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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

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

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SECTION VIII.

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

A. D. 1544.
/Hig. 951.
Humaioon
arrives in
Persia.

WE have already seen 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 fifty 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 basin and ewer for him to wash *. When this was done, Tamasp turned to Humaioon, and resuming the discourse, 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

* To attend the sovereign in any menial office about his person, is the greatest honor that can be conferred upon a subject in the East.

upon



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

A. D. 1544.
Hig. 951.

In the mean time, Sultanum Begum, the king's sister, and Cusi Jehan of Kizvi, the high chancellor, in conjunction with Hakîm Noor ul Dien, one of the king's privy counsellors, taking compassion 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 sect of the Shiah, who differ from the Sinnites, the sect whose tenets Humaioon followed. The Shiah, hold Ali to be the only assistant of Mahommed in his apostolic function, but the Sinnites believe in four, adding Osman, Omar, and Abubecker to Ali.

The king's
sister and
some omrahs
favor the
cause of
Humaioon.

The king, in short, told his sister, That if Humaioon should become a Shiah, and enforce that doctrine in Hindostan, he would assist him to recover his empire. Sultanum Begum having acquainted Humaioon of these particulars, he was not so much wedded to a sect, 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 Shiah, which was partly the occasion of the animosity subsisting 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 satisfied himself upon that head, he promised that his son Murad, who was then but an infant, with his general Biddai Chan



A. D. 1545. Chan Cadjar, should accompany Humaioon, with ten thousand horse, to chastise his brothers, and drive them out of Cabul, Candahar, and 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 visit the tomb of Shech Suffi, and then to proceed on his expedition. The king consented to this proposal, and issued 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.

Hig. 952.
The king gives him ten thousand horse.

Humaioon takes Garrimfere.

Humaioon having visited and paid his devotions at the shrine of Suffi, marched with the young prince Murad, towards Candahar. He invested the fort of Garrimfere, 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 son of Humaioon, Mahummud Akbar, to his uncle at Cabul, and prepared the fort of Candahar for a siege.

Humaioon invests Candahar.

Humaioon invested it upon the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year nine hundred and fifty two. The siege had been carried on for six months, when Humaioon sent Byrâm Chan with a message 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 resignation 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 listen to such a demand, and so the ambassador departed without effecting any thing.

The Persians discontented.

The Persian kisselbaches * were now beginning to be discouraged by the length of the siege, and discontented at being commanded by

* Soldiers.

Moguls.



Moguls. This circumstance might have obliged Humaion to raise the siege, had he not been joined by Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Aligh Beg Mirza, Cufim Huffein Sultan, Mahummud Mirick, Shere Askun Beg, Fufil Beg, and other omrahs, who, disgusted with Mirza Camiran, had left his service. Some of the besieged deserted also, and joined the king. These favorable circumstances revived the sinking spirits of his army, and equally depressed those of the besieged. Mirza Ashkari desired to capitulate; his request was granted upon honorable terms; he gave up the place, and, much ashamed of his former behavior, waited upon the king.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Candahar
taken by
capitulation.

The fort of Candahar, as had been stipulated with Shaw Tamasp, was given to his son Mirza Murad. The winter having now come 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 so much disgusted them, that some, having no quarters, went off to Cabul, while Mirza Ashkari, with a view of raising more disturbance, also fled. Ashkari, however, was pursued, and brought back prisoner.

Put into the
hands of the
Persians.

Humaion, finding inaction more dangerous to his affairs than war, marched towards Cabul. On the way he heard of the death of the young prince Murad, at Candahar, upon which he returned, 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 silenced the king, who could not, consistent with gratitude, or his own promise, compel him to deliver up the place.

The young
prince Murad
of Persia dies
at Candahar.

But the urgency of his affairs soon obliged Humaion 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,



A. D. 1545.
Hig. 954.
Humaioon,
by a strata-
gem, seizes
upon Canda-
har.

and a few enterprizing men, disguised like camel-drivers, among a string 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 permission, 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 Nafir, the brother of Baber, flying, at this time, from Mirza Shaw Hufflein 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 some of Camiran's troops, who deserted his standards. Even Kipla Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's principal omrah's, came over, with all his adherents. This so much weakened Mirza's army, that he was necessitated to shut himself up in the city.

invests and
takes that
city,

Humaioon invested the place; but as it was only slightly fortified, Camiran evacuated it without fighting, and fled to Ghizni.

which he
enters.

