan, the fon of Nizam Chan Soor, nephew to the late Emperor Shere, brother of Selim Shaw's wife, and the uncle of Ferose, assassinated the young prince. Mubariz assumed the title of Mahummud Shaw Adil \*, to which his infamous treason had no right, and usurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. 'The villain's own fifter, Bibi Bai, defended, for fome time, her fon in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did the intreat and weep: the wretch was hardened against Is barbarouspity. He tore the young prince from her arms, and, in her prefence, fevered his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for faving his life, repeated times, when Selim, forefeeing his villainies, would have put him to death.

\* Adil fignifies the Juft.

SEC-



The reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW ADILI.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 960. Mahummud Raifes low men to the chief offices of the state.

THE infamous Mahummud, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of read-Adil is illite- ing and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate fellows like himfelf, whom he raifed to the highest dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, a Hindoo Bunnia \*, whom Selim Shaw had raifed to be Cutwal of the Bazar, was now entrufted with all the weight of the administration.

His foolish prodigality.

The king, in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the Haram. Having heard much in praise of some of the former kings, particularly Ferose Shaw, for their great generofity, he mistook predigality for that virtue, and to outdo them all, opened the treasury, and lavished it on good and bad, without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head his arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon made away with the great treasures of his predeceffors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Andili; which, in the Hindoo language, fignifies literally the Blind, and metaphorically, the Foolish.

The omrahs discontented.

When the low-born Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and infolence exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan omrahs his enemies. They began to conspire for his destruction, and to revolt from his authority. The king became more and more despicable, every day, in the eyes of the people, while all order and government totally declined.

\* A shopkeeper.

Mahummad

Mahummud Adil giving, one day, public audience, and diffribu- A. D. 1552. ting jagiers among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Kinnoge Transactions to be taken from Shaw Mahummud Firmalli, and given to Sermust sence cham-Chan Sirbunna. Secunder Chan, the fon of Firmalli, a brave ber. young man, being prefent, faid aloud to the emperor, " Is my "fortune, then, to be conferred on a feller of dogs?" The young man's father, who was also present, endeavored to check the impetuofity of his fon; but he only inflamed his passion the more: He charged the king, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family.

Sermust Chan, who was a man of uncommon strength and sta- The rashness ture, feeing this behavior to the king, and being also personally af- of Secunden fronted, feized Secunder Chan by the breaft; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then flew at all those who endeavored to oppose him, killed several chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the king, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder Chan pursuing him, had the door struck in his face, which stopped his course, till the king drew the bolt, and secured himself.

The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design He salls upon upon the fultan, refolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, minions. and running back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him. In the mean time, Ibrahim Chan Soor, the king's brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with fome of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Chan Lohani killed, at the fame time, the Is flain. good old man, Shaw Mahummud, who could not have been blamed for his fon's rashness.

The unfortunate Firmalli having met Taje Chan Kerrani, as he Taje Chan was going that day to the presence chamber, he asked that omrah withdraws from courts. whither he was going; to which the other replied, "That affairs had taken

A. D. 1553 taken such an extraordinary turn, at court, that he was determined to push his own fortune, and would be glad that Firmalli would partake it with him." Firmalli answered, "That he aspired to no fortune but what he possessed by favor of the king, for which he was going to pay his compliments; but fuch as we have feen was his reward."

Taje Chan, as foon as he got out of the fort, took the way of Bengal, with all his dependants. Troops were dispatched to purfue him; they came up with him at Chuppera Mow, about forty crores from Agra, where he fought them, and made good his retreat Seizes upon to Chinar. He, in his progress, seized the public money, and other effects belonging to the crown; and distributed one hundred elephants among his brothers, Amad, Solimân, Eliâs, and other relations, who had possessions in the province of Budgpoor. By their affiltance he raifed a formidable army, which obliged the king to take the field, and march towards Chinar. The infurgents meeting him upon the banks of the Ganges, above Chinar, they were defeated and dispersed.

the public moneya

Is overthrown.

The king, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Chan The king Soor, gave private orders to feize him; but his wife, who was fifter icalous of Ibrahim Soor's popu- to the king, having heard of this defign in the Mahl, told her huflarity, band of it. He fled from Chinar to his father, Ghazi Chan, fuba of Hindown Biana, and was purfued by Isah Chan Neazi, who coming up with him at Calpee, an engagement enfued, in which Ifah Chan was defeated, and driven back from further pursuit.

Ibrahim Chan, foon after, raifed a great army, and possessed himfelf of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed who mounts the threne at the enligns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circum-Delhi. jacent provinces.

Adil

Adil Shaw marched from Chinâr to suppress this usurpation, and, A. D. 1552. Hig. 961. On the way, received an embassy from Ibrahim Chan, promising Adil Shaw advances that if he would send Hussein Chan, Par Chan Serwani, Azim Hu- against him. maioon, and other omrahs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The king was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim Chan, by presents, promises, and courteous behavior, soon drew them over to his own interest. Adil his omrahs. Shaw, finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, sled towards Chinâr, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim.

## SECTION VI.

The reign of SULTAN IBRAHIM.

SULTAN IBRAHIM had no fooner mounted the throne, than A competitor in Punjaab another competitor started up in Punjab. His name was Ahmed Chan Soor, nephew to Shere Shaw, and also brother-in-law to Adil Shaw. Ahmed having attached Hybut Chan, Nisib Chan, Tatar Chan, and other omrahs of Selim Shaw, to his interest, afformed the title of Secunder Shaw, and marching with ten or twelve afforms the thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within two crores cander Shaw, of that city. Sultan Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having, in this army, two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

Secunder, feeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invafion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked, was the government of Punjab. But Sultan Ibrahim, puffed up with the pride of his own superiority, would grant him no terms, Vol. II.

