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Supplement to The Modern History of India

Thomas Maurice

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THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

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THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN:

COMPREHENDING THAT OF

THE GREEK EMPIRE OF BACTRIA,

AND OTHER

GREAT ASIATIC KINGDOMS, BORDERING ON ITS WESTERN FRONTIER.

COMMENCING AT

THE PERIOD OF THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER,

AND

INTENDED TO BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VOL. II. PART I.

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TO

JOHN PENN, ESQ. M. P.

OF STOKE-PARK, BUCKS.

To whom can a Volume that records the concluding history of a mighty, but fallen empire, be inscribed, with more decisive propriety, than to HIM who is so well versed in the page both of Ancient and of Modern History, the zealous Friend of Science, and the distinguished Patron of the Liberal Arts, who equally illustrates them by his writings, and supports them by his example?

To some, indeed, it may appear like a solecism, to dedicate to a gentleman, whose whole life has been a series of humane and beneficent actions, pages crowded with the details of barbarous warfare, and the sanguinary atrocities of Tartar and Turkish chiefs; yet as I have never ceased to depict the horror of such crimes, as I have never failed, in the course of those details, to brand, in terms of merited infamy, the baseness of avarice, and the blood-guiltiness of ambition, the calamitous sources of most wars recorded

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in history; I hope to be considered as having served, by this publication, the cause of humanity, and the interests of society; and consequently, as having rendered it worthy of the patronage of the benevolent Owner of STOKE.

And was there ever, in the annals of the world, an æra in which it was more necessary to hold up to public detestation the enormity of those offences? Let the wretched inhabitants of the ravaged provinces of the finest portions of Europe, reduced to beggary by a more infuriate despot than either GENGIS or TIMUR, answer this question. If, in those ages of barbarity and ignorance, the latter put to death, in cold blood, one hundred thousand miserable captives under the walls of Delhi,* were the butchery of JAFFA, and the poisoning of ROSETTA, in these enlightened periods, under a general bearing the name of Christian, and educated in the liberal school of modern warfare, less politically infamous, or less diabolically wicked? It is to such monsters, stained with the blood of their fellow-creatures, and black with unheard of crimes, that the loud and warning voice of History addresses itself: while her faithful page exhibits their true characters, stripped of each splendid, each delusive, decoration, and devoted to

* See of the present Volume page 18.

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the bitterest execrations of posterity! Such must be the inevitable fate of the basest of these heroic assassins, this modern TIMUR, whose aim is to revolutionize the universe, and who impotently points the thunder of his vengeance against the shores of Britain; or rather 'tis his superlatively fortunate destiny to possess the curses of the *present*, with the certainty of obtaining those of every *future* generation.

One revolution, Sir, has already occurred, in which you suffered the loss, or rather to speak a plain though an unpleasant truth, were *plundered* of a princely fortune; a calamity sustained by you with that noble fortitude and that calm magnanimity, which becomes the descendant of the great WILLIAM PENN:* but the new revolution prepared for us by these fiercer REPUBLICANS, tends to somewhat more than the mere deprivation of fortune; it aims at the extinction of liberty itself, and the utter subversion of social order. But oh! shall BRITONS,

> Shall the bold sons of Freedom and the waves,
> Shrink at the nod of Gaul's imperious slaves?
> A race for dark insidious wiles renown'd,
> And damning perfidies through Europe's bound;

* The memorable answer returned by the Proprietor of Pennsylvania to a friend, who lamented the diminution of a patrimony larger than that enjoyed by many European princes, will best exhibit the generous and elevated sentiments of his mind; "Yes, Sir," replied he, "I too "lament the diminution, because it has so greatly *limited my power of* "*doing good.*"

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Who boast to liberate enslaved mankind,
Then the gull'd fools in chains eternal bind;
Like Judas, the betraying kiss impart,
Clasp in their arms, then stab you to the heart;
Shall these rule BRITONS? First, ye lightnings, sweep
Yon blasted cliffs, and whelm them in the deep.*

Into this train of indignant reflection, I have been naturally led by my subject, and the awful predicament in which the nation at this moment stands. With respect to the portion of the Work which I have the honour to present to you, it commences with the incursion of TIMUR into Hindostan in A. D. 1398, and from the best authorities at present attainable, traces the succession of that prince's descendants on the thrones of Tartary and India, with the intervening revolutions that took place in the latter empire, down to the death of Jehanguire in A. D. 1627, a period within which two of the most magnificent and important events that ever occurred, took place—the discovery of a new world by Columbus, and the opening of a passage by Gama to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. During that period, the distinguished nation, conducted to her shores by that adventurous chieftain, together with the Dutch, and English, firmly established themselves on the coasts and islands of India; but in this First Part of the

* See the Crisis of Britain, recently published by the Author, and to be had of Mr. White.

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present Volume, the history of the Portuguese settlers only is detailed, and that history, concise as it is, occupies no inconsiderable portion of its concluding pages. This circumstance will not, it is presumed, be regretted by those who, like yourself, Sir, know, that no history except our own, can be more deeply interesting, especially at the present period, than that of this extraordinary race of men, small in number, but vigorous in genius, skilful to project, and daring to execute; a race whose alternate elevation and depression in the scale of empire has so frequently, in different ages, excited the astonishment and extorted the compassion of the rest of Europe.

In fact, no nation or kingdom upon earth, perhaps, ever experienced such rapid vicissitudes as Portugal. At one period we behold her exalted to the summit of human greatness; her fleets covering the ocean, and her armies inspired with the same ardent spirit of chivalry, that of old expelled the Moors from all the bounds of Lusitania, giving law to no small portion of the three great continents of Afric, Asia, and America. At another, we behold her degraded and fallen; nearly stripped of all her foreign possessions, the martial spirit of her nobles subdued or broken, and herself the humbled abject slave of the haughty Philip. Again she awakes from her long and deathful

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slumber of sixty years; the ancient thirst of glory rekindles in her cavaliers; she bursts asunder the chains of her oppressors; and under the brave, virtuous, and fortunate house of Braganza, rushes forward to new victories and brighter triumphs! Deprived of her eastern sceptre, she erects her standard in the newly discovered western world, and Brazil profusely pours into her lap the gold, the diamonds, and other costly produce of her wealthy shore. She rises higher than ever in the scale of human felicity and glory; cherished and protected by Britain, and ever grateful to her august ally. For a century she continues thus elevated in fortune, thus opulent in every species of wealth, thus respected for private and for public faith. At length the Plunderer of Italy casts upon her his jealous and malignant eye. Her happiness excites the envy, her riches stimulate to aggression the insatiable avarice of that scourge of Europe. Impatient for her accumulated wealth, the just reward of national industry and valour, he sends forth his murderous banditti to seize on the weak victim of his fury, plunders her treasury, meanly robs her crown of its jewels, and wishes to blot a name, in her elder time terrible to the tyrants of the earth, out of the catalogue of nations. But I have again launched into political declamation; pardon, Sir, the

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involuntary effusions extorted by the atrocities of this dæmon in human form; for, if not timely and resolutely resisted, I see in PORTUGAL the fate of BRITAIN.

Under a due sense, Sir, of the imperfections of a work composed amidst the perpetual interruptions of a public situation, yet conscious that unwearied diligence has been bestowed upon it, and determined to exert that diligence to the concluding page, I submit with diffidence this additional portion of Indian History to your candour, and that of the indulgent public; a public to whose partiality I am already deeply indebted, and that never judges with severity where there is an anxious wish to merit its approbation.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

with true esteem, your much obliged,

and faithful obedient Servant,

THOMAS MAURICE.

British Museum,
1st November, 1803.

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MODERN HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK IV.

COMMENCING WITH THE IRRUPTION OF TIMUR BEC, AND TERMINATING WITH THE DEATH OF AKBER; A PERIOD OF RATHER MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS.

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City and Fortress in the Douab—razes that Fortress, and flays alive the miserable Inhabitants.—Marches to the GANGES, *which he crosses, and advances to the Streights of* KUPELE, *or* COW-HEAD *Rock.—After defeating an immense Body of Indians collected there, he recrosses the* GANGES, *and returning by the Foot of the* SEWALIC *Mountains, every where exterminates the Natives, and returns through Cashmere to Samarcand.—Pir Mohammed and Chizer Khan appointed the Viceroys of his Indian Dominions.—* FERISHTA'S *Account of this celebrated Irruption—not materially different from* SHEREFEDDIN'S.—*The Empire, after his Retreat, being convulsed by the Contests of the great Omrahs for that Sceptre which* MAHMUD *was too feeble to wield,* CHIZER KHAN *proves, finally, triumphant, and assumes the Diadem.—Death of Sultan* MAHMUD, *and Extinction of the* AFGHAN *Dynasty of the Tribe of* CHILLIGIES.

IN the preceding Book we have seen the proud and ponderous fabric of Mohammedan glory and empire erected, in India, by one Mahmud, rapidly rushing to extinction under another: every æra of its revolution has been polluted with crime, and almost every page of its history stained with blood. If, on the one hand, a Balin, renowned for valour and political wisdom, or a Ferose, benign, generous, and the adorner of that enslaved country, with canals and other magnificent works, occasionally rise to gratify and delight the reader, how many monsters, on the other, like the tyrant Alla, and the demon Mubaric, appear to disgust and terrify him! The unhappy native princes of Hindostan, in the mean time, reduced to beggary and servitude; through the inhuman policy of the East, blinded with hot iron, captive for life in the abyss of a gloomy dungeon, or exiled to the summit of some barren and inascessible mountain; her brahmins doomed to perpetual torture at the sight of their polluted temples and insulted gods; the lofty spirit of her

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rajahs almost broken from repeated defeats by a stronger foe; and her merchants and husbandmen driven to desperation by being deprived of the just produce of their labour and industry. The history of this ill-fated country now introduces us to a new æra and a new conqueror; an æra not less fertile in crimes and calamity, a conqueror not less ferocious than any that have preceded.

The reader has already been informed* that there exist two celebrated histories of the great TIMUR BEC, the one written in Persian, the other in Arabic; both of them composed with all the pomp and elegance of the Asiatic style; in the first, the Tartarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, benevolent, and illustrious prince; in the second, as deformed and impious, of a low birth and detestable principles. It seems difficult, at first, to reconcile this contradiction; but the difficulty vanishes, when we learn, that great part of the Persian history was composed under the inspection of Timur himself; and received only the polish of language from the pen of Ali Yezdi; and that the Arabian author bore the most inveterate hatred against that monarch. By Ali Yezdi, is here meant Sherefeddin, who was thus called from Yezd, a city of Persia, where he was born; and by the Arabian author, Ebn Arabshah, of whom the learned Golius gave an edition in Arabic, and M. Vatier, a French version. The truth, however, is only to be collected from a diligent attention to both histories; and in the present chapter it is my intention to give the substance of each, on the leading traits of the character of that renowned hero.

According to the Persian author,† and Abulghazi, the Tartar historian, Timur was a direct but remote descendant of Gengis, by the line of Zagatai, his second son, to whose lot, in the partition of his vast empire, fell the kingdom of Transoxiana, or Great Tartary. He was born in A. D. 1336, at Cash, a beautiful city of that region,

* Modern History of Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 12.

† Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. I. cap. i.; and Abulghazi's Hist. Tartar. Vol. I. cap. iv.

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about a day's journey from Samarcand, and, at the age of twenty-five, gave decisive proofs of superior genius, by a conduct that united the policy of a great statesman with the courage of a dauntless warrior. Amidst the distractions in which Transoxiana was at that period involved, by a series of noble exploits he rapidly rose to the highest eminence in military glory, and, for his service to the reigning Grand Khan, had assigned him the principality of his native city, and its immediate dependencies. His ambition expanding with the triumphant progress of his arms, in a few years all the surrounding potentates are compelled to lay their crowns at his feet; we behold him ascending the throne of Iran, or Persia in its largest extent; the immense regions of both Eastern and Western Tartary salute him as their lord; and his resistless armies penetrate far within the arctic circle.

The detail of these magnificent events is foreign to the immediate subject of this history, which proposes merely to record his irruption into the still more inviting plains of Hindostan, where a booty, transcendently surpassing all that he had already acquired, awaited him; and where a feeble and divided government, and an enervated people, seemed to provoke the attack of a foreign invader. A summary history of this great irruption, and of Timur's immediate successors, down to Baber, the first regular Mogul sovereign on the throne of India, has long been written by me, and I request permission of the reader to insert it, unaltered. The account given by Ferishta (whose work I had not then seen) of those princes who, in consequence of the subversion of the Afghan dynasty, of which Mahmud was the last, ascended the throne of Delhi, shall be added to this short account of the immediate posterity of Timur, which ought not to be omitted in the history of a dynasty of princes (the Mogul) who boast of *him* as their HEAD, and that his BLOOD flows in their veins.*

* All that I, at that time (about 1788) intended to publish concerning India, was announced by me in the following title of the intended volume: A SHORT VIEW

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IRRUPTION OF TIMUR.

Scarcely had the victorious armies of the great Timur reposed from the toil of those incessant wars by which he added the northern extremities of Asia to his almost boundless domain, when he formed the daring project of subduing India. To this enterprise he was invited both by the restless ambition of his soul, and a furious zeal of propagating that religion which had, for ages, overwhelmed the most fertile provinces of the Eastern world with desolation. In the year 1398, he left the imperial city of Samarcand,* at the head of an army well calculated, both by the numbers and intrepidity of its hardy battalions, to accomplish this design. Accustomed to fight under a commander whose consummate skill in war was only equalled by the good fortune that ever attended his arms; inured to brave every extremity of hardship, by successive campaigns in the mountainous defiles of Georgia, and the inhospitable deserts of Russia, the last theatre of their glory, and eager for the plunder of the richest empire in the world, his legions descended like a torrent from the centre of the northern part of the Indian Caucasus. The numerous tribes of war-trained Afghans, or Patans, who inhabited the scarcely-accessible frontiers of that empire, in vain opposed their

OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA, FROM ITS CONQUEST BY TIMUR TO THE LATEST ACCOUNTS.

* Samarcand, which has been mentioned as the Maracanda of the ancients, was at this time the capital of the empire of Timur, and his general residence. The strength of its castle and walls, rebuilt by that prince, the magnificence of its public buildings, particularly its fine observatory, and the beauty of its gardens, watered by the clearest of rivers, are the theme of many enraptured Oriental writers. Under Timur and his successors it flourished for many ages, the seat of learning and the centre of Asiatic commerce; but when it was taken from them by it present possessors, the Uzbeck Tartars, its glory gradually declined, and it retains at present few vestiges of its ancient splendour, though a considerable share of its commerce still remains. It is visited only in the summer by the reigning Khan, who usually encamps in the delightful meadows that surround it.