The king sent Mirza Hindal in pursuit of his brother, and, on the tenth of Ramzân, nine hundred and fifty two, entered Cabul, where he found his son 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 summit of glory."

Mirza Cami-
ran, being
shut out of
Ghizni, flies
to Dawir and
Bicker.

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

Humaioon,



Humaioon, having left his son Akbar under the tuition of Mahummud Ali Tiggai, in Cabul, marched in person, in the year nine hundred and fifty three, to reduce Buduchshan. Mirza Eadgar Nafir having attempted to stir up a sedition in the royal army, was, upon conviction, sentenced to death, though he was uncle to the king.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.
Humaioon
marches
against
Buduchshan.

Humaioon having passed Hinderkush and encamped at Neizikeran, Mirza Soliman, with the forces of Buduchshan, came before him, but they were defeated 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 fled to Cabul, where he was ordered to be imprisoned by the king.

Defeats Mirza Soliman.

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 populace, and cut off the governor, Zatrud Beg. Making from thence forced marches towards Cabul, he arrived there as they were opening 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.

Mirza Camiran seizes Ghizni, and surprizes Cabul.

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 sultanas.



A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

the army of Camiran, which opposed him at Zohac Ghorebund, came to the town of the Afghans, called Deh Afghân, where Shere Afkun Beg, and all the army of Mirza Camiran had again assembled to oppose him. But the king overthrew them there also, and slew Shere Afkun Beg in the action. He proceeded from thence to Cabul, and sat down before that city, skirmishing every day with the enemy. 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, he was attacked and defeated with great slaughter.

Humaioon, defeating his brother in several actions, sits down before Cabul.

Several chiefs join the king.

Mirza Soliman, from Buduchshan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Casim Haffin Sultan, with several chiefs from Byram Chan, had now joined the king, while Kirrache Chan and Baboos Beg deserted from the city to his army. Mirza Camiran, in the rage of despair, basely murdered the three sons of Baboos Beg, and threw their mangled bodies over the wall. He, at the same time, bound the young prince and Kirrache Chan's son 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 soul in the place should be massacred.

Mirza Camiran's cruelty.

He evacuates Cabul.

Camiran thought proper to desist from his intended cruelty, and that 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 city, joined him, and assisted him in subduing Buduchshan. They drove Mirza Soliman and his son Mirza Ibrahim towards Kolâb.

Seizes upon Buduchshan.

Kirrache



Kirrache Chan, Baboos Beg, and some other omrahs, being, about this time, disgusted with the behavior of Chaja Ghazi, the vizier, wanted the king to disgrace him, and appoint Chaja Casim to his office. Humaioon, satisfied of the integrity of this minister, would by no means consent, which irritated them so much, that they left the king's service, and went over to Mirza Ashkari in Buduchshan. The king pursued 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.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Several omrahs desert Humaioon.

Mirza Camiran having left Kirrache Chan at Kushum, went in person to Taleckân. Humaioon detached Mirza Hindal and Hadgee Mahummud Koka, with a considerable 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 crossing the river of Talickân, when his troops were divided. He defeated Hindal, cut off a great part of his detachment, and seized upon all his baggage.

Mirza Camiran defeats his brother Hindal.

Humaioon, in a few days, advanced with the army from Cabul, which obliged Mirza Camiran to fly towards Talickân, and leave all 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 assistance of the Usbecks, to whom he had applied, he requested leave of his 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 send troops to seize them, nor attempt to detain them, as they

Flies before Humaioon.

Besieged in Talickân, and submits.



A. D. 1545. they imagined, they were ashamed of their own behavior, and
 Hig. 952. thought it more eligible to trust to his clemency, than turn mendicant pilgrims. With this resolution they returned.

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

His treason-
 able designs.

Humaioon arriving in the environs of Balich, Shaw Mahummud Sultan came before him with only three thousand Ufbeck horse, and stopt his progress. The Ufbeck 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 pressed so hard upon Pier Mahummud and Abdul Aziz Chan, that they thought proper to retreat within the city.