B b and



A. D. 1554 and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder Shaw Hig. 965. committed all the enfigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and, with a choice body of horse, took post among some trees, where he could not be discovered. Sultan Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and overthrows were intent upon nothing but plunder; when Secunder Shaw, rush-Ibrahim, ing out upon them, struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were purfued by those whom they had fo eafily discomfitted before.

who retreats to Simbol.

Sultan Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder Shaw took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his fortune, when he was obliged to march to Punjab, to oppose Humaioon; for that monarch, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover hisdominions.

During the absence of Secunder, Sultan Ibrahim marched towards Calpee; and, at the fame time, Adil Shaw dispatched Himu, his vizier, with a formidable army, well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chinar, with a view to recover his empire. Is overthrown Himu engaged Ibrahim at Calpee, and gave him a fignal defeat. Ibrahim, flying to his father at Biana, was purfued by Himu, who befieged him in that city, for three months.

In the mean time, Mahummud Chan Gori, fuba of Bengal,

The fuba of Bengal rerebelled, and led an army against Adil Shaw. This circumstance obliged that prince to recall Himu from the fiege of Biana; and Ibrahim, emboldened by the retreat of the enemy, purfued them,

by Himu.

and coming up with Himu at Mindakir, near Agra, gave him battle; but he was again defeated, and obliged to fly back to his father, at again defeated by Himu, Biana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim could not, however, be still: and by Raja He marched towards Bhetah, and engaging Raja Ram Churid, of Ram.

that country, was defeated and taken prisoner. He was used with A. D. 1554. Hig. 962. the utmost respect, till the Patans of Miani obtained him from the raja, and appointed him their chief. Under him they commenced a war against Bage Bahadar, suba of Malava; but the bad fortune of Ibrahim still pursued him, he was beat, and fled to Orissa. That province being conquered in the year nine hundred and seventy sive, by Solimân Kerrani, the unfortunate Ibrahim was taken and put to death.

To return from this digression; when Himu joined Adil Shaw at Chinâr, he received advices that Humaioon had deseated Secunder Shaw, and possessed himself of Delhi and Agra. Himu, however, marched against Mahummud Chan, suba of Bengal, who gave him the slip, by crossing the hills near Rhotas, and entering the country of Bandelcund. He was pursued thither by Himu: The two ar-Himu deseats and slays the mies came to action at the village of Chircut, sisteen crores from suba of Bengal.

Adil Shaw, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chinâr, to assemble more troops for carrying on the war with Humaioon. But he was soon after informed of that monarch's death; which induced him to fend Himu, with fifty thousand horse, and five hundred elephants, towards Agra, not daring to leave Chi-Marches to nâr himself, on account of the violent factions which then subsisted among the Patans.

Himu arriving before Agra, the Mogul omrahs who were there, Drives the being too weak to oppose him, fled to Delhi. Himu pursued them Agra, thither, and Tirdi Beg, governor of Delhi, giving him battle, was Delhi. defeated, and fled to Punjaab, leaving Himu in possession of both the imperial cities\*. Himu meditated the conquest of Lahore; but Byram Chan, the Turkuman, viceroy for Akbar, sent Chan Zeman, a Mogul, with all expedition, towards Delhi. He himself followed, with the young king.

\* Delhi, and Agra.

B b - 2

Himu

### THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1554. Himu marched out to meet Chan Zemân, drew up on the plains of Panniput, and charging the Moguls with great bravery, threw them into diforder. But the Afghans, always more mindful of plunder, than of fecuring victory, were again attacked by the Moguls, taken and put and defeated. Himu was furrounded, and taken prifoner, and being to death.

The fortune of Adil declines.

After the death of the unfortunate Himu, who had certainly great abilities, notwithstanding his mean descent, the fortune of Adil Shaw declined apace. In the mean time, Chizer Chan, the son of Mahummud Chan Gori, to revenge the death of his father, raised an army, and assuming the title of Sultan Bahadar, possessed himself of a great part of the eastern provinces. He led his army against Adil Shaw, deseated, and slew him. The anarchy and confusions in Hindostan, at this period, rendered it impossible to continue the direct chain of our history in the order of time. We therefore must turn back to what we have omitted of the history of Secunder Shaw, and Humaioon.

He is defeated and flain by the fuba of Bengal.

### SECTION VII.

The reign of SECUNDER SHAW SOOR, and the fall of the Patan Empire.

SECUNDER SHAW having ascended the throne of Agra, in the year nine hundred and sixty-two, he made a magnificent festival, and calling together all his omrahs, spoke to them to this effect: "I esteem myself as one of you, having thus far acted for the common weal. I claim no superiority. Sultan Beloli raised the tribe of Lodi to an uncommon height of glory and reputation; "Shere Chan, by unparalleled conduct and resolution, rendered the tribe of Soor samous to all posterity; and now, Humaioon, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunty to de-

"A.D. 1554." and will throw aside private faction and animosities, our kingdom will be adorned with all the flowers of prosperity. But if you fhould think me incapable of that great charge, let an abler head, and a stronger arm, be elected from among you, that I also may fwear allegiance to him; that with my life and fortune I may support him, and endeavor to keep the Empire of Hindostan in the hands of the Afghans, who have ruled it for so many ages by their valor."

The omrahs, after hearing this speech, answered with one accord, They elect "We unanimously elect you, the nephew of Shere Shaw, for our "lawful sovereign." Calling then for a Coran, all swore allegiance to the king, and to preserve unanimity among themselves. However, in a few days, they began to dispute about governments, honors, and places. The slames of enmity were kindled higher than ever, and every one reproached his fellow with persidy, of which he himfelf was equally guilty.