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progress. This hardy race of mountaineers, for the most part assassins and robbers, who have made so conspicuous a figure in all the revolutions of Persia and Hindostan, had extended their sway over most of the neighbouring provinces, and a particular tribe of them, called CHILLIGIES, were, at this moment, in possession of the usurped throne of Delhi. The monuments of their grandeur, which Shah Jehan, in succeeding ages, destroyed, on the rebuilding of that capital, sufficiently evince the power and consequence to which they had arrived in Hindostan. The conquest of these people for some time delayed the operations of his army; but, being at length completed, we find him arrived, according to the Persian writer of his life, October 7th, 1398, at the banks of the Indus, on that very spot, says Sherefeddin, where Sultan Gelaleddin, king of Charazm, nearly two centuries before, swam across the river, to avoid destruction from the fury of Gengis Khan. In two days a bridge of boats was formed, and on the 11th his whole army, consisting of soldiers of every nation, mostly cavalry, but all commanded by Tartar officers, passed it in safety.*

Timur had already dispatched his grandson, the Mirza, Pir Mahommed, with a large army, to lay siege to Multan, a city of Guzzurat, at that time of great political and commercial importance, which was governed for the king of Delhi by a valiant officer named Sarenk, eldest brother of the vizier; and Sarenk had nobly defended it for six months against all the forces sent against it. During this period the most vigorous and repeated assaults were daily made upon the castle and walls in vain; and, therefore, Timur, after crossing the Indus, being resolved to carry Multan, instead of taking the direct road for Delhi by Rotas and Lahore, directed his march southwards to that capital. Arrived on the Indian side of the river, he encamped at the entrance of the great desert of Geron, where the Gickers, another race of savage mountaineers inhabiting

* Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 27

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the Jehud mountain, awed by the terror of his name and arms, voluntarily came and made their submission to him. After attacking and defeating Sheabeddin, an Indian chief, who had fortified himself on an island of the river Chelum, the ancient Hydaspes, he continued his march, for the sake of the water, along that river, which he crossed, as well as the Jenaub, below their conflux; and arrived at Toulomba, a city 35 miles above Multan. On the neighbouring plains of this city he encamped with his whole army. On the 5th of November he departed from Toulomba, after sorely taxing that city, and punishing some refractory rajahs in the neighbourhood, and encamped the next day on the borders of a deep lake, near the bank of the Beyah, within sight of the town of Shanavas: here he attacked and cut to pieces a body of two thousand men, commanded by an Indian prince named Nusret. Passing this great lake, they entered Shanavas, which is described by Sherefeddin as a great and populous town, where his army found plenty of grain; but as the inhabitants were *infidels*, after they had taken all the grain they had occasion for, they set fire to the granaries, "in order," says the same historian,* "to drive them to extremity," and thus provoke that massacre which is so congenial to the sanguinary principles of Mohammedanism. Timur staid two days at Shanavas, and then crossing the deep and rapid Beyah (which is represented as an arduous undertaking, and requiring the space of three days to accomplish it,) entered Jengian, forty miles from Multan. Here he was joined by Pir Mohammed with his victorious troops from Multan, that city having surrendered to the Mogul army, after a long and obstinate resistance, during which the inhabitants had been compelled to feed on the carcases of their fallen countrymen. Sarenk, the brave governor, was brother to Mellou Khan, the vizier of the empire, and who, in fact, ruled in Delhi with more despotic power than the weak Mahmud himself. Timur staid four days at

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 33, ubi supra.

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Jengian, and on one of those days Pir Mahommed entertained him at a sumptuous banquet, at which were exhibited the rich spoils of plundered Multan, consisting of crowns of gold, belts of gold, Arabian horses with gold saddles, jewels of high value, rich stuffs, and curious vessels of the manufacture of the country, basons and vases of gold and silver. The number of these was so great, that, we are informed, it took the state secretaries two entire days to form a register of them.* Timur distributed these costly articles among the great princes and omrahs of his court, and then commenced his march for Delhi, where a booty infinitely greater awaited him.

On the 18th November the army reached Jehaul, a town between Lahore and Debalpour. Here Timur selected ten thousand horse, the flower of his army, and placing himself at their head, undertook an expedition against the strong fortress of Batnir, near seventy cosses to the right of the direct road to Delhi.† The occasion of this sudden deviation, when so interesting an object as the capital of India was before him, is thus recorded by his historian. The inhabitants of Debalpour had, on a former occasion submitted to Pir Mohammed, who had appointed over their city a Mogul governor, with a body of a thousand horse. After that prince's departure, a mortality breaking out among the horses of that body, the former fell upon the weak and dismounted Moguls, and massacred both them and the governor. On the report of Timur's approach, justly dreading his resentment, the insurgents fled with their effects to the remote and strongly fortified castle of Batnir, said to have been situated in a desert, and never before to have been visited by a foreign army, in consequence of that situation, and the imminent danger of perishing by united hunger and thirst. But no danger could appall the soul of Timur: he determined to exact a severe revenge for his murdered soldiers, and, therefore, leaving the baggage and main body of the army to the care of experienced generals

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p, 37. † Rennell's Memoir, p. 87, edit. 1788.

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in whom he could confide, with orders to conduct it by the way of Debal our, and to join him at Semana, a town near Delhi, he, by rapid marches, reached Adjodin on the 21st of November. Here he found a town deserted of its military defenders, who, involved in similar guilt, had joined those of Debalpour in their retreat at Batnir. The tomb of a celebrated saint (Sheik Furrid) at this place for a time attracted the devout attention, and called forth the fervent prayers for his success, of the superstitious, but revengeful Timur; these pious duties performed, he urged his march with accelerated velocity towards Batnir, where, after crossing the river Dena, probably a branch of the Setledge, and traversing in one day an extensive desert, which Major Rennell justly conjectures to be a part of that very desert of twelve days journey, which Alexander was informed stretched between the Hyphasis and the Ganges,* he arrived on the morning of the 23d, before Batnir. The kettle-drums were immediately beaten, and the dreadful war-cry, SOUROUN, usual with the Tartars at the commencement of an assault resounded aloud; but the governor, confiding in the matchless strength of the place, and the numerous garrison that defended it, as well as being very insolent and haughty, bade the assailants defiance. At the first attack of the Moguls, the out-posts and suburbs were carried; the counterscarp was taken; a vast number of Indians was slain; and an immense booty acquired. The great omrahs, colonels, and captains, eager to shew their zeal and their valour, then formed themselves into a body, and, armed with their bucklers, rushed forward at the head of the soldiers to the bastions and the principal gates of the town, where the governor himself, with the most determined of the Indians, was posted; their vigorous assaults were repeatedly repelled, and the most heroic feats performed on both sides, till at length, despairing of final success, the governor demanded quarter, and threw himself on the emperor's clemency. He

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 89.

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requested only a suspension of arms for one day, that, on the ensuing, he and his officers might come and cast themselves at the foot of the imperial throne. The request was granted, and the besieging army ordered to retire from the gates, the walls, and even from the suburbs, and to encamp at a distance on the plain. The artful Indian, however, had only made this request to gain time; and not fulfilling his promise, the kettle-drums again sounded to arms, the great trumpet KERRENAI poured forth its terrible note, and the Moguls rushed to the attack with more fury than ever. Every captain of a squadron had the post nearest to the place of its encampment assigned him, to take which all his efforts were exerted; and, in spite of the torrents of fire, of stones, and of arrows discharged on them from the bastions, they were gradually and irresistibly making their way to the summit of the fortifications, when signals of distress, and repentance for their late error, were exhibited by the besieged, and the clemency of the victor again implored. Timur again relented, and the governor sent his son with very valuable presents to mollify his wrath, and followed the next day himself, with others still more rare and valuable. The insurgents of Debalpour and Adjodin were given up, and put, without mercy, to death, and their wives and children made slaves of. Thus far every thing succeeded to Timur's wish; his arms were victorious, and his revenge was gratified; but when his troops went to take possession of the town, the inhabitants, dreading the same fate with the miserable wretches who had fled to them for safety, shut the gates against them. Timur, incensed beyond measure, now ordered a general assault and massacre: the walls were scaled, the houses plundered and burnt, and ten thousand slaughtered Indians lay extended on the smoking ruins of the town. The multitude of carcases is said, by Sherefeddin, to have infected the very air, and obliged Timur to depart from this desolated spot on the 30th of November, to rejoin his army, which, after various excursions

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in every direction, in order to harass and exterminate the infidels in this quarter of India, he effected on the 8th of the following month, at Semana, which according to Major Rennell, is about 88 cosses distant from Delhi.*

Timur staid in Semana and its neighbourhood four days, in order to give time to the remainder of the army and baggage to arrive from Debalpour. On the 17th of December they reached the town of Kuteil, 17 miles from Semana; and here he issued orders to the chiefs of highest rank to repair to their appointed stations in the army, and march in battle array. The right wing was commanded by Pir Mohammed and Rostam; the left by the great Sultan Mahmud, Khan of Zagatai, with the princes of the blood, and the great omrahs; the centre, where Timur himself commanded, was composed of his body-guard, and various tomans of native troops, the bravest and most expert ever trained to battle on the vast plains of Transoxan Tartary. Moving in this order, that they might be prepared, in a strange country, against all hazards, in the course of 17 additional miles, the army reached Assendi, and five miles more brought them to Toglocpour, a place remarkable, says Sherefeddin, for the peculiar religion of its inhabitants, who believe in two great principles governing the universe, the one good, and the other evil, and consequently they were Parsis, who had taken shelter in India from the violent persecution of their sect in Persia. As they were the professed objects of Timur's aversion, they had fled at his approach, and left their town a desert, which was fired by the enraged troops. On the 21st December they arrived at Paniput, twelve miles from Toglocpour: this town was also deserted by the terrified inhabitants; but in it was found an immense treasure of grain, amounting in weight to 160,000 pounds, which was immediately distributed among the soldiers. On the 22d they encamped on the banks of the river of Paniput; on the 24th the march was continued to

* Timur Bec, p. 47; and Rennell's Memoir, p. 89.

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Gehannumai, a palace erected by Ferose Shah, on the summit of a mountain, two leagues from Delhi, at the foot of which flows the great river Jown, or Jumna. Luni, a town and fortress in the neighbourhood, filled mostly with idolaters devoted to the interest of Mellou Khan, the vizier, presuming to hold out against the invader, was, in one day, assaulted, taken, the houses burnt, and the inhabitants massacred: a torrent of blood and a devouring flame marked the whole of the desolating progress of the invader from the Indus to Delhi.*

Timur the next day took a survey of the beautiful and magnificent palace of Gehannumai, a name signifying the Mirror of the Universe, and bestowed upon it on account of its romantic prospect. From its elevated summit he had a distant view of the vast city of Delhi, and all the surrounding country. His exploring eye and sagacious mind immediately marked out the proper spot on the wide plains before him, for engagement, should the enemy resolve to venture on a battle, to which spot, in that case, he meant to allure the Indian general. For the present, he proposed to distress that great capital by cutting off the supplies of grain and provision which the neighbouring districts afforded for the support of its numerous population. Strong parties were therefore sent out to scour the country in all directions, to seize the cattle, and to plunder the granaries, Gehannumai being reserved as an immense deposit for whatever could be thus obtained from the straitened foe. While he was giving these orders, a considerable body of Delhian horse and foot, about nine thousand, supported by twenty-seven elephants, were observed on the opposite banks of the Jumna. Their vanguard was faintly attacked by a small reconnoitring party of about 300 men, who, pretending to fly, gradually led them on nearer those banks, which Timur observing, immediately ordered some regiments of archers and cuirassiers to cross the river, and make a

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 48, ubi supra.

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more serious attack. They were first assailed by the archers with showers of arrows, which being the weapon mostly used in Indian warfare, had not the effect to dismay or disperse them; on the contrary, for a time aided by the train of elephants, they repelled them with great resolution, and the contest seemed for some time doubtful. But when the powerful Tartar cavalry, galloping up, rushed furiously upon them with drawn swords, they were filled with terror, and not being able to withstand their impetuous onset, aided by the same elephants, fled precipitately back to Delhi, the gate of which only a part of them entered with great difficulty; the rest were slain during the hot and vigorous pursuit.

After this successful rencounter, Timur, determined on more active measures, left Gehannumai, and encamped on the east of Louni. Here he was joined by the Shah Zada, the emperor's other children, and the different emirs, who had been making incursions and ravaging the adjoining country. Being all assembled in the imperial tent, Timur, equally conversant in the skilful management of a vast army, and the politic government of a mighty empire, in a strain of nervous eloquence, of which he was a great master, began a laboured harangue on the duties necessary to be exerted by both officers and men in the field of battle; the exact method of breaking through the ranks of an enemy; the proper period to attack, to make a retreat, and to rally an army overpowered by numbers, or exhausted by fatigue. He went through the whole art of war, as then conducted; he explained all its maxims, and expatiated on all its movements, as then practised, with so much energy, perspicuity, and animation, that the audience was filled with admiration and rapture. They made the most unbounded professions of zeal and attachment; they kissed the ground on which he stood; and declared themselves ready to die fighting in the cause of so valiant, renowned, and generous a conqueror.*

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 53.

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Before we proceed farther in detailing the events that occurred at Delhi, it may not be improper to give some description of that important capital of the Indian empire, and to take a concise view of its history and revolutions previous to this formidable attack upon it of the victorious Timur. It is principally by the glimmering light emaning from the page of Herbelot and Abulfeda that we are able to present the reader with this summary record of transactions in India previous to the invader of the Tartar chief.*

A succession of Mohammedan princes had long since established themselves in Hindostan; and they are divided into dynasties, deriving their denomination from that of the countries which gave birth to the invaders. The first is that of the GAZNAVIDES, so called from GAZNA, the capital of a province situated to the north-west of Hindostan, in the neighbourhood of Candahar. They maintained themselves in their Indian conquests from about the year 1000 of the Christian æra to the year 1157, when they were expelled. The second is that of the GAURIDES, from GAUR, a province to the north of *Gazna*. The period of their dominion in India was from 1157 till 1212. The third was that of the CHARAZMIANS, from CHARAZM, the capitial of a kingdom of that name, the Chorasmia of Herodotus, contiguous to the territories of the Gaurides, whom Sultan Mohammed Shah, the sixth of this dynasty, and surnamed the Great, conquered; the period of their reign was still shorter, for, in 1221, the immortal Gengis Khan, by the total defeat of Gelaleddin, son of that Mohammed, on the banks of the Indus, put a final period to the power of this dynasty. Gengis Khan made no establishment

* The following page or two may appear like *tautology*; but I have engaged to insert the account of the irruption of Timur, as it was originally composed, before Sir W. Jones had written to me that letter concerning Ferishta, which is inserted in the second Volume *(final part)* of the Ancient History of Hindostan. The short summary of the dynasties preceding this irruption may serve to refresh the reader's memory in regard to the details of the former volume.

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in Hindostan, and his successors, the Moguls, only harassed it with irruptions; but in A. D. 1230, we find a monarch of Afghan origin sitting peaceably on the throne of India, who, by uniting in his own person the sovereignty both of Delhi and Multan, and fixing his constant residence at the former place, may be called the first regular Mohammedan emperor of Hindostan. This emperor was intitled ILELMISCHE,* and founded the dynasty of Indian princes of which the reigning monarch, Mahmud Shah, was a direct, though remote descendant. Shah Mahmud was a weak and effeminate prince, ruled solely by his vizier Mellou Khan, who having the absolute command of the emperor, had placed his brother Sarenk in the government of Multan. The fortitude of Sarenk had, we have seen, lately been conspicuous in his gallant defence of that city for six months against the besieging army of Pir Mohammed; nor did he surrender it up till famine had exhausted the vigour of his troops, and driven the inhabitants to feed on the carcases of their slaughtered countrymen: with the brother of this determined soldier, rather than with Mahmud himself, was Timur now about to contest the fate of the Indian empire.