Humaioon
 defeats the
 Ufbecks ;

The king was desirous of pursuing the enemy. This resolution, had it been followed, would certainly have had a good effect, as the enemy were preparing to evacuate the place. But unfortunately the king suffered his own better judgment to be over-ruled by his omrahs, who suggested their apprehensions from Mirza Camiran, and advised the king to incamp somewhere 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 small distance. The troops being



being ordered to move back, apprehended that danger was near; when the enemy actually construed the retreat of Humaioon into a real flight. By this double mistake the Moguls were intimidated, and the Usbecks received fresh spirits. They immediately fell upon Mirza Soliman and Husein 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 dismounted the officer who led on the attack. His brother Hindal, Tirdi Beg, and Tolick Chan Couchi supported Humaioon with great bravery; but they soon found themselves deserted by all their troops, and were obliged to save themselves by flight.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

and is, in his
turn, over-
thrown.

After this unfortunate action, the imperial army retreated towards Cabul. The king, on his way, was deserted by the perfidious Mirza Camiran and Mirza Ashkari, who had not joined in the action. The king, justly resenting their behavior, wrote to Alli Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's omrahs, and made him great promises if he would seize his master, and send him prisoner to court; dispatching, at the same time, sent Mirza Soliman and Hindal in pursuit of him.

Retreats to
Cabul, and is
deserted by
his brother
Camiran.

Mirza Camiran, laying aside all his ensigns of state, attempted, by the way of Zehac and Bamia, to pass to Sind. The king, informed of his motions, sent a party to intercept him; but Kirrache Chan and Hafim Husein 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 slip through his hands. He returned, by the way of Kipehach, whither, the king, having intelligence of him, advanced to meet him. The battle was no sooner begun, than Kirrache Chan, and his perfidious adherents, went over to him, and turned upon Humaioon, who, with a few faithful friends, fought



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 fly to Bamia, and from thence to Buduchshan, leaving Camiran to possess himself, a third time, of Cabul.

Humaioon in great distress. Humaioon was now 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 Camiran. Mirza Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Punger. Camiran was defeated with great slaughter, 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 fifteen hundred horse, while Hadgee Mahummud Chan and Baba Kishka fled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against his brother, who fled towards the Nilab; so that Humaioon, without effecting any thing, returned to Cabul.

Mirza



Mirza Camiran no sooner heard of his brother's retreat, than he returned again among the Afghans to raise up more disturbances. Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a second time. He wrote to Byram Chan, at Candahar, to march against Hadjee Mahummud Chan, who fled to Ghizni, and invited Mirza Camiran to join him at that place. Camiran, by the way of Peshawir, Bungeish, 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 of his ally, returned again to Peshawir, and the king directed his march to Cabul.

A. D. 1551.
Hig. 958.
Camiran
raises dis-
turbances
among the
Afghans.

Transactions
at Cabul.

Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital, Hadjee Mahummud found means to escape, a second time, to Ghizni, from whence he was persuaded to return; no doubt, upon the most sacred assurances 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 sent to Mirza Soliman, at Buduchshan, to proceed to Balich. Ashkari died in the year nine hundred and sixty one, in his way crossing the Arabian desarts.

Mirza Camiran was, in the mean time, levying troops among the Afghans, and carrying on a private correspondence with Hadjee Mahummud. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor condemned to death. Humaioon had, by this time, marched against Camiran; but he was surprized 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, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown by 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 services 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

Camiran's
correspon-
dence with
Hadjee disco-
vered.

MirzaHindal
killed and
Camiran de-
feated.



A. D. 1552. appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his
Hig. 959. government of Ghizni.

The Afghans rise in his favor, and are forced to expel him. The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, rose in favor 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 withheld their aid, and expelled him from their country.

He flies to Selim Shaw. The desolate 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, sought protection from the raja of Nagercot. Being from thence hunted by Selim Shaw, he fled among the Gickers.

Mirza Camiran delivered up to the king. Mirza Hyder, in the mean time, requested the assistance of Humaioon, to quell some disturbances in Cashmire. The king accordingly marched towards Hindostan, and crossed the Niláb. Sultan Adam, the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's resentment, 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.

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

Some

Some days after this sentence was executed upon the unfortunate prince, the king went to see him. Camiran immediately rose, and walked some steps forward to meet him, saying: "The glory of the king will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate." Humaioon immediately bursting 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 he proceeded by the way of Sind. Having resided three years in Mecca, he died in that place, in the year nine hundred and sixty four. He left one son, Abul Carim, who was some time after his father's death assassinated, by the order of Akbar, in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters.

A. D. 1553.
Hig. 961.
The king vi-
sits him.

Camiran
goes on a pil-
grimage to
Mecca, and
dies there.