Humaioon, in the mean time, marched towards Punjâb. Tatar He is repeatedly defeated Chan fled from the new fort of Rhotas, to Delhi, and the Moguls by the Mofubdued all the country as far as Lahore. Secunder Shaw, upon receiving these advices, sent forty thousand horse, under the command of Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, to expel the Moguls. But this army was deseated, lost all their elephants and baggage, never drawing bridle, till they arrived at Delhi. Secunder Shaw, though sensible of the disaffection and factious state of his army, marched with eighty thousand horse towards Punjâb, and engaging Byrâm Chan, the Turkuman, the tutor of prince Akbar, near Sirhind, was deseated, and sled towards the mountains of Sewalic. The empire of Hindostan, with this victory, fell again into the hands of the house of Baber, and slourished; while, in the mean time, Sultan Adil died in Bengal.

SECTION

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The transactions of Humaioon, from his arrival in Persia, to his return to Hindostan.

A. D. 1544. Hig. 951. Humaioon arrives in Perfia, WE have already feen that Humaioon, having arrived at Kizvi in Iran, dispatched Byram Chan to the Persian monarch at Ispahan. That omrah accordingly waited upon Shaw Tamasp at Nilack Kidar, between Abher and Sultania, and received an answer which testified the king's great desire to have an interview with Humaioon. The unfortunate sultan accepted, with joy, of the invitation, and in the month of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and sifty one, had a conference with Shaw Tamasp, the son of Shaw Ismaiel Suffvi, and was royally entertained.

The king of Iran, one day, in conversation, asked Humaioon, By what means his weak enemy became so powerful? Humaioon replied, "By the enmity of my brothers." The Persian then told him, "The political manner of treating brothers is not such as they received from you." And being, at that time, at table, as soon as Shaw Tamasp was done eating, Byram Mirza, his brother, who attended him, as a servant, came with the bason and ewer for him to wash \*. When this was done, Tamasp turned to Humaioon, and resuming the discouse, said, "In this manner you ought to have treated your "brothers." Humaioon, out of compliment to the king, seemed to assent to what he said; which so much offended Byram Mirza, the king's brother, that he never after could forgive him, while he resided at court. He took every opportunity to calumniate Humaioon to the king, and was ever harping in his ears, how much against the interest of Persia it was, that a prince of the line of Timur should sit

upon

<sup>\*</sup> To attend the fovereign in any menial office about his person, is the greatest honor that can be conferred upon a subject in the East.

upon the throne of Hindostan. This maxim Byram Mirza took care A. D. 1544. to inculcate upon all who had the king's confidence. This circumstance greatly retarded the affairs of Humaioon, and, at length, wrought fo visibly upon the king's disposition, that the unfortunate fugitive began to fear death or imprisonmental of

In the mean time, Sultanum Begum, the king's fifter, and Cufi The king's fifter and Jehan of Kizvi, the high chancellor, in conjunction with Hakîm some omrahs Noor ul Dien, one of the king's privy counsellors, taking compassion cause of upon Humaioon's distressed situation, joined their interests to work a reconciliation, and to reinstate him in the favor of the king. The wit of Sultanum Begum had a great effect upon this occasion. She, one day, produced a stanza of verses to the king, of her own composition, in the name of Humaioon, extolling his devotion and happy turn of expression in the praise of Ali. This greatly pleased Tamasp, zealous for the fect of the Shiahs, who differ from the Sinnites, the fect whose tenets Humaioon followed. The Shiahs hold Ali to be the only affiftant of Mahommed in his apostolic function, but the Sinnites believe in four, adding Ofman, Omar, and Abubecker to Ali.

The king, in short, told his fister, That if Humaioon should become a Shiah, and enforce that doctrine in Hindoftan, he would affist him to recover his empire. Sultanum Begum having acquainted Humaioon of these particulars, he was not so much wedded to a feet, as to lose a kingdom for an immaterial difference in a point of religion. He accordingly returned for answer, "That he had always privately favored the opinions of the Shiahs, which was partly the occasion of the animofity fubfifting between him and his brothers."

Shaw Tamasp, soon after, had a private conference with Byram Chan, examined him concerning the policy and state of Hindostan; and when he had fatisfied himfelf upon that head, he promifed that his fon Murad, who was then but an infant, with his general Biddai gives him horfe.

A. D. 1545. Chan Cadjar, should accompany Humaioon, with ten thousand horse, to chastise his brothers, and drive them out of Cabul, Candahar, and ten thousand Buduchshan. Every thing accordingly was, in a short time, got in readiness, and Humaioon took leave of the Persian king. He told him, that he had long proposed to take a tour through Tibrez and Ardebiel, to vifit the tomb of Shech Suffi, and then to proceed on his expedition. The king confented to this proposal, and iffued orders to all governors through whose territories Humaioon was to pass, to supply him and his army with all necessaries, and treat him in a manner becoming his dignity.

Humaioon takes Garrimfere.

Humaioon having vifited and paid his devotions at the shrine of Suffi, marched with the young prince Murad, towards Candahar. He invested the fort of Garrimsere, took it, and read the chutba in his own name. Mirza Ashkari, who commanded at Candahar for Camiran, hearing of these proceedings, sent the young prince, the fon of Humaioon, Mahummud Akbar, to his uncle at Cabul, and prepared the fort of Candahar for a fiege.

Humaioon invests Cancahar.