With respect to Delhi itself, not less various than the revolutions of its kings has been the fate of that far-famed city; nor is it less wonderful that, through so many changes, to nearly the middle of the last century, it preserved its original name and consequence, as the capital of the empire; for though the seat of government was afterwards, for a time, transferred by Sultan Akber to Agra, yet, on account of the excessive heats that prevail in that city, and the scorching sandy plains among which it is situated, it was restored by Shah Jehan hither, who rebuilt it, and endeavoured in vain to immortalize himself by affixing his own name to his newly-erected city. Since that monarch's death, it has recovered its former title,

* Ferishta's Altumsh. See his life, abridged from that author, in Vol. I. p. 401, of this History.

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and Jehan-abad is a name less-generally known than Delhi, even by the natives themselves. Plundered, sacked, and burnt in various ages, by Tartars, Persians, Afghans, and Marattas, it still retains many vestiges of its ancient grandeur; and, from its central situation, as well as salubrious climate, continued long to be the favourite residence of the monarchs of Hindostan. At the period of the invasion of Timur, Delhi is recorded to have arrived at a point of distinction, in regard to its unequalled wealth and extended commerce, which it never after reached. Sherefeddin describes that capital* as then consisting of three cities, which he denominates Seiri, Gehanpenah, and Old Delhi. Seiri was invested with a strong circular wall; † Old Delhi, or the ancient Inderput, had likewise a circular wall, but far more considerable in extent. Gehanpenah occupied the space between the two cities, and was considerably larger than either: the walls by which it was fortified running on each side in parallel lines, and connecting the two former cities. The metropolis, thus formed of three great cities, spread over a very wide extent of ground; and, according to Sherefeddin, had no less than thirty, others say fifty, gates. It was celebrated, he informs us, for a mosque of astonishing dimensions, and for a palace of admirable magnificence, which was erected by Malek Jona, an ancient king of India, and was ornamented with a thousand marble columns.‡ The eastern authors are lavish in their praises of this great and beautiful metropolis. The seat of voluptuousness, and the central repository of whatever the vast traffic carried on by the Indian

* Sherefeldin's Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 67.

† In the Ayeen Akbery Seiri is said to have been built by Sultan Alladeen.

‡ Mr. Finch, one of the first and most respectable visitants of the interior of India, in describing the ruins of Old Delhi, particularizes the remains of this august pile, which at that period (1609), little more than 200 years after Timur's invasion, was mouldered away to what he calls "a mere carcase, worn out and disfigured to the last degree." Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 88.

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merchants with Persia, Arabia, and China, produced, it abounded with costly rarities of every kind; the tribute of the most distant climes, the labour of the most skilful artificers. But a ferocious conqueror now approached, before whom the pride of India, and the delight of her sovereigns, must soon bow her exalted head.

On the day subsequent to that on which the above-mentioned partial engagement took place, Timur moved his camp to a more easterly situation; and, crossing the Jumna, made the necessary preparations for that dreadful battle which was to decide the fate of India; for from deserters he learned that on a battle the Indian emperor was determined, and for that purpose was on the point of issuing from Delhi at the head of all his forces. His dispositions on this occasion were masterly; and his genius displayed itself in a manner worthy of his high military character; but, at this crisis, he was guilty of an act of horrible and unheard-of cruelty, by no means to be justified by even the barbarous policy of Tartar warfare. During their circuitous route from the Indus to Delhi, a vast number of Indians, to the amount of about 100,000 had been made captive, and were distributed in different lots among the more deserving of the officers and men. It had been observed that, during the engagement of the preceding day, at the precise moment when victory seemed to hover over the Indian army, those unfortunate wretches, in whose bosoms the throb of liberty yet beat, had manifested symptoms of triumphant exultation. It was apprehended, therefore, that in any obstinate engagement with the people of Delhi, they would infallibly rise upon their captors, and join the standard of their countrymen. There was another crime also which operated powerfully towards their destruction: they were *idolaters;* they were fire-worshippers; and to root out idolaters and idolatry was one grand incentive to this expedition; though, as yet, the most formidable opposition to the triumphs of Timur had arisen from those who themselves professed the Mussulman religion. In

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conformity, therefore, partly with his own savage disposition, partly with the rigid maxims of military prudence, and, partly in obedience to the sanguinary laws of Mohammed to extirpate idolaters, these miserable captives were immediately doomed to undistinguished slaughter; and, in sight of the opposite army, the barbarous order for their extirpation was rigorously carried into execution. This wanton massacre seemed no improper prelude to the tragical event that in a few days followed!

Timur had in a manner so blockaded Delhi that no succours from the internal regions of Hindostan could at this time enter the gates of that capital, whose walls contained only about fifty thousand regular troops of which ten thousand were cavalry; yet with this comparatively unequal force, aided by an immense number of new-raised recruits, selected from the fugitives that from all the plundered and burned towns in the neighbourhood had fled thither for shelter, was the weak Mahmud, or rather his desperate vizier Mellou Khan, determined to hazard ALL in a battle with the hardy, numerous, and well disciplined Mogul army, the conquerors of Asia. Their principal dependence lay in the numerous train of royal elephants, a species of animals with which the Moguls, hitherto generally engaged in warfare in the more northern latitudes, where elephants are unknown, had not often contended, and the train of the Delhian emperor consisted of not less than one hundred and twenty in number, all regularly trained to war, and of surprising magnitude and fierceness. They are described by Sherefeddin, as being armed with vast cuirasses for their defence, as bearing between their huge tusks great poisoned daggers, and on their backs enormous wooden towers, filled with cross-bowmen and archers, intended to pour down vollied destruction amid the ranks of the terrified enemy. Besides this formidable phalanx, a band of veterans attended the Indian army, whose operations in war were of an appalling nature, and peculiarly fatal to cavalry. Their business was to hurl fire and burning pitch amongst the enemy, and to discharge a kind of

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rockets armed at the end with sharpened iron, which rebounding repeatedly as they fell, made dreadful havoc, and threw the ranks of the most regular army into disorder. Mahmud himself, assisted by his vizier as lieutenant-general, appeared at the head of the main body of his troops, while the right and left wings were commanded by Indian princes of approved skill and courage.

And now, only a small space separated the two armies; Timur, with his usual ardour, rode from rank to rank encouraging both officers and men to do their duty, and displaying to their view the certain spoil, the dazzling wealth which victory must insure. He pointed to the towers of Delhi with a kind of triumph predictive of victory; and with a scornful air towards the comparative handful of men who were to defend against such superior skill and force that immense magazine of the riches of India.

He appointed Pir Mahommed to the command of the right wing; the Mirzas, Sultan Hussayn, and Khalil, appeared at the head of the left wing; but he reserved to himself the distinction of directing against the enemy the impetuous valour of those chosen bands that formed the centre of his army. Notwithstanding these flattering hopes, and this judicious arrangement, there was still a certain unusual gloom that seemed to have saddened the aspect of his soldiers, whose accustomed zeal for engaging was considerably damped by the sight of those formidable animals whom they had never but once before, and in a far inferior number, seen opposed to them in war, and whose magnitude and hostile apparatus they now beheld with a secret horror. They had conceived strange notions of the elephants: they imagined them invulnerable by the sword, or the arrow: that their strength was such as would with ease tear up the strongest trees of the forest, and batter down the firmest structures: that they were resistless in battle, and with their prodigious trunks could toss both man and horse to a vast height in the air. Such exaggerated relations they may with justice be

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supposed to have heard from their prisoners, whose interest it was to magnify the power and resources of their friends. To remove this consternation, whose appearance was so alarming, and whose consequences might prove so fatal, Timur instantly gave orders to sink a deep ditch in the front of his army, behind which he caused a rampart of bucklers to be raised; he next ordered a number of buffaloes to be tied by the neck and feet with leathern thongs close to each other, with brambles placed on their heads and between each, to be set fire to, when necessary. He also caused iron hooks, with three prongs, and wooden stakes with the sharpened points upwards to be planted in the ground, and combustibles of various kinds were ordered to be kindled at the approach of the elephants, as their great abhorrence of fire was well known.

Another unfortunate circumstance had contributed not a little to depress the minds of the soldiery. Previously to their departure for Delhi the astrologers having been consulted, had declared that the aspect of the planets was *doubtful*, if not *unfavourable*. As it was customary over all the East, and indeed continues to be so until this day, to regard certain seasons as more auspicious than others, and to esteem it madness and impiety to attempt any great enterprize on a day not considered as *fortunate*, it was of the highest importance to overturn a prejudice, so fatally imbibed and from such high authority. It was on this occasion that the mighty soul of Timur broke through the fetters of that superstition by which it was too generally bound. He summoned the astrologers into his presence, and publicly informed them in an authoritative tone, that fortune did not depend on the stars, but on the Creator of the host of heaven; that when, by an exertion of those intellectual powers which the Almighty had bestowed upon him, he had once formed his designs with proper attention to the dictates of cautious wisdom, he would undauntedly pursue the object in view, nor delay one moment the execution of his schemes to wait the precarious sanction

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of a season by vulgar prejudice esteemed fortunate. To shew, however, his respect to the oracles of religion, before the whole assembled army he raised on high the sacred volume of the Koran, and, either by chance or design, opened on a passage that insured the faithful of victory, and at once fired their desponding souls with the most sanguine hopes of success.

At this moment the signal for battle being given, both armies rushed together with a dreadful shock; Timur, retiring to an eminence hard by, in the sight of his army prostrated himself on the ground, and continued for some time in that devout posture, humbly entreating a blessing upon his arms of that benignant Power whom he had lately insulted by the massacre, in cold blood, of 100,000 of his creatures. While Timur was engaged in this ardent strain of devotion, the van of the two armies met, and the Mirza Pir Mohammed became soon as fervently and more effectually engaged, at the head of the Tartar right wing, in the attack of the Indian left wing, which he quickly routed with great slaughter, and drove them beyond the bason of Haviskas, that furnishes Delhi with water. At the head of the Tartar left wing the sultans Hussain and Khalil with equal impetuosity, attacked and defeated the right wing of the Indians, driving it back to the very gate of Delhi. These were easy and rapid conquests; but when the centre of the Indian army, sustained by the elephants, and led on by the intrepid vizier, advanced to meet the main body of the Tartars, the scene was dreadful beyond conception, and the carnage on both sides horrible. Never, says our historian, was a contest between unequal forces, for a time so desperately maintained; never were such prodigies of bravery performed. So loud and terrific a clangour of warlike instruments, of various nations and discordant notes, formed of the mingled sounds of cymbals, kettle-drums, and trumpets of the usual kind, responsive to those of the great brazen kettle-drums* beaten

* Probably gongs.

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on the back of the elephants, the bells which the Indians rang, and the shouts of the soldiers, was never before heard on any field, nor on any occasion. The valour and fortune of Timur, however, at length prevailed; the elephants, thrown into confusion by the stratagem before recited, were driven back on their own ranks, and trampled whole squadrons to death. Daring and impetuous in proportion as they were before tardy and intimidated, the valiant princes and omrahs of the Tartar army rushed forward to assault those novel foes that had appeared so formidable at their first approach; overthrowing the castles on their backs, and hewing in pieces with their sabres the trunks of those unweildy animals. The Indians being completely routed in every quarter, Sultan Mahmud with a train of courtiers, who forsook not their sovereign in distress, retreated with the utmost dispatch to Delhi, whither he was followed by his general Mellou Khan, after having performed feats of valour that astonished his enemies. Dreading the consequences, however, of their obstinate opposition to an enraged and cruel victor, they took advantage of the darkness of the ensuing night, and fled into the deserts. Timur, elate with his triumph, now spurred on his horse towards the gate of Delhi, and having carefully examined the fortifications, and minutely surveyed the situation of the city, returned to his camp. No defence, however, was intended by the inhabitants; with Mahmud and his gallant vizier were fled every hope of preserving the empire, and every effort of defending it. The next morning, January the 4th, his victorious banners were beheld streaming on the walls of Delhi, and the Tartarian conqueror, having entered the principal gate of the city, was seen seated, on high, on the AIDGIAH, or august throne of its ancient monarchs, whence they gave audience in all the splendour of Eastern pomp, on the grand festival of the NAURUZ, or *new-year's day*. This gate was in the quarter of Gehanpenah, directly opposite the bason of Haviskas, where the main army was encamped; here a magnificent tent and

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tribunal was erected for him, and thither the great lords of the kingdom, the ministers of justice, and the principal inhabitants of the city flocked in multitudes, prostrated themselves at his feet, and humbly implored the conqueror's mercy on paying an adequate ransom. As he thus sate in gorgeous array on the most magnificent *musnud* of Asia, the rhinoceros of the royal stables, and the train of state-elephants, to the number of 120, adorned with rich trappings of gold and silver, and sparkling with precious stones, were brought to the foot of the throne: instructed by their keepers, those docile animals fell prostrate before him; and uttered, it is added, a sorrowful cry, as if demanding quarter. These elephants, at Timur's return from his Indian expedition, were sent to Samarcand, and the other great capitals of his empire, as presents to his sons and chief governors. Prayers were at the same time read in the great mosque of Delhi, in the august name and titles of the invincible Timur, instead of the fugitive Mahmud; and heralds, bearing the tidings of these wonderful victories, were dispatched to the most distant quarters of Asia.*

The toils of battle were now to be succeeded by the pleasures of the banquet, and rewarded by the spoils of the capital of India. The former, unequalled in splendour and magnificence, in the costliness and variety of the viands served up in dishes of massy gold, and the wines sparkling in cups of crystal, enriched with the diamonds of Golconda, is said to have lasted many days. During its continuance was distributed among the emperor's sons and the great omrahs and generals, the long-accumulated wealth of the sovereigns of Hindostan. The sports and diversions customary with a martial people enlivened the intervals not devoted to festive jollity, and, to use the words of our author, "concerts of music, set to amorous bacchanalian tunes, so charmed the hearts of all, that they forgot the rigours of war, and the fatigues of a campaign."†

* Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 183. † Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 64.