Humaioon being now delivered from the restless spirit of Camiran, began to extend his dominions. He first turned his arms towards 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 distress. The king, however, would not listen 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 built in his rout. In Bickeram he left a garrison under Secunder Chan.

Humaioon
marches to-
wards Cash-
mire.

Returns.

When the king arrived in Cabul, he sent his son Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under the charge of Jellal ul dien Mamood. In the year nine hundred and sixty-one, the king had another son born to him at Cabul, whom he named Mahummud Hakim.

Akbar sent
to his govern-
ment of
Ghizni.

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 Persian govern-



A. D. 1554.
Fig. 962.
Humaioon
marches to
Candahar.

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 six friends only, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The king soon plainly perceived that he had been abused, and satisfying Byram Chan with reasons for his coming, spent two months there in festivity. The calumniators of Byram Chan were disgraced, 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 sovereign. But the king would by no means consent to a thing, which might have the appearance of a slur upon the conduct of his faithful servant. When they parted, Byram Chan obtained the district of Dawir for Bahadur Chan and Shubiani Chan, who remained with him.

The inhabitants of Delhi and Agra invite him to Hindostan.

Much about this time an address was received from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humaioon, that Selim Shaw was 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 communicates his uneasiness to his omrahs.

A curious method of divination.

The king being one day upon a hunting party, told some of his omrahs, that he was very uneasy in his mind, about the execution of his designs upon Hindostan. Some of them, who were desirous to make the attempt, consulted 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 sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons 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 sent three horsemen in front, who were



to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The 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 Sâdit ‡.

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 of Cabul, and the tuition of his young son Mahummud Hakim, and in the month of Siffer, nine hundred and sixty-two, began his march from his capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram Chan, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the Nilab §, he appointed Byram Chan his captain general, and ordered 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 pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram Chan to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place.

The king having received intelligence, that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shubas Chan and Nisir Chan, were assembled at Dibalpoor, he ordered Shaw Abul Mali, whom he used to honor with the name of son, 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 thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram Chan, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, was determined to risque a battle, crossed the Suttuluz, advanced boldly to meet them, and pitched his camp upon the banks of the river of Bidgwarrah.

* Fortune or prosperity. † Desire or inclination. ‡ Happiness.

§ The western branch of the Indus.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

Humaioon
resolves to
invade Hin-
doostan.

Crosses the
Nilab.

Rhotas eva-
cuated.
He enters La-
hore.

Defeats some
Afghans at
Dibalpoor.

Secunder
Shaw sends
an army a-
gainst Hu-
maioon,

It



A. D. 1554.
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It being winter, the Patans kindled great fires of wood in their camp, which Byram Chan observing, he crossed 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 raised an uproar in the camp. But the Patans, instead 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 crossed the river, fell upon the enemy from all sides, routed them, and took all their elephants, baggage, and a number of horses.

which is
overthrown
by Byram
Chan,

who possesses
himself of the
country to
the gates of
Delhi.

Byram Chan sent the elephants to the king, at Lahore, and encamped 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, Eâr Ofsadar, Humdum Ghumgufar *.

Secunder
Shaw
marches a-
gainst 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 sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Humaioon
joins his ge-
neral Byram,
at Sirhind.

Prince Akbar
marshals the
Mogul army.

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, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly having obtained his father's permission, drew out the army. Humaioon gave

* These titles signify, 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 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 so 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 Shaw fled, with precipitation, to the mountains of Sewalic.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

The battle
begins.

The Patans
overthrown.

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

The empire
transferred
from the Pa-
tans to the
Moguls.

In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi, in triumph, and became, a second 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 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.

The king en-
ters Delhi.

Promotions
at court.

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

Akbar sent
against Se-
cunder Shaw.



A. D. 1555.
Hig. 963.

birth, who became famous, under the name of Kumber Drivan, raised 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 sixty three, defeated and slain by Alli Kulli, and the insurrection totally quashed.

The king's
death.

In the evening of the seventh of Ribbi ul Awil, Humaioon walked out upon the terrace of the library, and sat down there for some 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 sat down upon the second 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 insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all their art: But in vain, for upon the eleventh, about sunset, 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, some years after, by his son Akbar. Humaioon died at the age of fifty one, after a reign of twenty five years, both in Cabul and Hindostan.

His charac-
ter.

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 source 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 clemency of his disposition hindered him from using his victories in a manner which suited the vices of the times. Had he been less mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince: Had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater monarch.

* The Creed.