Humaioon invested it upon the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year nine hundred and fifty two. The fiege had been carried on for fix months, when Humaioon fent Byrâm Chan with a meffage to Mirza Camiran, then at Cabul. A tribe of the Patans of Hazara, attacked Byrâm with great resolution, but they were defeated, and that omrah having obtained an audience of Mirza Camiran, according to his instructions made a demand of Candahar, and required a refignation of all those provinces which he had usurped from his brother Humaioon. But it was not to be expected that Mirza Camiran would as yet liften to fuch a demand, and so the ambassador departed without effecting any thing.

The Persian kisselbaches\* were now beginning to be discouraged The Persians by the length of the fiege, and discontented at being commanded by \* Soldiers.

Moguls.

Moguls. This circumstance might have obliged Humaioon to raise A. D. 1545. the fiege, had he not been joined by Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Aligh Beg Mirza, Cusim Hussein Sultan, Mahummud Mirick, Shere Askun Beg, Fusil Beg, and other omrahs, who, disgusted with Mirza Camiran, had left his fervice. Some of the belieged deferted also, and joined the king. These favorable circumstances revived the finking spirits of his army, and equally depressed those of the besieged. Candahar taken by Mirza Ashkari desired to capitulate; his request was granted upon capitulation. honorable terms; he gave up the place, and, much ashamed of his former behavior, waited upon the king.

The fort of Candahar, as had been stipulated with Shaw Tamasp, Put into the was given to his fon Mirza Murad. The winter having now come Persians. on, the young prince Murad, Biddai Chan, Abul Fatte Sultan Afshâr, and Sufi Willi Sultan Aridmullu, took up their quarters in the fort, without admitting the Mogul omrahs. This fo much difgusted them, that some, having no quarters, went off to Cabul, while Mirza Ashkari, with a view of raising more disturbance, also sled. Ashkari, however, was purfued, and brought back prisoner.

Humaioon, finding inaction more dangerous to his affairs than war, marched towards Cabul. On the way he heard of the death The young of the young prince Murâd, at Candahar, upon which he returned, of Persia dies with a view to retain that fort as a place of security, till he should make further conquests. Buddai Chan would not hearken to his proposal, which filenced the king, who could not, confistent with gratitude, or his own promise, compel him to deliver up the place.

But the urgency of his affairs foon obliged Humaioon to depart from these punctilios of honor. He therefore tacitly permitted Byram Chan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Hadgee Mahummud Chan, to take what means they could to render themselves masters of the place. These omrahs, accordingly, sent Hadgee Mahummud Chan, VOL. II. Cc

Humaicon, by a firatagem, feizes upon Canda-

A. D. 1545 and a few enterprizing men, difguifed like camel-drivers, among a ftring of camels, which was then bringing provisions into the fort. They fell upon the guards, and dispatched them, while Byram Chan, and Mirza Aligh Beg, rushed in with a chosen party of horse, and possessed themselves of the fort. Biddai Chan returned, by the king's permiffion, to Iran, and Byram Chan was appointed to the government of Candahar.

The king marches to Cabul,

The king marched immediately towards Cabul. Mirza Eadgar Naiir, the brother of Baber, flying, at this time, from Mirza Shaw Huffein Arghu, to Cabul, in conjunction with Mirza Hindal, the king's brother, joined Humaioon. The king, encamping in the environs of Cabul, before the army of his brother, was every day joined by fome of Camiran's troops, who deferted his standards. Even Kipla Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's principal omrahs, came over, with all his adherents. This fo much weakened Mirza's army, that he was necessitated to thut himself up in the city. Humaioon invested the place; but as it was only slightly fortified, Camiran evacuated it without fighting, and fled to Ghizni.

invefts and takes that city,

which he enters.

The king fent Mirza Hindal in pursuit of his brother, and, on the tenth of Ramzan, nine hundred and fifty two, entered Cabul, where he found his fon Akbar, then four years old, with his mother Beguma, and, taking him in his arms, he repeated a verse to this purpose: " Joseph, by his envious brethren, was cast into a well; but "he was exalted by Providence to the fummit of glory."

Mirza Camiran, being thut out of Bicker.

The gates of Ghizni were shut against Mirza Camiran, and he was therefore obliged to take refuge at Dawir, among the Patans of Ghizm, Hies Hazara. Being very ill received there, he went to Bicker, to Mirza Shaw Haffein, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and prepared to support him.

Humaioon,

Humaioon, having left his fon Akbar under the tuition of Ma-A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. hummud Ali Tiggai, in Cabul, marched in person, in the year nine Humaioon marches hundred and fifty three, to reduce Buduchshan. Mirza Eadgar Na-against fir having attempted to stir up a sedition in the royal army, was, upon conviction, sentenced to death, though he was uncle to the king.

Humaioon having passed Hinderkush and encamped at Neizikeran, Mirza Soliman, with the forces of Buduchshan, came before Deseats Mirhim, but they were deseated in the first charge. The king from thence turned towards Talichan, where he fell sick. He, however, recovered, at the end of two months, and all the factions which had begun to prevail in his army, soon subsided. Chaja Moazim, the brother of Chuli Begum \*, having had a quarrel at this time with Chaja Reshid, killed him, and sled to Cabul, where he was ordered to be imprisoned by the king.

Mirza Camiran having heard that his brother had marched to Buduchshan, made an excursion to Ghorebund. On the way he fell in with a caravan of merchants, whom he robbed of all their camels, horses, and goods; and, coming to Ghizni, raised a faction among the Mirza Camipopulace, and cut off the governor, Zatrid Beg. Making from thence Ghizni, and forced marches towards Cabul, he arrived there as they were opening Cabul. the gates in the morning, and took the place by surprize. He killed Mahummud Ali Tiggai, the governor, as he stood in the bath, and put out the eyes of Fasil Beg and Mheter Vakila. The young prince Akbar, and the ladies of the Haram, were given in charge to some eunuchs; Hisam ul Dien Alli, the son of Meer Chalifa, was put to death.