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But festivity and harmony must now give way to the direst scenes of distress and discord; for in the mean time the secretaries of the divan, stationed at the gate of Delhi, being strenuous in collecting the ransom-money, and the soldiers attending to enforce the demand, treating the inhabitants of the suburbs with insolence, a great tumult was excited in that quarter, and blood mutually shed. Timur having received intelligence of this tumult, sent orders to the great omrahs on duty there to curb the fury of the soldiery, and permit the Delhians to pay in peace and security the demanded tribute; but unfortunately all the efforts of their commanders to restrain their outrages proved ineffectual The embers of sedition, thus kindled, soon broke forth into an ungovernable flame, and an opportunity presently offered for that flame to spread in a degree at once the most fatal and extensive. Impatient to see so celebrated a metropolis and the curiosities which it contained, particularly its lofty palace standing on a thousand columns, the sultanas who attended the army, with the whole court, obtained permission from Timur to enter the city. On this occasion the great gate of the city being thrown wide open, a body of 15,000 soldiers contrived to enter with them, who, joining a much larger body already within the walls, began to commit the most dreadful outrages on the affrighted inhabitants. Provoked to vengeance, and urged by despair, they attacked the military, and some of the more daring aggressors fell, the victims of their own rashness. To prevent any farther increase of the tumult by the entrance of more soldiers, the omrahs on guard ordered all the gates of the city to be shut; but, inflamed with the desire of plunder and the thirst of revenge, the exasperated soldiers within rose upon their officers—burst open the gates—and by the morning of the 19th the whole army had gained admission. A scene shocking to nature and reflection now took place: a general massacre and devastation reigned at once in every quarter. The houses of the citizens were first pillaged, and then

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burnt. The public edifices were defaced, the idolatrous temples destroyed, and this great and proud city was in a very short period reduced to an heap of ruins. An innumerable band of natives, who had fled to the great mosque of old Delhi, either to shelter or defend themselves, were without distinction cut off, and of their heads pyramids were formed; a lasting monument of the barbarity of their invaders! Indeed, we may remark, that whensoever any occasion called forth an unusual severity on the part of these oppressors, they set no bounds to their vengeance; but that their conduct was marked by circumstances of the most savage and unrelenting cruelty; cruelty, such as the fury of the blindest bigotry could alone inspire; such as the peculiar ferocity of Tartars could alone inflict. The booty obtained in this universal plunder, which lasted two whole days, and, doubtless, by the connivance, if not by the command of Timur, anxious to gratify the inferior, as he had already rewarded the superior orders of his army, was beyond imagination great; and the species of it was as various as the wealth itself was infinite. The most considerable article however, was the gold and silver plate which was found in vast abundance, besides an immense quantity of pearls and precious stones in chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, with which the Indian women and girls were decked even to profusion. Loaded with these treasures, and with innumerable captives, the rapacious soldiery were at length satiated, and order and discipline were once more, though with difficulty, restored. A large portion of slaves, both male and female, fell to the lot of every common soldier. The artisans and handicraftsmen, were liberally distributed among the chief princes and commanders; but the masons were reserved for the emperor's own use, to complete those stupendous structures at Samarcand, by which he meant to perpetuate the glories of his reign to the latest posterity.*

Timur remained several days in the ruined capital of Delhi. On

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 67, et Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 189.

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the 18th of January, after having summoned the mussulman inhabitants, the sheriffs, the cadis, the doctors, and the sheiks to meet him in the great mosque of Gehanpenah, he appointed over them a governor, with a force sufficient to protect them from future molestation. He then decamped, and marched to Firozeabad, three miles from Delhi. He staid an hour at that delightful place, made devout protestations in the mosque, and publicly returned God thanks for the success that had hitherto attended his arms. He derived new fortitude from superstitious exercises; he determined to penetrate into its remotest regions, and carry his victorious standard beyond the banks of the Ganges. The strongly fortified city of Mirte, or Merat, in the Duab, situated thirty cosses, or sixty miles, to the north-east of Delhi, and which is said by Sherefeddin to have resisted, in the year 1240, the whole force of Turmecherin Khan, a descendant of Gengis, and one of the greatest emperors of Asia, after a short siege submitted to the superior skill and courage of his veteran troops. Here was practised a repetition of the cruelties committed at Delhi. The idolatrous inhabitants for their attempt to defend themselves, were flayed alive, and their families reduced to slavery; the city itself was burned, and the walls and bastions razed from their foundations.

On the 28th of January, he arrived at Toglocpour on the banks of the Ganges; on the opposite sides of which a numerous army was assembled to prevent their landing, while a more resolute body, advancing in forty-eight great flat bottomed boats, bade defiance to his attempt, and discharged a shower of arrows into the very heart of his camp. Roused at this insult, the emperor with a thousand officers selected for the occasion, set forward to repulse them, which they accomplished with great slaughter; spurring their horses into the water, and cutting the enemy in pieces as they entered their boats. Immediately the whole army crossed the river, and a sudden terror having seized the Indians, they were quickly routed,

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and fled precipitately into the impenetrable forests that extend towards the streights of Kupele. Through these streights (imagined by the ignorant natives to be the sources of the Ganges, whose real head however has been discovered by late travellers to be many leagues distant in the mountains of Thibet) that celebrated river disembogues itself into Hisdostan. Assembled here in devout adoration of the sacred stream whose waters they regard with superstitious reverence, and fired with the sight of that holy rock from which it gushes, and which to the bigotted fancy of Indians, appeared to bear imprest the image of the animal, (the Cow) almost worshipped as a divinity among them, the collective body that had fled before his army, seemed to have united themselves in the fixed determination to assert their invaded rights, and exact a severe revenge for their slaughtered countrymen. But no sooner had Timur at the head of the advanced guard of his army, with the usual impetuosity and the dreadful war-cry of the Tartars, began the attack, than they became panic struck, were thrown into irrecoverable disorder, again betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with equal ardour into the neighbouring woods and fastnesses. It was in the heat of this pursuit, that the life of Timur himself, who, in all engagements, was ever foremost to brave danger, fell into extreme peril. The omrahs that had attended him, resolving to push to the utmost the advantage they had obtained, had left their vailiant commander, engaged in the same eager pursuit with only about one hundred of his guard. An Indian, named Malek Sheyka, who lay nigh at hand, in ambush, with an equal number of men, suddenly rushed from the thicket, and fell upon his slender guard with great impetuosity. A personal combat soon commenced between these desperate warriors, when Timur, discharging an arrow with great violence, shot the rash assailant in the belly, and then cleaving his head asunder with one stroke of his sabre, laid him breathless at his feet.

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New hopes, however, seemed in a short time to animate the breasts of the desponding Indians, for fresh native forces arriving from every quarter, they attempted to make a second stand in the defile above mentioned. And now Timur, though wearied by incessant action, and almost exhausted by want of necessary repose, determined by the most vigorous and decisive exertions to put a period to the contest. He therefore summoned the most valiant officers of his army, and being joined by Pir Mohammed with his battalions, instantly conducted them through the almost inaccessible winding paths of those mountains to the spot, where he charged them with unparalleled fury, and gave them a final and complete overthrow.

By this victory, the fate of India was unalterably decided. All was Timur's, from the most western branch of the Indus to the presumed source of the Ganges. The victor himself, satisfied with having marched to the eastern borders of that empire in one campaign, prepared to repass this great river, and return, crowned with laurels, and the applauses of every pious mussulman, to the capital of his own dominions. But amidst the dreary and immense regions of mount Caucasus, along the foot of which, in a north-west direction he now commenced his march homeward, many fierce and warlike nations remained yet unsubdued. These enemies, more formidable than any he had yet encountered, prepared to dispute with obstinacy his passage through their mountainous territories: and both by ambuscade and open assault, retarded the progress, and thinned the ranks of his army. Renewed opposition served only to rekindle the fervid zeal of the devout Timur, and his valour seemed to glow brightest amidst the gloom and the snows of Caucasus. He faithfully adhered to that leading principle in the code of his great predecessor Gengis Khan; "that peace should never be made with any infidel, king, prince, or people, till they were entirely subdued." He therefore penetrated, without hesitation, far

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into the bosom of the stupendous chain of mountains that stretches over two thirds of that vast empire. It would be tedious, however, as well as unnecessary, in a general work, like the present, to particularize all these various engagements in a country whose geography is so little known to us, and where the names of both the places and the people are alike barbarous; suffice it to say, that wheresoever the enemy was most numerous, or best fortified, in that neighbourhood he fixed his encampment, and rather provoked than declined the dreadful contest. On the other hand, the foe was not less resolute or insulting. They hovered perpetually over his army, posted themselves in the streights, and lay in ambush amidst the impenetrable forests that every where surrounded him. So various were these assaults, so often repeated, and so vigorously renewed, that in the space of thirty days, the period of his progress through those mountains, near twenty battles were fought; sometimes with desperate fury, at all times with determined resolution. Success however invariably attended the Tartar army, whose exertions proved that what they had obtained by their bravery, they could defend with skill and resolution. Castles of the strongest structure, and fortresses of the most difficult access in the great ridge of the Sewalic mountains, a part of the Caucasus nearest adjoining to India, daily surrendered; and the treasures and other plunder taken in them, so loaded the army that they were unable to proceed above four miles a day.

By these slow marches they at length approached the frontiers of Lahore. The prince of that country, on Timur's entrance into Hindostan, had been eminently distinguished for his attachment and fidelity to his cause, and had received from Timur many flattering testimonies of his regard; but while the sultan was prosecuting the war on the distant banks of the Ganges, he had in several instances treated with disrespect certain Moguls of high rank, who either resided in Lahore, or travelled through it to the army. Timur

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was indignant at this intelligence, and sent forwards a strong detachment to plunder that rich city, and seize the person of the offending prince. The plunder, however, of the city, was commuted for a large sum paid by the inhabitants by way of ransom, and the prince of Lahore was brought in chains to the foot of the throne. The inhospitable regions of the Caucasus being thus successfully passed, the army in its progress towards Samarcand soon reached Gebhan, on the frontiers of Cashmere, that delightful province, celebrated through the east for the luxuriant fertility of its soil, the delicious softness of its air, and the refreshing sweetness of its water. Eskander Shah, its prince, who had on Timur's former route near his principality solicited his friendly alliance, had now advanced some leagues towards the camp with terms of submission, and being taxed rather highly by the omrahs, sent to confer with him on the ransom of his country, and people. Timur gave an instance of his generosity by remitting a considerable part of it.

The great object of this expedition being now accomplished, the high ambition of the general gratified, and the honour of his religion vindicated, Timur, impatient to reach his capital of Samarcand, proceeded to disband the greater part of his numerous army, oppressed with the number of their slaves, and groaning under the wealth of India. The commanding omrahs of both wings, with their colonels, captains, and other subordinate officers, were therefore about this time summoned into his presence, and having received magnificent presents in proportion to their rank and valour, were ordered to return home by the different routes marked out for them. The great lords of India, also, who had manifested their zeal for his cause, and attended his army, being in like manner rewarded, were now permitted to return to their several principalities.

The government of Multan he conferred upon Keder Khan, who had been imprisoned in its citadel by the brave Sarenk; and he

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invested with great solemnity his favourite son and general, the Mirza Pir Mohammed, with the sovereignty of the whole of his remaining conquests in Upper Hindostan.

Eager to outstrip the tidings of his astonishing victories, and be the messenger of his own glory, Timur now set forward in haste before his army, and, again crossing the Indus, by rapid marches, arrived at the defile of the mountains of Sheberto, a part of the Caucasus, where he was seized with a violent illness, being severely afflicted with ulcers on his hands and feet, and obliged for many leagues to be carried in a litter, which to one of his active and indefatigable turn, must have proved a painful confinement. He did not however linger for any length of time under this cruel malady; but in a few days recovering, pressed forward with accelerated speed towards the metropolis of his dominions, which he entered in triumph on the 9th of May, 1399; having in little more than ten months finished an expedition which for its arduousness, for its vast extent, and the magnitude and importance of the acquisition, seemed to have required at least as many years for its accomplishment. The vast empire of Timur felt through all its bounds the benefit of this incursion. It brought an accession of wealth and splendour unknown before in the court of Samarcand; while the unlimited generosity of the emperor to his favourite generals, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of state, contributed to diffuse it widely through every class of his subjects. As a lasting monument of his triumphs, as well as to evince his gratitude to heaven for such signal success, he caused to be erected by the artificers whom he had brought from Delhi, a most sumptuous and stately mosque, so vast in its dimensions as to contain with ease the whole assembled body of the faithful in that extensive and populous capital.

To review farther the events that distinguished the life of this mighty conqueror; his splendid successes in Egypt and Syria, with

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the captivity of Bajazet, and the immense preparations he made for that greater undertaking, which he had vowed, the conquest of China, and the extinction of idolatry through that wide region, would be a work totally unnecessary, because unconnected with the subject of this history. It will be sufficient for us to remark, that his Indian conquests remained in, at least, nominal subjection to the authority of the vice-roy he had appointed, till the death of Timur, which happened five years after, at Otrar, on the commencement of his expedition to China, on the 1st of April A. D. 1405, or A. H. 807, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign.*

On his death bed he summoned around him the princes of his family, the generals of his army, and the other principal lords of his court, and having, in the presence of them all, declared Pir Mohammed Gehan Ghir the sole heir and successor to all his vast dominions, ordered them to swear fidelity to him. This command they readily obeyed, not without tears for the loss of their renowned commander; and at the same time bound themselves by the most solemn obligations, to see the last will of their expiring monarch in every circumstance punctually fulfilled.

KHALIL SULTAN; FIRST SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

But scarcely had the fatal event taken place, ere they broke through those vows so solemnly plighted in favour of Khalil Sultan,

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 387, and Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 503. The above account of Timur's irruption, is the substance of what is to be found in these two writers concerning it, compared with the long article on *Timour* in the Bibliotheque Orientale of M. D'Herbelot. Whatever partakes of panegyric, apparently exaggerated, is from SHEREFEDDIN; whatever of embittered invective, is from ARABSHAH; and the foundation of the adulation of the one, and the rancour of the other, has been stated at the beginning of this chapter. A medium between both must doubtless exhibit his true character; in deciding upon it, we must ever remember the violent principles, inspired by his *religion*, and the native uncultured ferocity, peculiar to the WAR-BRED TARTAR.

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(the son of Miran Shah), another of his grandsons, whom they raised to the throne; and who, having obtained possession of Samarcand, and the imperial palace with its vast treasures, was enabled by those treasures to maintain himself in the government he had thus unjustly usurped. In the mean time Pir Mohammed, the rightful heir of the throne, astonished at this general disobedience to the dying commands of Timur, and warmed with indignation at the particular infringement of his own just rights, prepared with vigour to assert his claims. The legacy bequeathed him with such unlimited generosity, amounting to half the kingdoms of Asia, was of too rare a kind, of too transcendant a value, to be tamely relinquished to an usurper; and it was bequeathed to one who seemed to possess both spirit and resources to vindicate his invaded rights. Trained from his very infancy to arms; accustomed to fight under the banner, and often by the side, of his illustrious grandfather, his soul was a stranger to the sense of danger, and the emotions of vulgar fear. Though he well knew the advantage which possession gave his antagonist, and the prostrate servility of the courtiers that surrounded him, Pir Mohammed, with a spirit as cool as determined, instantly resolved to decide the contest, however unequal; and, having collected a powerful army, advanced without delay from Gazna on the frontiers of India towards Samarcand. In his progress towards that metropolis he sent an embassy to Sultan Khalil, declaring his surprise at his violent usurpation of those dominions of which himself was declared the sole and universal heir by the will of him who, from conquest, possessed the sole right of bestowing them. An answer, at once evasive and insulting, was returned to this declaration, quickly followed by a numerous army ready to inforce by the point of the sword the justice of his pretensions. The command of this army was given to Shah Hussein, his cousin, under the direction of some experienced generals that had served under Timur: but the rash ambition

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of this prince hurried him into the madness of seizing the persons of those generals; and instead of marching the troops against Pir Mohammed, he suddenly declared himself a competitor for the throne. By the judicious caution, however, of one of his generals, who had gained his confidence, the intended mischief was prevented, the imperial army preserved, and the bold adventurer driven into exile, where he soon after perished. By this delay Pir Mohammed gained a considerable advantage over his rival, who now, convinced that no time was to be lost, put himself at the head of his own army, and brought forth against him the united forces of the whole empire. The two armies soon met, and, after a most obstinate and bloody conflict, victory declared in favour of him whose cause was less just; while Pir Mohammed with difficulty escaped the fate of his family, and attendants, who were all made prisoners.

Undiscouraged by this defeat he returned to Candahar, where, amidst the hardy inhabitants of those mountains, he soon raised a still more numerous army, with which he hastened to renew the contest; but fate itself seemed to fight against him; for as soon almost as the engagement commenced an unaccountable panic seized his troops, who fled with precipitation from the field, and their commander himself was obliged to seek shelter in a neighbouring castle, which, though ill prepared to sustain an assault, was immediately invested by the victorious Khalil. As the Mirza had not with him a force sufficient to defend the place, he contrived to deceive the enemy for a time by this stratagem: he arrayed in warlike apparel the common people and the menial servants of the castle, and, thus accoutred, compelled them to mount the walls, that the enemy, who knew his resolution, might not doubt of his having troops to defend himself to the last extremity. The difference, however, between these raw novices and regular troops being soon visible, and the cause itself utterly desperate, the besieged general was compelled,

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however reluctantly, to yield to the necessity of the occasion, and make the best terms possible with his competitor. A cessation of hostilities was therefore agreed upon, and a mutual compact, confirmed by oath, entered into between the contending parties, that each should enjoy, unmolested by the other, the territories in his possession.

Pir Mohammed once more returned to his government, probably with little intention to respect claims founded on injustice, or oaths extorted by violence; but whatever his future designs were, they proved abortive: for shortly after in a rebellion excited by his vizier he was taken prisoner, and basely assassinated. The traitor however did not long enjoy his ill-gotten power, for Shah Rukh or Sharock, the fourth son of Timur, advancing from his government of Chorasan, soon after revenged the Mirza's death by the destruction of the rebel that had occasioned the insurrection, and having restored affairs to their former tranquillity, established himself in the extensive dominions of his predecessor.

Though the history of Timur's successors in India till the reign of Sultan Baber is involved in great obscurity, and what little we know of it is partial and desultory, yet from the sources of intelligence in our possession we shall endeavour to carry on the chain of historical relation; and if we cannot be diffuse, at least be faithful. This will naturally include events that may seem to belong to Tartar rather than Indian history; yet as the descendants of Timur who reigned in Great Tartary must be considered, by means of his conquest, and consonantly to the Asiatic ideas affixed to conquest, as the only rightful lords of that country, this portion of their annals cannot appear totally unconnected with it. It cannot be sufficiently lamented that those Persian and Arabic records relative to this period that have been collected by Mr. Fraser and others, have not been translated into any European dialect. They would probably throw such a light on the events of this æra, as would enable those who possess

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sufficient industry and leisure, to arrange in a satisfactory manner this particular section of Indian history that remains at present so clouded and confused. "Happy would it be," says a* great judge and ornament of Oriental literature, "if the principal writings of the Asiatics, which are reposited in our public libraries, were printed with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations; and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our places of education, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would then be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the human mind, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate."

Sultan Khalil, unworthy to govern the empire he had usurped, soon degenerated from the vigour that distinguished his first entrance on regal authority, into the most unmanly and voluptuous conduct. To secure himself on the throne, he had early distributed the immense treasures amassed by Timur with lavish profusion among the great omrahs, principal courtiers, and soldiers; forgetful that by this unbounded prodigality he destroyed the resources of government, and weakened the sinews of war. After a few necessary campaigns, in which however he displayed great military abilities, he resigned himself to the absolute controul of an artful intriguing woman named Shadi Mulk, to whom he was devoted, and who gained such an ascendant over him, as by her influence to advance to the first employments of the state men of the meanest extraction, and most contemptible talents. By this ill conduct the hearts both of his soldiers and subjects were by degrees alienated from him, public affairs ran rapidly into confusion, and in a short time hardly a vestige remained of the splendour and magnificence that distinguished

* Sir W. Jones's Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations, prefixed to his Asiatic Poems.

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the court of Timur. By the advice of the same jealous woman, disdaining near her any rivals in dignity, he had removed from about the court the wives and concubines of the deceased emperor; and bestowed them in marriage on persons of the most inferior rank and groveling minds; and those ladies, many of royal, all of noble, blood, finding themselves thus insulted, contributed not a little to blow up the flames of that general discontent that ended in the subversion of his power. The viceroys of the several provinces, both near and remote, did not fail to take advantage of the universal distraction that prevailed in the government, and began openly to throw off their allegiance. Many of these being equally, and some still more nearly, related to its original founder than the reigning monarch, made public boast of their pretensions to his throne, and prepared to assert those pretensions. The Sultan Sharock in particular, as superior to the others in power and extent of dominion, set out at the head of a vast army for Samarcand, and its monarch having fled before him, was received by the citizens with the loudest acclamations of joy as their safeguard and deliverer. His presence and prudent management of affairs soon restored peace and regularity to that distracted city; while the fame of his valour and the terror of his arms soon over-awed every meaner competitor, and gave him the bloodless possession of his father's throne.

SHAROCK,* OR SHAH RUKH; SECOND SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

The rash prince, whom Sharock succeeded, having been deceived and made prisoner by Khodadad Hussayn, with whom he had fled from his capital, was glad to fly back to his uncle for protection, who not only received him with honour, but settled him in the

* "Shahrokh, or, Check with the Rook, so called by Timur because he was playing at chess, and had just beaten his adversary by that stroke, when he received news of the prince's birth." Jones's Nadir Shah, page 25.

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government of Persian Irak and Azerbijian; provinces, better suited than a great kingdom to his slender capacity for ruling. He did not indeed long enjoy even this inferior situation; for, whether he still remained an object of some jealousy to the new emperor, or had really engaged in treasonable practices, it was thought proper to remove him, and he was soon after taken off by poison. His death left Sharock in undisturbed possession of the greater part of Timur's extensive conquests, which he seems to have governed with great wisdom and policy, for his reign was long and distinguished by illustrious events. His life was written by Sherefeddin the Persian historian, at that time living, to whom we are indebted for the life of Timur referred to above; and from whom our guide, Herbelot, derived the particulars given in the Bibliotheque Orientale. To the talents of a great warrior Sharock added those of a nobler kind. He was both the patron and associate of learned men: in his reign many noble edifices, sacred to religion and philosophy, were erected; and the city of Shiraz, where his second son, Sultan Ibrahim, resided as governor, who was himself a scholar and a poet, and founded a college there with liberal establishments, might be justly called the seat of science and the nurse of poetry. His fourth son, Soyurgatmish, had the command of Gazna and the Indian territories, but died some years before his father; who after a long career of glory at length deceased at Rey* in Persian Irak, A. D. 1446, in the 71st year of his age, and the 40th of his reign.

* Of Rey nothing now is visible but a heap of mouldering ruins; yet if Sir John Chardin's account of it be credible, it was once the largest city in all Asia, divided into ninety-six quarters, every one of which contained forty-six streets, and every street four thousand houses. He adds, from Persian historians, that its walls inclosed "6,400 colleges, 16,600 baths, 15,000 towers of mosques, 12,000 mills, 1,700 channels, and 13,000 inns. Allowing that this account must be enormously exaggerated, yet what an image does it present to the mind of the ancient grandeur and population of the Persian empire?—How does it reconcile us to the astonishing relations concerning Persepolis and other Eastern cities, when in their glory?—And with

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ULUG BEG; THIRD SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Ulug Beg, the eldest son of Sharock, and indeed the only one of five that survived him, succeeded his father; but came not to the throne under those happy auspices of peace and submission that marked his progress to imperial sway. That fatal ambition which had seized all the offspring of Timur, and had deluged his dominions with the blood of his descendants, again began to break forth with aggravated fury, and demanded in the reigning sovereign the most active exertions, joined with the most consummate military skill. Baysankar, the third son of Sharock, had left behind him three sons, whose names were Alaoddawlet, Mohammed, and Baber, who severally stood candidates for a share of the empire. Their efforts were as sudden as their attempts were bold. The first seized on Herat, the capital of Chorasan, where he found great treasures; the second laid claim to Persian Irak and Pars, of which he had been appointed governor; and the third did the same by Mazenderan. Each immediately proclaimed himself independent, and acted with sovereign authority in the several provinces they had usurped. Undismayed at this threefold opposition, the new emperor made immediate preparations to punish the disloyalty of his nephews. Anxious to recover Chorasan, the hereditary domain of his family, allotted them by Timur, but more anxious to recover his young son Abdollatiff, who was taken prisoner at Herat, he first temporised with its invader, and having by stratagem gotten the youth out of his hands, at no distant interval placed himself at the head of the imperial army, and, giving the usurper battle, defeated him near Herat, and entered that city in triumph.

what an awful idea does it impress the soul of the sublime majesty and unrivalled splendour of the great Shahinshah, or king of kings."†

† Richardson's Dissertation on the Language, Literature, and Manners of the Eastern Nations.

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Alaoddawlet, thus defeated, joined his forces to those of his brother Baber, but this junction availed him not; for Ulug marching from Herat, a second time put him to flight, and compelled both to seek shelter with their other brother Mohammed, who ruled in Persian Irak. Content with having vanquished them he did not pursue his victory, nor point against them the vengeance they deserved; but returned to Herat, where his presence was necessary to crush a rebellion reigning in the suburbs of that city, which the irritated monarch gave up to the pillage of his soldiery. After reposing his army for some time in its neighbourhood he returned to Samarcand.

Trusting that his clemency and forbearance, joined to their past experience of his power, would operate towards the disarming of the insurgents, Ulug forebore at present to prosecute the war, but had soon reason to repent of his ill-judged lenity towards those ungrateful brothers; for having obtained fresh succours they again returned to Herat, whose inhabitants, smarting under their late chastisement, in revenge opened their gates to him. A still more terrible calamity befel this amiable and brave, but ill-fated, man: for, shortly after, his own son Abdollatiff appeared in arms against him; and, when every tender paternal expostulation failed to reclaim him to duty and allegiance, the unfortunate father was compelled to give him battle, and, being routed in the engagement, was taken prisoner, and not long after cruelly put to death, in about the year 1450, in the fortieth year of his reign over Turkestan and the countries north of the Jihun, but the fourth over the Tartarian empire. This prince deserved a better end; for besides great personal bravery he possessed many excellent qualities, and, like his father and brother, patronized the sciences. In astronomical knowledge he himself was highly eminent: he* erected a noble observatory at Samarcand, and commanded, if not superintended, the

* Sir W. Jones's Preface to Nadir Shah.

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composition of certain astronomical tables of high repute through the East, of which a part has been published in Europe, with a Latin version, under the title of Epochæ Celebriores. In this work he is styled Sultan al Hind et al Sind, that is, of the two grand divisions of India, which seems to carry with it presumptive evidence that no convulsions had yet wholly wrested the conquests of Timur in that country from his descendants.

ABDOLLATIFF; FOURTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

After the atrocious deed above mentioned Abdollatiff ascended the throne; but having imbrued his hand in paternal blood, scrupled not to proceed to the abominable wickedness of consigning an only brother to the same premature destruction. Having thus got rid, as he thought, of every object that stood in the way of his ambition or excited his jealousy, the remorseless tyrant, whose distinguishing characteristic was a certain ferocity of courage, laid out many schemes of conquest, and flattered himself with many years of glory and felicity. But the justice of Heaven overtook the barbarian, and before he had completed six months of his reign his own soldiers, tired of his intolerable yoke and daily cruelties, shot him to death with arrows.

ABDOLLAH; FIFTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Abdollah, the son of Ibrahim, second son of Sharock, who had married a daughter of Ulug Beg, and at that time resided in Samarcand, considered this as a favourable crisis to assume the reins of that goverment to which he deemed himself, in some measure, by consanguinity entitled. This prince had, with the consent of Sharock, succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Pars, or Persia Proper, from which he had been driven by the violent usurpation of Mohammed, son of Baysankar, above mentioned. Ulug Beg had received him with kindness, had admitted him, by the marriage of his daughter,

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to a still more intimate alliance with the reigning family, and under his protection he had ever since fixed his abode in that capital. In Abusaid Mirza, however, grandson of Miran Shah, third son of Timur, he soon found an active, determined, and finally successful rival. With a soul fired by ambition, and formed for enterprize, this aspiring chief had long meditated to erect for himself on the ruins of Timur's vast and divided empire an independent kingdom, and, amidst the confusion that ensued from Abdollatiff's unnatural rebellion, first began to manifest his daring aims. In the campaign which that monarch undertook to enforce the obedience of his rebellious son, he had joined the royal party with a considerable body of forces, and seemed heartily engaged in his cause; but, on a sudden, he withdrew his troops, and, confederating with another powerful and disaffected lord, marched to Samarcand where Abdollaziz, the second son of Ulug, commanded; who, unwilling to contend with such superior forces, precipitately retreated, leaving him master of the city. Alarmed at this intelligence, Ulug Beg immediately hastened back to the relief of his capital; and this sudden retreat from the field seems to have given that advantage to his son which soon after ended in his defeat, and death. The execrable, but decisive, measure that doomed a father to destruction, gave to this sanguinary victor at once the sceptre of imperial sway, and the forces necessary to support it. His own numerous legions, joined with the experienced troops of Ulug Beg, composed together an army formidable for its magnitude, and irresistible for its skill. Armed with these resources he marched directly to Samarcand, where Abusaid in his present circumstances refused to risque the event of a general engagement. He therefore retired from the field of public contest to that of dark intrigue and secret cabal; he affected to disband his army, and relinquished all open hostile preparations, of dubious issue, for those more slow but efficacious measures that seemed to promise unavoidable success. For some months

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he continued to act with this guarded caution; but the death of Abdollatiff affording a fresh opening for enterprize, the effect of these intrigues was soon visible in the open revolt of Bockhara and its dependences. The flame of sedition quickly spread far and wide, and to extinguish it required all the exertions of the new Sultan, whose claims to empire were by no means generally acknowledged, and whose throne yet trembled beneath him. By efforts equal to the greatness of the stake, he collected an army, and on his approach towards Samarcand, met, defeated, and drove his competitor Abusaid beyond the most distant limit of his dominions. But the ardour of that mighty hero from whose loins was to descend, in direct succession, the great hereditary dynasty of the Mogul monarchs, was not to be thus quenched. The ensuing year he returned at the head of an immense body of Uzbeck Tartars, who spreading over the country, like a vast inundation, carried terror and desolation to the very walls of Samarcand. The event was a battle, fought with inconceivable fury, and attended with circumstances of unusual horror, in which Abdollah being slain, A. D. 1451, his fortunate rival at last mounted that throne, for which he had so long contended with such restless and enterprizing zeal.