Intelligence of these transactions coming to Humaioon, that prince gave the government of Buduchshan to Mirza Soliman, and that of Kunduz to Mirza Hindal. He himself returned to Cabul, defeated

\* One of the fultanas.

Cc2

the

Cabul.

A. D. 1545 the army of Camiran, which opposed him at Zohac Ghorebund, came to the town of the Afghans, called Deh Afghan, where Shere Afkun Beg, and all the army of Mirza Camiran had again affembled to oppose him. But the king overthrew them there also, and slewShere Humaicon. defeating his brother in fe- Afkun Beg in the action. He proceeded from thence to Cabul, and veral actions, fat down before that city, skirmishing every day with the enemy. fore Cabul. Mirza Camiran, having received intelligence that a caravan was passing, wherein there was a great number of fine horses, sent Shere Alli, a bold enterprizing officer, with a strong detachment, to seize and bring it into the city. Humaioon marched round the walls, and cut off Shere Alli's retreat, so that, when he came to enter the city,

Several chiefs Mirza Soliman, from Buduchshan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Casim join the king. Hassin Sultan, with several chiefs from Byram Chan, had now joined the king, while Kirrache Chan and Baboos Beg deferted from the Mirza Cami- city to his army. Mirza Camiran, in the rage of despair, basely murran's cruelty. dered the three fons of Baboos Beg, and threw their mangled bodies over the wall. He, at the same time, bound the young prince and Kirrache Chan's fon to a stake, and raised them up to view upon the battlements. But he was given to understand, that if he put them to death, every foul in the place should be massacred.

he was attacked and defeated with great flaughter. To or mysel batt

Camiran thought proper to defift from his intended cruelty, and that He evacuates very night, making a breach in the wall, evacuated the place, and fled towards the skirts of the hills, leaving Humaioon a second time, in possession of Cabul. Mirza Camiran, in his retreat, was plundered, and even stript of his cloaths, by the Afghans of Hazara; but when they discovered him, they conducted him to his garrison at Ghorebund. He, however, did not think himself secure there, and therefore he hastened to Balich, where Pier Mahummud Chan, governor of that Seizes upon city, joined him, and affifted him in fubduing Buduchshan. They drove Mirza Soliman and his fon Mirza Ibrahim towards Kolâb. Buduchfhan.

Kirrache

Kirrache Chan, Baboos Beg, and fome other omrahs, being, about A.D. 1545. this time, difgusted with the behavior of Chaja Ghazi, the vizier, wanted the king to difgrace him, and appoint Chaja Casim to his office. Humaioon, fatisfied of the integrity of this minister, would by no means confent, which irritated them fo much, that they left Several omthe king's fervice, and went over to Mirza Ashkari in Buduchshan. rahs defert Humaioon. The king purfued them in their flight, but not being able to come up with them, returned to Cabul, and called to him Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Hindal from their respective governments. The former having fallen in by accident with Timur Alli, one of those who had fled, cut him off, and brought his head to the king. Mirza Hindal having also met Shere Alli, brought him back prisoner.

but rook no effectual fleps to prevent its effects.

Mirza Camiran having left Kirrache Chan at Kushum, went in person to Taleckân. Humaioon detached Mirza Hindal and Hadgee Mahummud Koka, with a confiderable force, to drive Kirrache Chan from thence. That omrah having received intelligence of their coming, acquainted Mirza Camiran, who, with great expedition, returned to Kushum, and fell in with Mirza Hindal, in croffing the river of Talickan, when his troops were divided. He defeated Mirza Cami-Hindal, cut off a great part of his detachment, and feized upon all his brother his baggage. All sie A think him his mountain as A complete of

Humaioon, in a few days, advanced with the army from Cabul, which obliged Mirza Camiran to fly towards Talickan, and leave all Flies before his plunder, as well as his own baggage. He was, the day after his retreat, invested in the fort, and as he despaired of the affistance of Besieged in the Usbecks, to whom he had applied, he requested leave of his Talickan, and submits. brother Humaioon, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Humaioon, with a good-natured weakness, consented, and both the perfidious Camiran and Mirza Ashkari came out of the place, and proceeded about ten pharfangs on their way. When they found that Humaioon did not fend troops to seize them, nor attempt to detain them, as they

A. D. 1545 they imagined, they were ashamed of their own behavior, and thought it more elegible to trust to his clemency, than turn mendicant pilgrims. With this resolution they returned.

He is treated with respect by Humai-

The king having heard of their return, fent persons to congratulate them, and treated them with great respect. Humaioon, after these transactions, returned to Cabul. Pier Mahummud Chan, the Usbeck, having made fome incursions into Humaioon's territories, in the year nine hundred and fifty fix, the king determined to take, if possible, satisfaction for the affront. He, for that purpose, marched towards Balich. Mirza Camiran and Mirza Ashkari accompanied His treason- him, and begun again to hatch treason. The king perceived their treachery, but took no effectual steps to prevent its effect.

Humaioon arriving in the environs of Balich, Shaw Mahummud Sultan came before him with only three thousand Usbeck horse, and flopt his progress. The Usbeck chief was, on the second day, reinforced by Pier Mahummud Chan, Abdul Aziz Chan, and the princes of Hassar, and was thus enabled to march out with thirty thousand horse to give battle. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Hindal, and Hadgee Mahummud Sultan, defeated the advanced parties, and preffed so hard upon Pier Mahummud and Abdul Aziz Chan, that they thought proper to retreat within the city.