ABUSAID MIRZA; SIXTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

The whole reign of this monarch, comprehending a period of nearly twenty years, was a continued series of warlike contention, from the jealous hatred of the neighbouring princes and the persevering opposition of the sons of Abdollatiff, contending for the empire of their father. But opposition served only to illustrate the life of Abusaid Mirza. He greatly enlarged the boundaries within which, by the encroachment of the surrounding potentates, and the vicissitudes natural to kingdoms as to men, the original empire of Timur was now reduced. Every part of that empire felt the effects of his vigorous government; and the anarchy that had long reigned in its more distant provinces, the natural consequence of the late

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feeble administration and frequent changes at the helm, was both awed by his presence, and quieted by his wisdom.

To this period, or that somewhat preceding, may probably be referred the first open defect of Western Hindostan from that obedience which its inhabitants had long, at least *nominally*, paid to the governors appointed by the family of Timur; "for nothing can be less founded," says Mr. Orme,* than "the common belief that the throne of Delhi, and the whole extent of the conquests made by Timur in India were maintained by his posterity in a regular filiation, and without interruption." The conquests of that celebrated warrior were too suddenly acquired to possess great durability. He left the natives rather overwhelmed with astonishment, and overawed by his good fortune, than completely subjugated. The profound veneration of the Hindoos for their own peculiar civil institutions, the solemn rites of national religion, whose deep foundation his sanguinary executions could never shake, the extensive power which the Afghan tribes still retained in India, and the wide domain possessed by the independent rajahs, all forbid the idea of any permanent Tartar establishment in that country from the rapid invasion of Timur. Remote from Samarcand, the seat of empire, the Indian provinces were kept in subjection rather by the terror of those numerous and disciplined forces, chiefly cavalry, that remained with the viceroy at Gazna, or Candahar, ever at hand to enforce obedience, and crush rebellion, than by any fixed veneration for the laws or name of Timur. However those motives might afterwards operate when Sultan Baber and his descendants had again effected the conquest of India, the former were as yet little known, and the latter little respected. Confined as is our knowledge of the internal history of that country at this æra, yet as Abusaid is affirmed by the Oriental writers, cited in Herbelot,† to have personally extended

* See Orme's Dissertation on the Mohammedan Conquests in India.

† See the article Abusaid Mirza, p. 34. His authorities are professedly the NIGHIARISTAN and KHONDEMIR. Ferishta's account of this period will occupy the next chapter.

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his dominions from Multan in Hindostan to Karazm on the Caspian sea, it may justly be supposed that intestine commotions had rendered his presence absolutely necessary in that remote region.

The death of Abusaid was not so glorious as his life had been, since it happened not in the field of battle, but by the hand of the executioner; for having in a war with Hassan the Turcoman,* in too great confidence advanced upon the frontiers of Azerbigian he was in his retreat taken prisoner, and ungenerously doomed to suffer an ignominious death in the camp of his enemy in the year of Christ 1468, and in the seventeenth of his reign.

With Abusaid expired the glory of the mighty empire of Timur, established in Great Tartary: an empire, which, in its full meridian and animated by the soul of its great founder, eclipsed all (excepting perhaps that of Gengis Khan) that the world had ever beheld; extending far as the river Ganges to the east, and to the Archipelago on the west. The symbol displayed on its banners, the SUN RISING ON THE BACK OF A RECUMBENT LION, had long blazed in every region of terrified Asia. It now hastened rapidly to its decline; yet, in the very evening of its final extinction it diffused a beam of bright though transient effulgence, over the political horizon, and the nations of the east bowed to its setting, scarcely less than to its rising ray. But it declined at Samarcand, only to rise with renovated splendour at Delhi. A spark of the genius of Timur yet remained to animate to glory another great branch of his posterity, and, in the remote regions of that empire, from the ashes of the old, to form a new government equal in renown, if not in extent, to the former.

* The Turcomen, have been already described as having originally been natives of Turkestan, who had established themselves along the coast of the Caspian Sea. They by degrees, became very powerful, gave rise to two monarchies, that of the *Black Sheep* and that of the *White Sheep*, and were formidable both to Timur's descendants who reigned in Tartary, and the Uzbeks who succeeded them. This Hassan, who afterwards usurped the province of Chorasan, was the sixth of the dynasty of the *White Sheep*. Such were the symbols painted on their ensigns.

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SULTAN AHMED; SEVENTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Ahmed, the eldest of eleven sons left by Abusaid, mounted without opposition, the hereditary throne of the house of Timur; but wanting the vigour and military abilities of his father, the extensive acquisitions made by his arms were soon lost, and the successive incursions of his powerful neighbours, in a short time reduced his dominions to the most contracted circle. In a few years the imperial domain comprehended little more than the country of Mawhranhar, or Great Bokhara; and after a reign, distinguished by no brilliant event on record, this inglorious monarch died at Samarcand in A. H. 899, or A. D. 1493, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

SULTAN BABER; THE EIGHTH AND LAST SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR ON THE THRONE OF TARTARY, AND THE PROPER FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA.

Baber, son of Omar, (fourth son of Abusaid, grandson of Miran Shah, third son of Timur), from the sovereignty of Andekan, a province of Tartary, which he inherited from his father, succeeded on the death of Ahmed to the vacant throne. The nation that had been so highly instrumental to the greatness of Abusaid, proved fatal to the authority of his grandson. Dispersed in vast numbers throughout the whole region of Tartary; eye witnesses of the feeble administration of the affairs of the empire, and of the relaxed discipline of the troops destined to defend it; no wonder that the rapacious and military race of Uzbecks, aspired to the sovereignty of a country which their valour had contributed to conquer for another. Invited probably by his subjects settled in that kingdom, and

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flushed with victories already obtained in the surrounding region, Shah Bakht, Khan of the Uzbeck tribes, with a mighty army in the fifth year of Sultan Baber's reign invaded Great Bokhara. The unfortunate Sultan, in the present debilitated state of the monarchy, unable to make head against such numerous and disciplined forces, was compelled to abdicate the throne of his ancestors, to which he never returned. Indeed no descendant of Timur, after this period reigned in Samarcand, for Shah Bakht, still wider extending his conquests, retook Chorasan from the usurper Hassan, whose family he extirpated, and, adding to his new possessions Karazm and many neighbouring principalities, laid the foundations of a monarchy whose posterity still retain the supreme dominion, while the whole of that country has since gradually assumed the name of the conquerors, and is now called Uzbeck Tartary.

Baber, as he afterwards proved, wanted neither spirit nor perseverance in any cause he undertook; but he soon saw that the empire he had lately governed, from the weakness of his predecessor, was irretrievably ruined. Instead therefore of engaging in ineffectual contests for a throne, now irrecoverably lost, he determined with equal wisdom and boldness, to plant his standard on a soil where no laurels had been lately reaped, and immortalize himself by becoming the founder of a new empire. He turned his eye eastward, and in a kind of prophetic transport beheld the glory of India's future sovereigns that were to descend from his loins. Resolved to succeed or perish in the attempt, with a mind inflamed with these sanguine hopes, the ROYAL EXILE retired to Gazna, that baleful source of the evils of Hindostan, there to plan the scheme of his future conquests, and the renovation of the fallen splendour of his family.

During the last inactive reign the provinces of Hindostan had almost entirely shaken off the Tartar yoke, which was equally odious to the Mohammedan chiefs and the native princes. The

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Afghans had taken possession of the city and kingdom of Delhi, for by that name was the surrounding district then called; the great rajahs had rendered themselves for the most part independant of all foreign authority; and thus a new and wide field lay open to the aspiring genius of Sultan Baber. The plan he had thus boldly formed, he prepared with vigour and celerity to execute. With an army, small in number, but terrible in battle, and warmly attached to their leader, he set out at length on this hazardous expedition; but so rooted an abhorrence of the Tartar government had taken place in the countries he meant again to subjugate, so united and general was the opposition made to his arms both by Afghans and Indians, that for several campaigns he made but slow progress, was often repulsed, and sometimes totally defeated; nor, till he gained a final and decisive victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, in his fifth invasion, could he at all be said to have gained a permanent footing in India. This engagement took place on the 1st of May 1526, and gives us the highest idea both of the military talents of Baber, and the obstinate intrepidity of the troops under his command, since, with hardly 12000 effective men, he put to flight an army of 100,000 Afghans, supported by an immense body of elephants, trained to war. We are more astonished at such success, with such disparity of numbers, because it was not, we are told, with the enervate Indian, but the hardy Afghan with whom he had to contend. It must however, be supposed that, from their frequent and prolonged incursions into the Indian territories, his veteran bands had arrived at a pitch of perfection in the science of war unequalled in those days, and were absolutely unconquerable but by troops of the same excellence, animated by a general of the same experience.

Thus a remote though lineal descendant of Timur, a fugitive from his own country, ascends in person the throne of Delhi, near 130 years after the acquisition of it by that great conqueror; and thus that portion of his dominion, which, in his meridian of glory, was

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but a bright appendage to his other more valued conquests, now becomes the sole seat of his remaining empire, and the last refuge of his exiled race.

Had the Institutes by which Timur governed, been adhered to by his descendants in Tartary; had that rigid discipline, established through his vast army, been regularly and scrupulously maintained; had they inherited with its throne the personal activity, the intuitive wisdom, the enlarged policy of its great legislator, it was an empire from its very principles well calculated, as it was certainly intended by him, to continue for many centuries the admiration and terror of the world.

Timur possessed a mind at once daring and prudent. Of a temper ardent, resolute, and ambitious in the highest degree, his native fire was moderated by long habits of reflection, his resolution never betrayed him into acts of desperate precipitancy, and his ambition he so far kept within bounds, that it seldom exceeded his ability to accomplish its aims. Of the immense treasures he possessed he was liberal, but not prodigal; kept his chief officers and great omrahs in strict subordination to his authority, ands eldom trusted to others for the execution of any grand, or hazardous project. Those, among his descendants, who trod in his steps, and made his illustrious life their example, arrived at a point of eminence in fame and power, that nearly bordered on his own. Such was the immortal Shahrock; such was the invincible Abusaid. The rest were in general fierce without fortitude, profuse without generosity, and instigated by a wild ambition that spurned every bound of reason and justice; seldom appearing at the head of their own armies, and then ruining the best concerted measures by precipitate ardour, or vindictive violence. All discipline in military life became neglected; and all regularity and economy in the administration of civil concerns was at an end. The disposal of the most important offices was left to the fluctuating caprice of slaves and sycophants; the

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great omrahs in the distant provinces grew by degrees independent of their sovereign; while those nearer home enriched themselves by the plunder of the empire, and rioted in luxuries purchased by the oppression of laborious industry. The final ruin of that empire was the consequence; it remains to be seen whether in a second, established by his posterity, they will derive wisdom from past experience, and act more conformably to the life and maxims of their vaunted progenitor.

After the preceding very considerable, but not, I trust, irrelevant nor unentertaining digression, let us return to the consideration of what Ferishta has collected on the subject of the domestic history of Hindostan during this dark period, from the irruption of Timur till the final establishment of Baber on the throne of Hindostan. With respect to the irruption itself, as the work of Ali of Yezd, or Sherefeddin, must have been his principal guide in the narration, equally as it has been mine, there cannot be expected, and there will not be found, any material deviation in the great line of historical fact. An attempt, indeed, is made, on traditional authority to exculpate Timur from the charge of the guilt of the massacre of Delhi;* but it is weak and futile. Idolaters and their property were attacked with religious and political fury, the least resistance in the Tartar and Arab creed of faith, justified unlimited massacre. The following is the substance of that writer's account of the melancholy catastrophe of the Delhian insurgents.

The consternation of Mahmud and his minister Eckbal, after the battle of the third of January, 1399, was so great, that, not trusting to the fortified walls, they both deserted, in the night, the capital; the former flying to Guzzurat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Mahmud, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons prisoners.

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

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Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the royal proclamation and titles to be read in his own name in all the mosques. The next day he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and spoliation immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who at the same time, dared not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Timur, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos seeing their wives and daughters violated, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, with one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murthered their wives and children, and ran out like mad-men against their enemies.

But very little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who were collected from every quarter, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead: and, in the mean time the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians was at length quenched in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, and submitted themselves

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like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed *souls*, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Indians had the savage resolution to imbrue their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death, which they could so readily execute upon others.

This massacre is, in the History of Nizam, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city without having intelligence of what passed within the walls. But the imperial race of Timur take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments on their side. The principal one is this; that, in consequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, instead of which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense.*

The city of Delhi remained in anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Timur, when it was taken possession of by the

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

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pretended emperor Nuserit,* with only two thousand horse, from Merat. Two chiefs, Shab and Almass, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nuserit sent immediately Shab, with his troops, towards Birren, against Eckbal, who had there taken up his residence. But Shab was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal, and slain; Eckbal pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab's army,

This success raising the reputation as well as spirits of Eckbal, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to make an attempt upon the capital, which he did with success; for Nuserit, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who escaped the massacre and had fled to different places, retaining still a natural prejudice in favour of their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.†

Ferishta agrees with Sherefeddin in the circumstance of Timur's having appointed Chizer Khan, a kind of tributary sovereign of Multan, Lahore, and Debalpour, but we learn from the former author, that, on his return to Samarcand, and during his subsequent campaigns in the distant confines of Egypt and Syria, the whole east and south of India was convulsed with the efforts of rival competitors to obtain that throne on which the weak Mahmud, though still in existence, a miserable phantom of imperial grandeur, was not able firmly to maintain his seat. These competitor sin their respective districts assumed the title and exercised the authority of kings; but two pre-eminently so, the one styling himself the KING OF THE EAST, meaning the vast provinces stretching on each side of the Ganges; and the other, the KING OF THE WEST, who reigned in Guzzurat;

* Concerning this person, see what is said Vol. I. p. 505 of this History.

† Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

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and these arrogated titles continued to be enjoyed for a long period by their posterity. Thus, we are told by Ferishta, that Eckbal possessed Delhi, and the country between the two rivers, for Sultan Mahmud, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now belonged to the capital. Guzzurat was seized upon by Azim; Malva by Delawir; Cannouge, Oude, Kurrah, and Gehanpour by Jehan, commonly called the King of the East; Lahore, Debalpour, and Multan by Chizer; Samana by Ghabil; and, in the same manner, the remaining provinces were occupied by other great omrahs, through the whole extent of the empire. Mahmud retained only the nominal title of Emperor, and was wholly at the mercy of his minister Eckbal, who, during many years, held his sovereign in disgraceful bondage, disposing of him wheresoever it best suited his convenience or inclination, in cities and in fortresses; and we now find him a sovereign in Canouge, and now an unpitied exile in Guzzurat. Eckbal at length met in battle Chizer, the most formidable of his rivals, and paid with his life the forfeit of his numerous perfidies. Mahmud once more, with a feeble hand, and for a short time, was permitted to assume the sceptre; but was at length besieged in Delhi by Chizer himself, who finally ascended a throne to which he was far better intitled by his prudence and valour. Mahmud died of a fever in A. H. 816, and in A. D. 1413, after a disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of twenty years and two months. With him became extinct the dynasty of Afghan princes descended from FEROSE of the tribe of Chilligi*.

* The first 50 pages in this chapter are, as I before stated, from a MANUSCRIPT composed by me, long before I had seen Ferishta, from Sherefeddin, Arabshah, and the Authorities produced in the Bibliotheque Orientale. The remainder of this and the principal part of the succeeding chapter, are abridged from Ferishta. The MANUSCRIPT will be resumed at a future period.

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CHAPTER II.

Dynasty of the SEYDS, *or Race of the Prophet.* CHIZER *assumes the supreme Authority in the Name of* TIMUR—*an able and just Prince, but cannot restore the Empire, shaken to its Foundation by the Irruption of* TIMUR, *to its former stability and glory.* MUBARICK II.—*In his Reign two rival Kingdoms are formed, that* OF THE EAST, *including the Provinces lying on and near the* GANGES; *and that* OF THE WEST, *comprehending Guzzurat, and the Districts bordering on the* INDUS—*assassinated by his Vizier, who raises to the Throne—Mohammed, a Grandson of Chizer, who proving an indolent, luxurious Prince, gives opportunity to* BELOLI, *an Afghan of the Tribe of* LODI *to plan his Downfall and the Subversion of this Dynasty.—The latter rebels, and marches twenty thousand Horse to Delhi, which he besieges for some Months, but in the end is compelled to retire.—After a turbulent reign of twelve Years, Mohammed dies, and is succeeded by his Son—*ALLA II.—*a pusillanimous, irresolute Prince, during whose Reign all the great Rajahs rise in Rebellion, assuming in their respective Provinces the title of* KINGS.—*The more daring* BELOLI *again marches to Delhi, takes it, and mounting the Throne, puts a Period to the Power of the* SEYDS.—*The Dynasty of* LODI.—BELOLI—*a warlike and vigorous Prince, who vindicates the invaded Rights of the Kings of* DELHI, *and establishes the Empire in its ancient splendour.—After a long and glorious Reign, he is succeeded by his Son—*SECUNDER I. *who, in valour and in wisdom, treads in the footsteps of his Father.—He removes the Court to* AGRA, *which he makes his Capital—succeeded by his Son—*IBRAHIM—*arrogant and revengeful, he disgusts the great Omrahs, who join in a general Rebellion against*

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him, and invite SULTAN BABER, *the Mogul, from Cabul to invade Hindostan.*—BABER *obeys the Summons, and in the decisive Battle of* PANNIPUT, *deprives him of his Life and Kingdom, and with him terminates the Afghan Dynasty of* LODI.

CHIZER.

WE are told of Chizer that he was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently what the Mohammedans call a SEYD. Chizer, therefore, and his three successors are distinguished as the dynasty of the SEYDS. His father, Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Dowlat, governor of the province of Multan in the reign of Ferose. Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck; and he soon dying, Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Sarenk, the brother of Mellou Khan, and driven from his country, waited upon Timur, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favour, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of all the countries watered by the five rivers, commonly called Panjab and Dibalpour. This great accession of strength soon paved his way to the empire.

Chizer, upon his accession, distributed favors, governments, and dignities among the great omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, declaring that he held the empire for Timur: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, or form of public prayer, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after the decease of Timur in that of the Emperor Sharock his son, the name of Chizer being mentioned after him. He even sometimes sent a tribute to Samarcand. This was sound policy in Chizer, as he

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could govern his fellow omrahs, with less envy, in the name of the Tartar prince, than if he had assumed the name of king himself, to which he had no claim but what his sword gave him.

It does not appear, however, that the imperial authority assumed by Chizer, was by any means established on that permanent foundation on which it rested in the time of the great Ferose, and other sovereigns of the preceding dynasty. Though the most splendid success, on many occasions, crowned his arms in his numerous conflicts with the rival omrahs; yet as the hydra was many-headed, the flame of insurrection was no sooner quenched in one province than it broke out with rekindled fury in another. At the same time, though vigour and ability marked his councils and domestic government, yet the country, shaken to its profoundest centre by the irruption of Timur, continued in a very distracted state, during the whole of his reign. Some of the more striking and prominent events that occurred in it shall be now taken notice of.

On his ascending the throne, he appointed Malleck Joppa his vizier, and sent him, in the first year of his government, with an army towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narsingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute, the latter was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut, subah of Badoon, at the same time came to meet Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence the vizier marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellasar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, he marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

Soon after, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram, assassinating Malleck, the governor of Sirhind took possession of that country. Chizer sent Zirick, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and

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retreated to the hills. Zirick pursued them thither; but these mountains being a continuation of those of Naugracut, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Intelligence was, in the year, A. H. 819, received at Delhi, that Ahmud, who stiled himself KING OF GUZZURAT, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud declining battle, turned off towards Malva. When Chizer Khan had reached Ḥanir, Elias, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by sultan Alla, came out to meet him, and was honourably received. Chizer proceeded thence to Gualior, where he levied the tribute upon the rajah, and then continued his march to Biana, receiving tribute also from its governor Kerim. After these transactions he returned to Delhi.

In the year 820, Tân, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force, against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills, and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick, having in the pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Tân consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick returned to Sammana, sending the hostage, and contributions which he had raised, to the royal presence.

The emperor, in the year 821, sent his minister against Raja Narsingh. The vizier, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went in person against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole.

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He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol, and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budaoon, where the king besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam, Achtiar Lodi, and all the old friends of the emperor Mahmud, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. On his way, he prepared a sumptuous entertainment, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were, to a man, assassinated.

After the sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring (Sarenk in Sherefeddin,) and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Malleck Lodi, who, with the title of Islam Khan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, to march against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of the governor of Jallender, the governor of Sammana, and the governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army on this deserted him, each man skulking away in the best manner he was able, to his private residence. The imperial forces having no further service to perform, also separated, and returned to their respective stations. But, in the year following, Saring, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with the governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country far and near. The king sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

In the year 824, Chizer marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. The vizier dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The sultan turned thence

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towards Gualior, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibber, who then possessed that country. Death, the greater conqueror, however, put a stop to his triumphs; for falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he expired, after a reign of seven years and a few months. His death was greatly lamented by the people, Chizer, being, on the whole, esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince.

Sharock, the son of Timur, sat on the Mogul throne, during this reign, and ruled the vast empire conquered by his father, with great ability, justice, and moderation.

MUBARICK II.

Mubarick, his eldest son, by his father's appointment, ascended the vacant throne. The early years of his reign were greatly disturbed by the attempts of Jesserit, an ambitious prince of the savage mountaineers called Gickers, to seize upon Delhi and its imperial throne; but those attempts were defeated, and himself driven back with disgrace to the hilly recesses whence he issued. The obstinate rebellion of the people of Mewat, a race of banditti inhabiting a woody mountainous tract of great extent that stretches south-west of Delhi, gave him considerably more trouble; but they also were eventually subdued, and their country totally ravaged. In this reign too it is recorded that a great army of Moguls, commanded by Ali, the governor of Cabul, for Sharock, then sitting on the Tartar throne, committed dreadful ravages in Hindostan; but the good fortune of Mubarick ultimately prevailed. Ferishta, in the course of this reign,* records a variety of conflicts in which Mubarick engaged with the self-created sovereigns of the distant provinces, particularly with Ibrahim, KING OF THE EAST, and the great rajah of Gualior, the princes of which stupendous hill-fort seem to have been always the objects of the hatred and jealousy of the kings of

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 34.

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Delhi, till it was finally conquered by Akber; but the detail is little more than a repetition of what has occurred in former pages, and is by no means important enough for the notice of general history. The circumstances of his death are thus related.

Jealous of the enormous power assumed by his vizier, Mubarick endeavoured to curb it, by joining with him in the vizarit, a nobleman named Kammal; and the latter, being esteemed a man of superior abilities, soon engrossed the favour of his sovereign and the people.

The vizier enraged at this slight, formed a project to dethrone his master. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kettra, and other distinguished omrahs, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king. About this time, Mubarick had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it the city of Mubarick, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, with intent to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, he returned to the new city. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Ibrahim, king of the Eastern provinces, and Hoshung of Malavi, near Calpie, intelligence extremely agreeable to him, as he sought an opportunity to expel Ibrahim from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, spent a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or expelling them from their governments when they misbehaved.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rijib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a mosque which he had recently constructed in the new city, with only a few attendants. The conspirators clothed in armour, rushed in with drawn swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. The

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vizier having previously settled matters with Mohammed, one of the grandsons of the emperor Chizer, immediately raised that prince to the throne.

Thus perished Mubarick II. after a turbulent reign of thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of talents, just and benevolent; his memory was respected, and his end pitied.

Little alteration happened in the north of Asia, during the reign of Mubarick. Sharock still sat on the throne of the Moguls, and seemed more inclined to rule his dominions with justice and equity, than to extend their limits towards India.

MOHAMMED.

Exalted to the empire by a guilty and blood-stained traitor, Mohammed neither sate upon it with safety nor with dignity. The hand lifted against his grandfather was soon raised to exterminate himself. The king in an insurrection of the indignant omrahs being besieged in his palace, and perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he should adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the besiegers, and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of making his escape, or cutting off the vizier. The vizier discovering this plot, designed to be beforehand with the king; accordingly, one night, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and some of his own adherents, he broke into the king's apartment. But the emperor having suspected him of these murderous intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, burst in upon the conspirators. They immediately betook themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out at the door, and thus met the fate he designed for his sovereign. Mohammed, after this escape, is said to have devoted himself entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of government. The accounts of the king's luxurious indolence soon affected the state.

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Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Multan, where a tribe of Patans rose in rebellion. At the same time, Beloli Lodi, who was afterwards emperor, but at this time the governor of Sirhind, had, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpour, with all the country quite to Panniput.

The sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword; but Beloli recruited his army, and, when the imperial forces were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. Mohammed, the next time, sent Hissam Khan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Beloli wrote word to the king, that if he would put Hissam to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The king was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam. He also deprived Cummal of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Khan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must happen in the state, withheld their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over, in the general confusion.

Ibrahim, sovereign of the eastern provinces, possessed himself of several districts, adjoining to his dominions; while Mahmud Chilligi king of Malva, made an attempt on the capital; and advanced within two cosses of the city. Mohammed, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Beloli, to request his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mohammed, though his

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army was greatly superior in number to the enemy, was afraid to take the field himself, but committed the charge of the whole to his omrahs, and reposed himself in the haram. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army against the enemy, Beloli leading the van.

When Mahmud Chilligi was given to understand, that the king of Delhi was not present, he thought this circumstance was intended as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mohammed, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Khan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Mahmud Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that Ahmed, king of Guzzurat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Mohammed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to solicit peace.

Mahmud Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Mahmud Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of Khan Khanan, or first of the nobles, and adopted him for his son.

In the year 845, the emperor marched to Sammana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpour to Beloli, and ordering him

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to expel Jisserit. He himself returned to his capital. Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to seize upon several districts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Mahmud Chilligi. In the mean time, Mohammed fell sick and died, A. H. 850, or A. D. 1446; leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla succeeded him in the empire.

Sharock, emperor of the Moguls, dying this year, the conquests of Timur were divided among his grand-children, the sons of the prince Basankar. The eldest son of Sharock, the famous Ulug Beg, enjoyed the imperial titles, but his power was almost confined to the western Tartary, or Transoxania.

ALLA II.

Alla, the son of Mohammed, mounting the throne upon the demise of his father, all the omrahs, except Beloli Lodi, who secretly aspired to the empire, came and swore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new sultan was in no condition to chastise; but having collected an army, in the beginning of A. H. 850, or A. D. 1447, he marched to recover Biana. While he was upon the way, there was a rumour propagated, that the king of the East was advancing towards Delhi, which immediately brought back the emperor to his capital; though he was warned by Hissam, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a

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mere vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier Alla's displeasure.

This fatal step, however, proved ruinous to the sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publicly, that he was a weaker man in point of intellect, than even his weak father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence; to divert him from which purpose the vizier took great pains, but only incurred his more severe displeasure.

All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into separate states; for in the Deccan, Guzzurat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who assumed the style and dignity of kings; while Panjab, Debalpour, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, were possessed by the aspiring Beloli. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within fourteen miles of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of this city, was possessed by Deria Lodi; Kole, by Isah; Rabari, by Cuttub the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by the Indian prince Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Lodi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king.

Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The king, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means of recovering part of his lost empire, and advised on this important subject with Cuttub, Isah, and Partab. Those chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favourable aspect. The weak

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Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Alla accordingly, in A. H. 852, or A. D. 1447, set out for Budaoon, leaving his vizier Hissam in the government of Delhi. When the sultan arrived at his new capital, Cuttub and Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some his friends, to release him, and escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the king's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

Alla put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, by idle excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had summoned Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli exulting in the opportunity, amused the sultan, by writing him word that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Alla, in the Chutba, so late as the year of the Hegira, 854.

Having then given the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, he marched in person to Debalpour, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote word, at the same time, to Alla, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon. Beloli threw

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immediately the name of Alla out of the public prayers, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Alla remained at Budaoon till his death, which did not happen till A. H. 883, or A. D. 1478; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty-eight. A weak, and sometimes a wicked prince, while he retained the empire; in private station, a peaceable, if not a virtuous man.

Persia, and the western Tartary, were in confusion during the short reign of Alla, owing to a series of hostilities between the descendants of Timur, who had divided his conquests among them. The Mogul empire ceased, in fact, to exist, though Abusaid, the son of Miran Shah, and grandson of Timur, sustained the name of it, in the western Tartary and Chorasan.

BELOLI.

Beloli was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, a race of men who forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a commercial intercourse between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of the emperor Fersoe, Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Multan. When Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his respects to a famous derveish of Sammana, whose name was Sheidai. While he sat in a respectful posture before him, the derveish cried out, in an enthusiastic manner, " Who will give two thousand " rupees for the empire of Delhi?" Upon which, Beloli told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the derveish. The derveish accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, saluted him king. The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied,

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" That, if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap purchase; " if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm."

When Mohammed, father of Alla, basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his ambitious intrigues. He managed his affairs at Delhi so artfully, that the government of Sirhind was conferred upon him, and together with other districts near it, confirmed to him in jaghire; which were the means that enabled him to mount the throne, as we have already seen, in the former reign.

In A. H. 855, being the first year after his obtaining the imperial dignity, determined to vindicate as far as possible the invaded rights of that empire, he left Delhi under the charge of his eldest son Baezid, and marched towards Multan to recruit his army, and to regulate all the western provinces. Some of his omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Mahmud, king of Jionpour,* who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty-six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Beloli hastened back from Debalpour by rapid marches, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Mahmud sent thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Herevi, against him. When the action began, Cuttub, an omrah who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Herevi's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. At the same time Diria Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, was prevailed upon by the same Cuttub to quit the army of Mahmud, and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Herevi's army. The other

* Joinpour was at that time a great city, the capital of these self-created kings of the East, but is now one of the lowest class in India. Its situation is on the river Gounty, about forty miles to the north-west of Benares.