Humaicon defeats the Ufbecks ;

> The king was defirous of purfuing the enemy. This refolution, had it been followed, would certainly have had a good affect, as the enemy were preparing to evacuate the place. But unfortunately the king fuffered his own better judgment to be over-ruled by his omrahs, who fuggested their apprehensions from Mirza Camiran, and advised the king to incamp fomewhere near the city, which would fall into his hands in the course of things. This pernicious advice was accordingly followed. No ground proper for incamping being near, the king was obliged to retreat to a finall distance. The troops being

being ordered to move back, apprehended that danger was near; A. D. 1545. when the enemy actually conftrued the retreat of Humaioon into a real flight. By this double miftake the Moguls were intimidated, and the Ufbecks received fresh spirits. They immediately fell upon Mirza Soliman and Huffein Cooli Sultan, who brought up the rear, forced them upon the main body, where the king commanded in person. He gallantly opposed them hand to hand, and with his spear difmounted the officer who led on the attack. His brother Hindal, Tirdi Beg, and Tolick Chan Couchi supported Humaioon with great bravery; but they foon found themselves deserted by all their troops, and is, in his and were obliged to fave themselves by flight.

After this unfortunate action, the imperial army retreated towards Retreats to Cabul. The king, on his way, was deferted by the perfidious Mirza deferted by Camiran and Mirza Ashkari, who had not joined in the action. The Camiran. king, justly resenting their behavior, wrote to Alli Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's omrahs, and made him great promifes if he would feizehis mafter, and fend him prisoner to court; dispatching, at the same time, fent Mirza Soliman and Hindal in purfuit of him.

Mirza Camiran, laying afide all his enfigns of state, attempted, by the way of Zohac and Bamia, to pass to Sind. The king, informed of his motions, fent a party to intercept him; but Kirrache Chan and Hasim Hussein Sultan, who had remained with Humaioon, wrote privately to Camiran, and acquainted him with all that past. These perfidious omrahs, being now ashamed of no villainy, told Camiran, that, as the greatest part of the king's troops were detached from his person, if he would return, they would join him in the action. Camiran did not let this favorable opportunity flip through his hands. He returned, by the way of Kipchach, whither, the king, having intelligence of him, advanced to meet him. The battle was no fooner begun, than Kirrache Chan, and his perfidious adherents, went over to him, and turned upon Humaioon, who, with a few faithful friends,

A. D. 1545 fought with great resolution. Pier Mahummud Achtey, and Ahmed, the son of Mirza Kulli, being slain by the king's side, and he himself wounded in the head, as well as his horse, he was forced to abandon the field, and to sly to Bamia, and from thence to Buduchshan, leaving Camiran to possess himself, a third time, of Cabul.

Humaioon in great distress, for money to pay the few troops, who had continued faithful to his fortunes. He was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandize of some great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately sent Shaw Biddagh, Toglich Chan Kouchi, Mudgnow Chan, and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Cabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. But of all these, Toglick Chan alone remained true to his interest, which they now found was greatly declined. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Ibrahim, and his brother Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himself again in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul.

Defeats Ca-

Mirza Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Punger. Camiran was defeated with great flaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to shave his head and beard, to escape, in the disguise of a mendicant, to the mountains of Limgaan. Mirza Ashkari was taken prisoner, and the perfidious Kirrache Chan was killed in the engagement.

Returns to Cabul.

Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul; where he enjoyed a whole year in peace and festivity. Intelligence was brought to him, that the restless Mirza Camiran was again at the head of sisteen hundred horse, while Hadgee Mahummud Chan and Baba Kishka sled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against hisbrother, who sled towards the Nilab; so that Humaioon, without effecting any thing, returned to Cabul.

Mirza

Mirza Camiran no fooner heard of his brother's retreat, than he A.D. 1551. returned again among the Afghans to raife up more disturbances. Camiran Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a fecond time. turbances He wrote to Byram Chan, at Candahar, to march against Hadjee Afghans. Mahummud Chan, who fled to Ghizni, and invited Mirza Camiran to join him at that place. Camiran, by the way of Peshawir, Bungish, and Curvez, was then on his march towards Ghizni: But before his arrival, Byram Chan had come to Ghizni, and carried Hadjee Mahummud Chan prisoner to Cabul. Mirza Camiran, disappointed Transactions of his ally, returned again to Peshawir, and the king directed his march to Cabul.

Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital, Hadjee Mahummud found means to escape, a second time, to Ghizni, from whence he was perfuaded to return; no doubt, upon the most facred affurances of pardon. Mirza Ashkari having preferred a petition to the king, soliciting his releasement from prison, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was now fent to Mirza Soliman, at Buduchshan, to proceed to Balich. Ashkari died in the year nine hundred and sixty one, in his way croffing the Arabian defarts.

Mirza Camiran was, in the mean time, levying troops among the Camiran's Afghans, and carrying on a private correspondence with Hadjee dence with Mahummud. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor con-vered. demned to death. Humaioon had, by this time, marched against Camiran; but he was furprized in his camp, near Chiber, the twenty first of Zicada, nine hundred and fifty eight, in the night; upon which occasion Mirza Hindal lost his life. Camiran, however, MirzaHindal gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown killed and Camiran deby Humaioon, and obliged to take shelter again among the Patans. The king, after this victory, returned to Cabul, and in gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had so well expiated his former disobedience, by his fervices and blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rickia Sultana Begum, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred, at the same time, upon the royal pair, all the wealth of Hindal; and VOL. II. Dd

appointed

A. D. 1552 appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his government of Ghizni.

The Afghans rife in his faforced to expel him.

The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, role in favor vor, and are of Camiran. The king marched into their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword. Finding, at last, that they got nothing but mischief to themselves by adhering to Camiran, they with-held their aid, and expelled him from their country.

He flies to Selim Shaw.

The defolate Camiran fled to Hindostan, and was reduced to solicit the protection of Selim Shaw, whom he beheld, by his own baseness, ruling his father's empire. But it was not expected that Selim would treat Camiran favorably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Delhi, and, like a poor vagabond, fought protection from the raja of Nagercot. Being from thence hunted by Selim Shaw, he fled among the Gickers.

Mirza Hyder, in the mean time, requested the affistance of Humaioon, to quell some disturbances in Cashmire. The king accordingly marched towards Hindostan, and crossed the Nilab. Sultan Adam, the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's refentment, for giving protection to Mirza Camiran, imprisoned the unhappy man, and acquainted the king, that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he should be pleased to send. The king dispatched Monim Chan to Sultan Adam, and Mirza Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the king.

Mirza Camiran delivered up to the king.

The Chagittais, to a man, folicited that he should be put to death, that he might distress them no more; but the king would, by no means, confent to embrue his hands in the blood of his brother, however deferving he was of death. Humaioon, on account of his lenity, was threatened with a general fedition in his army, and every body openly complained of that merciful disposition in the king, by which At the gene- his subjects were so often involved in missortunes. He was, at last, ral request of though much against his will, necessitated to permit them to render eyes are put Camiran blind, by means of antimony.

Some

Some days after this fentence was executed upon the unfortunate A. D. 1553. prince, the king went to fee him. Camiran immediately rose, and The king viwalked fome steps forward to meet him, faying: "The glory of the "king will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate." Humajoon immediately burfting into tears, wept very bitterly: Mirza Camiran endeavored to comfort him, by confessing the justice of his own punishment, and, by way of expiating his crimes, requested leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His request was granted, and Camiran he proceeded by the way of Sind. Having refided three years in grimage to, Mecca, he died in that place, in the year nine hundred and fixty four. dies there. He left one fon, Abul Carim, who was some time after his father's death affaffinated, by the order of Akbar, in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters.

Humaioon being now delivered from the restless spirit of Camiran, Humaioon began to extend his dominions. He first turned his arms towards wards Cash-Cashmire. Selim Shaw having, at that time, advanced to Punjaab, his omrahs represented to Humaioon, that, if he should enter Cashmire, as there was but one pass through which he could return; that Selim Shaw might block up his rear, and reduce him to great diffress. The king, however, would not liften to their representations; but marched towards Cashmire. Having advanced about half way, a mutiny arose in the army, and the greatest part of the omrahs refused to proceed; while others actually returned to Cabul. This obliged Humaioon to take a circuit, by the way of Sind, ordering a fort, called Bickeram, to be Returns. built in his rout. In Bickeram he left a garrison under Secunder Chan.

When the king arrived in Cabul, he fent his fon Akbar to his go-Akbar fent vernment of Ghizni, under the charge of Jellal ul dien Mamood. In tohis government of the year nine hundred and fixty-one, the king had another fon born Ghizni. to him at Cabul, whom he named Mahummud Hakîın.

In the course of this year, Humaioon was rendered jealous of Byram Chan, by the calumny of some of his courtiers, who pretended, that that great man was carrying on intrigues with the Perhan govern-Dd 2 ment:

Hig. 962. Humaioon marches to Candahar.

A. D. 1554 ment. The King marched towards Candahar, by the way of Ghizni. Byram Chan, who was quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of the King's approach, came out, with five or fix friends only, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The king foon plainly perceived that he had been abused, and fatisfying Byram Chan with reasons for his coming, spent two months there in festivity. The calumniators of Byram Chan were difgraced, and he himself loaded with favors. Byram Chan was, however, afraid, that the repeated calumnies of his enemies might find way at last into the king's mind; he therefore earnestly requested, that the government should be bestowed on some other omrah, and that he might be permitted to attend his fovereign. But the king would by no means confent to a thing, which might have the appearance of a flur upon the conduct of his faithful fervant. When they parted, Byram Chan obtained the district of Dawir for Bahadur Chan and Shubiani Chan, who remained with him.

The inhabihi and Agra Hindostan.

Much about this time an address was received from the inhabitants tants of Del- of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humaioon, that Selim Shaw was invite him to dead, and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war: That it was, therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. Humaioon was in no condition to raise a sufficient army for that enterprize, and he became extremely melancholy.

Humaioon communieafinefs to his omrahs.

A curious method of divination.

The king being one day upon a hunting party, told some of his cates his un- omrahs, that he was very uneasy in his mind, about the execution of his defigns upon Hindostan. Some of them, who were desirous to make the attempt, confulted among themselves, and hit upon a successful stratagem to bring the king to an immediate resolution. They therefore told him, that there was an old method of divination, by fending a person before, and asking the names of the three first perfons he met, from which a conclusion, good or bad, might be formed, according to their meaning. The king, being naturally superstitious, ordered this to be done. He fent three horsemen in front, who were

to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The A. D. 1554. first horseman who returned told the king, that he had met with a traveller whose name was Dowlat\*. The next brought advice, that he met a man who called himself Murâd +. And the third, that he met with a villager, whose name was Sadit 1.

The king discovered great joy upon this occasion, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake an expedition into Hindostan. He left to Monim Chan the government Humaioon of Cabul, and the tuition of his young fon Mahummud Hakim, and invade Hinin the month of Siffer, nine hundred and fixty-two, began his march doftan. from his capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram Chan, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had croffed the Croffes the Nilab §, he appointed Byram Chan his captain general, and ordered Nilab. him to lead the van with Chaja Chizer Chan, Tirdi Beg Chan, Secunder Sultan, and Alli Koli Shubiani.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar Chan, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place and fled to Delhi. Humaioon Rhotas evapurfued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Pa- Heenters Latans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dif-hore. patched Byram Chan to Sirhind, and that able general poffeffed. himself of all the country as far as that place.

The king having received intelligence, that a body of Afghans, Defeats some commanded by Shubas Chan and Nifir Chan, were affembled at Di- Atgnans at Di- Dibalpoor. balpoor, he ordered Shaw Abul Mali, whom he used to honor with the name of fon, with a strong detachment against them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. The Emperor Secunder Shaw had, in the mean time, ordered Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, with an army of thirty or forty Secunder thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, Shaw senda a thousand horse from the state of notwithstanding their great superiority in number, was determined to gainst Hurisque a battle, croffed the Suttuluz, advanced boldly to meet them, and pitched his camp upon the banks of the river of Bidgwarrah.

\* Fortune or prosperity. + Defire or inclination. † Happiness.

§ The western branch of the Indus.

It



A. D. 1554. It being winter, the Patans kindled great fires of wood in their camp, which Byram Chan observing, he croffed the river with a thousand chosen horse, and advancing near their camp without being discovered, began to gall those who crouded round the fires with arrows, which raifed an uproar in the camp. But the Patans, inflead of extinguishing their fires, which prevented them from seeing the enemy, while the enemy had a fair view of them, by means of the light, threw on more wood. In the mean time, the whole of Byram Chan's army having croffed the river, fell upon the enemy from all fides, routed them, and took all their elephants, baggage, and a number of horses.

which is overthrown by Byram Chan,

who possesses country to the gates of Delhi.

Byram Chan fent the elephants to the king, at Lahore, and enhimself of the camped at Matchiwarrah. He dispersed detachments on all sides, and possessed himself of all the country, almost to the walls of Delhi. The king was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram Chan the title of Chan Chanan, Ear Offadar, Humdum Ghumgular \*.

Secunder Shaw marches against the Moguls.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar Chan, Secunder Shaw exacted an oath of fidelity from his omrahs, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards Punjaab. Byram Chan thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind, and to provide against a siege, by laying in provisions, and throwing up new works. Secunder Shaw encamped before Sirhind, and Byram Chan fent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated fallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Humaioon joins his general Byram, at Sirhind.

Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young prince Akbar was going the rounds of the camp, the Patans drew up their forces, and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous young Prince Akban prince, who could not bear to be infulted. He accordingly having marthals the Mogul army. Obtained his father's permission, drew out the army. Humaioon gave

\* These titles fignify, the lord of lords, the grateful friend, and the grief-expelling companion.

the

the command of the right to Chan Chanan, and the left to Secunder A. D. 1554. Hig. 962. Chan, which was composed of the troops of Abdulla Chan Usbeck, Shaw Abul Mali, Alla Kulla Chan Bahader, and Tirdi Beg Chan, who were to begin the action. He took post in person in the center, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received, the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown. The action, however, continued warm for some time; Humaioon and his gallant general Chan Chanan displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akbar distinguished himself with acts of personal valor. The Moguls were fo animated by the behavior of that young hero, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortal men. The enemy, at last, were driven off the field, with very great slaughter, and Secunder The Patans overthrown.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which fell for ever The empire from the Patans. Secunder Chan, the Uíbeck, and some other om- transferred from the Patans were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they tans to the effected without opposition. Humaioon conferred the government of the province of Punjaab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue Secunder Shaw.

In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi, in triumph, and The king enbecame, a fecond time, Emperor of Hindostan. Byram Chan, to whose valor and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration, was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had Promotions at court. princely jagiers assigned to him. Tirdi Beg Chan was appointed to the government of Delhi; the superintendency of Agra was given to Secunder Chan, and Alli Kulli Chan was made viceroy of Merat and Simbol; for which department he set out with a considerable force.

As Shaw Abul Mali, on account of disputes with the omrahs in his army, had permitted Secunder Shaw to become daily more for-Akbar sent against Semidable, the king dispatched his son Akbar, under the direction of cunder Shaw. Byram Chan, against him. Much about this time, a man of low birth,

death.

His charac-

A. D. 1555. birth, who became famous, under the name of Kumber Drivan, raifed Hig. 963. a rebellion in Simbol, and, collecting a great force, plundered the provinces between the rivers. He was, however, on the fifth of Ribbi ul Awil, nine hundred and fixty three, defeated and flain by Alli Kulli, and the infurrection totally quashed.

In the evening of the feventh of Ribbi ul Awil, Humaioon walked The king's out upon the terrace of the library, and fat down there for fome time to enjoy the fresh air. When the Emperor began to descend the steps of the stair from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformable to the practice of religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma \*, then fat down upon the fecond step of the stair till the proclamation should be ended. When he was going to rise he supported himself upon a staff, which unfortunately slipt upon the marble, and the king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair. He was taken up infenfible, and laid upon his bed; he foon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all their art: But in vain, for upon the eleventh, about funset, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river; and a noble tomb was erected over him, fome years after, by his fon Akbar. Humaioon died at the age of fifty one, after a reign of twenty five years, both in Cabul and Hindostan.

> The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive: If there can be any excess in virtues so noble as these. His affection to his brothers proved the fource of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was learned, a lover of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius, who flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprizing: But the elemency of his disposition hindered him from using his victories in a manner which fuited the vices of the times. Had he been lefs mild and religious, he would have been a more fuccefsful prince : Had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater monarch,

> > # The Creed.

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