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troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Herevi was taken prisoner; but having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Mahmud raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

The power of Beloli soon became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid, the vizier, submitted himself to his authority. The emperor took seven pergunnahs from Hamid, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and other districts; every where conquering the rebellious governors, and exacting the tribute of compelled obedience.

An omrah, called Jonah, about this time quitted the court in disgust, and joined Mahmud king of the East, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Mahmud to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in sight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing very remarkable occurred, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by the emperor Mubarick, and that Mahmud should hold all that was in the possession of sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpour; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Herevi, and the latter expel Jonah from his government.

Mahmud, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpour, and Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Mahmud, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where the omrahs Cuttub and Diria surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of

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Cuttub having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Mahmud had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mohammed; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mohammed returned to Jionpour, and Beloli took the route of Delhi.

It was not long before the omrahs conspired against Mohammed, king of the eastern provinces, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen, his brother, who had fled to Canouge, to the throne. Beloli, for what reason is not known, took no advantage of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Hassen for the space of four years. Soon after, on account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Multan, and the disorders in Punjab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard, that the Eastern monarch Hassen was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub and Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, they skirmished without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length concluded for the term of three years. At the expiration of this truce, Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed, governor of Mewat, and Rustum of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed, who commanded at Selwan, and was also governor of Biana, struck money, and read the chutba in his name. Hassen, with one hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Beloli, no ways intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again concluded a peace; a peace by no

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means permanent. Hassen advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

In the year 883, the abdicated emperor, Alla, died at Budaoon, upon which Hassen went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick, governor of that province; then marching towards Delhi, he crossed the river Jumma near Gutteruitch. Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all expedition to save his capital. Several slight actions ensued, in which Hassen had, in general, the advantage.

Cuttub dispatched a person to Hassen, informing him, that Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Hassen marched homeward; but Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and, pursuing Hassen, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Hassen, and appointed agents to manage them under himself. But when he had pursued Hassen as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Hassen proceeded to Raberi, and Beloli returned to Delhi.

Hassen could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Hassen was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage;

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Hassen having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and venturing upon a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualior; the rajah of Gualior brought him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, camels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie (Calpy on the Jumna).

Beloli marched, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim, the brother of Hassen, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Hassen met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Chand of Buxar, coming over to Beloli, shewed him a passable ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Hassen, defeated him and drove him to Jionpour, upon which Beloli turned off to the left towards Canouge. Hassen again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio. Beloli returned after this victory to Delhi.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpour. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Lohani, leaving Cuttub, Jehan, and other omrahs at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to Budaoon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub's death. Jehan, Mubarick, and other omrahs, though they maintained the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off Beloli's yoke. Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpour, and drove away Hassen, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbec, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpour. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Humaioon, the son of his eldest son Baizied. He directed thence his march to Dolipore, raising a tribute upon the rajah of that place, who began to rank

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himself among Beloli's subjects. The king marched from thence to a place in the districts of Rantimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, and nephews. In this division it is alone necessary to mention that Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers was allotted to his son Nizam, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

Some time after this division, the emperor proceeded to Gualior, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the rajah of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they urged, was the undoubted right of Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son Nizam, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs: at the same time the king, by the advice of other omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to the camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk, the vizier of the Eastern emperor Hassen, who was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time the king's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in A. H. 894, or A. D. 1488 after a long reign of thirty-eight years, eight months, and seven days.

Beloli was esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. He was extremely temperate in his diet, and though a man of no great literature himself, he was

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fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given so many proofs of personal bravery that none could doubt it; at the same time he was often cautious to excess, never choosing to trust much to chance, and delighting greatly, as we have seen by his frequent treaties with Hassen, in negotiation.

During the long reign of Beloli, in Delhi, the empire of Persia remained divided into a number of petty principalities, most of them subject to the descendants of Timur Bec and Gengis Khan. Transoxiana, the greatest part of Chorasan, and the provinces towards the Indus, were subject to the posterity of Timur, who were engaged in almost uninterrupted hostilities against one another.

SECUNDER I.

The omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Humaioon, some to Barbec, eldest son of the sultan, then living, and some to Nizam, who had assumed the name of Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. While they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the sultan's bed by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a speech to the omrahs in favour of her son. Upon which Isah, the nephew of Beloli, answered her in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

Firmilli, who had been dignified by Beloli with the title of first of the nobles, a stout daring man, rebuked him, and told him, that Beloli was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family, deserved only contempt. Isah replied, that silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state. Instantly the other rose up in

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a rage, declaring he was indeed a servant of Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He then rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased king to Jellali, where he was met by Secunder, who there ascended his father's throne.

Secunder sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Isah, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favours upon all his kindred.

Secunder soon sent a trusty person to Barbec, his brother, king of Jionpour, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbec rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbec and Calla Par came out in order of battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged to be looked upon as his son. Calla Par, confounded at the honour done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to offer in compensation for such kindness, desiring a horse, that he might show himself not wholly unworthy of the royal favour. He was accordingly mounted, and perfidiously sold his reputation for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbec; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbec seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbec did all that bravery could perform; but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubarick, his son, was taken prisoner. Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbec in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The king carried Barbec with him to Jionpour; but as Hassen, the

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expelled king of the eastern provinces, was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbec would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpour; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed estates and jurisdictions, to keep them firm in his own interest.

In 897 Lickim, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to sultan Hassen, the titular king of the East, now in possession of the province of Behar, that the cavalry of Secunder was in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Hassen to put his army in motion, and march directly against Secunder. The emperor hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did thirty-six miles from Benares: an obstinate battle was fought, in which Hassen was defeated, and fled to Battea.

Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing that Hassen was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He soon after marched with his whole army towards Behar, but upon his approach, Hassen left Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominion of Bengal. Alla, then king of Bengal, called Hassen to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassen the royal line of Jionpour was extinguished.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal; but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Alla king of Bengal sent Danial his son to oppose him. Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him that he had no intention to subdue the country; but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became necessary to know upon what footing he

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must consider Alla, before he left that country. The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was stipulated, that neither monarch should permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them should give protection to the other's enemies.

Secunder having asked the daughter of Sal Bahin, rajah of Battea, in marriage, the father refused to comply with his request. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion against the rajah, in the year 904, and marching to Battea, sacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpour, where he spent some time in the civil regulations of the empire. About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Lodi being inspected for the time of his administration in Jionpour, and a great balance being found due to the royal revenue, the king ordered it to be levied upon him. This severity greatly disgusted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick was very much esteemed. A faction accordingly arose in the army, which first discovered itself by private quarrels. For, one day, as the sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horseback, the club of Hybut, by accident or design, wounded one Soliman in the head. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut; so that, in a few minutes, the parties on both sides joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in arms.

Secunder, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the palace; but nothing of that kind transpiring, he made another party at the same game some days after, and a quarrel of the same nature ensued, for which Shumese Khan, who began it, was disgraced, and bastinadoed. However the sultan would not be satisfied but that there was some plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be selected, and to keep upon the watch.

Secunder, in the year 905, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing

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of some mal administration of Asghir, the governor of Delhi, he sent an order to Chawass Khan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Asghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the king's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

In the year 907, Rai Man Sing, of Gualior, sent one of his dependants, called Nehal, to the king with rich presents; but as this embassador talked in too high a strain, Secunder ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. He was prevented however, from the execution of his purpose, for some time, by the death of Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province which succeeded that governor's death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Firmilli, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the king gave that appointment to Chawass. Sifder was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent, at the same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipour, which was in the possession of Rajah Benacdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated Secunder, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Benacdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualior; but the garrison, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the king to take possession of it. He remained there about a month, and then marched to Gualior. The rajah of that place, changing his haughty style, now humbly sued for peace, sending to him various rebels, who had, at different times, fled from Secunder, and taken protection under him. At the same time he sent his own son, Bickermajit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

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Secunder returned to Dolipour, which he again bestowed upon Benacdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year 910 marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipour, removed the rajah from his office, and gave it to one Kimir. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their respective estates.

In the following year, 910, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. Secunder in the same year moved towards Gualior, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipour, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajahs, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the king was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the rajah of Gualior, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had lain in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid and Ahmed, the sons of Khan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs slain.

The sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year 912, went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had despaired of reducing Gualior, he bent his whole strength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly in a short time taken, and all the rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their place.

Secunder, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a strong fort in the district of Malva, then in the possession of the native rajahs. He ordered Jellal, governor of Calpie, to advance before him and invest the place, which was

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accordingly done. When the king arrived before Narvar, Jellal drew up his army, out of respect, that the king might review them as he passed. This circumstance proved very hurtful to Jellal; for, from that time, the king became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him. Secunder surrounded the place, which was sixteen miles in circumference, and began to carry on the siege. The siege was now protracted eight months, when the sultan received intelligence, that a treasonable correspondence was carried on between some of his omrahs and the garrison, for which Jellal and Sheri were imprisoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garrison, soon after, was obliged to capitulate, for want of provisions, and the king remained, for the space of six months, at Narvar, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

We find no other transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty-two. Ali Nagori, subah of Suisuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat, governor of Rantimpore, which he then held of Malva, to deliver the fort to Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. Secunder, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rantimpore came to meet him, and was graciously received. But Ali, who had been disappointed in some favours which he expected for bringing this matter to issue, resolved still to prevent the accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise relative to giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the sultan's power. The sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rantimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him.

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To Agra, in which city the king had constructed many superb edifices, adorned with spacious gardens, as the future capital of the Indian empire, Secunder summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualior. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, taken ill of a quinsey, of which he died, A. H. 922, or A. D. 1516, after having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty-eight years and five months. The talents which he exhibited during his reign, justified the choice of his father, who singled him out, though a younger son, as the person most capable of supporting a title to which his family had no claim by inheritance.

IBRAHIM II.

Secunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim immediately succeeded him on the throne. This prince, contrary to the maxims and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One absurd expression of his was, that kings had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs of the tribe of Lodi, who were always before honoured with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspiracy therefore was formed by the omrahs of Lodi, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and to place the prince Jellal, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpour. Jellal marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpour. He appointed his cousin Fatte Khan his vizier, who brought over all the omrahs of the eastern provinces to his interest.

Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate

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Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very indignant strain, inveighed against the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would be attended with many evil consequences to the family of Lodi. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal could not be yet well established, to send messengers, soliciting his immediate return; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations and intrigues. Ibrahim, and his omrahs, in consequence, issued a proclamation, declaring all those omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and messengers to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the omrahs on the side of Jellal were gradually seduced from his interest. The affairs of Jellal being in this declining state, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them; accordingly marching to Calpie, he secured his family in that fort, and, collecting all his strength, assumed the title of emperor, under the title of Jellal ul Dien, determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent at the same time a trusty ambassador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jionpour, and afterwards to enter upon affairs of still greater moment. They accordingly marched with all expedition against Mubarick Lodi, subah of Oude, whom they drove to Lucknow.

Ibrahim, informed of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Hassi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oude, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favourably received. A number of other omrahs of those parts joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army

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under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against his brother. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a strong garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, marched by circuitous and unsuspected routes towards Agra, while Azim laid siege to Calpie. Jellal had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Adam, the governor, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favour, till he sent him all the ensigns of his assumed royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king.

Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and made him acquainted with every particular. But the king having by this time taken Calpie, and the treaty having been concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualior, and solicit the protection of the rajah of that place. Ibrahim returned to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. The omrah Karim was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Mungu to Chundri.

In the year 925, the king formed a resolution of reducing Gualior, that great eye-sore to the monarchs of Delhi, and ordered Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah against it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim. Jellal, who had taken refuge in Gualior, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malva. The imperial army arriving before Gualior, invested the place, and in a few days rajah Man Sing, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son Bickermajit succeeded him in the rajahship. After the siege had been carried on some months,

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the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort called Badilgur, stood. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been for a long time worshipped there, and sent it to Agra; whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to king Mahmud of Malva, not being well received there, fled to the rajah of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Hassi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done. What are those charms in power which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several omrahs of great distinction. The sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualior, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress other rebellions, to which his cruelty, revenge, and arrogance had given birth.

Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed, the brother of Azim Humaioon, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam, who had erected in Kurrah the ensign of insurrection. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Canouge, Eckbal, a dependant of Azim Sirwani, rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. The king was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He sent him word not to expect his favour, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, he dispatched another army to support him. The rebels were now about forty thousand strong

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in cavalry, independent of five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in sight of each other, rajah Bochari, who was esteemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Sirwani should be set at liberty. Ibrahim was too proud to hearken to these terms. He sent orders to the governor of Behar, and others who commanded troops in that quarter, to advance with all their combined forces against the insurgents; while they imprudently permitted themselves to be amused till those armies had joined. The treaty being then suddenly broken off, they were reduced to the necessity of either flying, or fighting upon unequal terms. They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair, and fired with resentment, they did justice to valour, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam their general was killed, and Seid, the second in command, was dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents damped the courage of the rebel host; they stopped short, and soon after turned their backs and fled. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage, fell at once into the hands of the king.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were at the same time assassinated, and mistrust and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to other rebellions, which distracted the close of this tyrannical reign.

Dirai, of the tribe of Lodi, subah of Berur, died about this time, and his son, of the same name, assumed the title of emperor, under the name of Mohammed, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the

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head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the imperial troops in repeated engagements. Ghazi Lodi hastened down with the army from Lahore, by the sultan's orders; but having heard of his tyrannies by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father Dowlat, at Lahore. Dowlat seeing no safety but in extremity, revolted from the sultan, and solicited sultan BABER, THE MOGUL, who then reigned in Cabul, to undertake the conquest of Hindostan. But the great project of BABER for the invasion of Hindostan, was not yet mature. Alla, the brother of Ibrahim, who had been ejected from his government of Debalpour, had fled in disgust to Cabul, and he was dispatched with a great force to his assistance. Alla in his progress was joined by most of the omrahs of those parts, so that his army soon consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he marched to, and invested Delhi. Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six cosses of Alla's army, his camp was surprised by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained till day-break, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Alla; but at the same time observing that the troops of Alla were dispersed in bodies, plundering the royal camp, he rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants; with these he returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Panjab.

No other remarkable event happened in the empire till Baber led his army against Ibrahim, as in the next reign will be related more at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire from the Afghan tribe of Lodi, to the family of the great Timur Bec. His death on that field took place, after a reign of twenty years, in

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A. H. 932, or A. D. 1525. Ibrahim possessed bravery and talents; but both were obscured by his haughty and sanguinary disposition.

For the first eight years of the emperor Ibrahim, Ismael, the first of the Sofi family, reigned in Persia. He was succeeded by his son Shah Tahmasp, who acceded to the Persian throne, upon the death of his father, which happened in the nine hundred and thirtieth year of the Hegirah.

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CHAPTER III.

BABER, *Founder of the* MOGUL DYNASTY *in India—the History of his Irruptions and Progress in the Conquest of Hindostan from the* VAKEAT BABERI, *or* BABER'S *Commentaries—after the Defeat and Death of* IBRAHIM, *the Conqueror every where attacks the* PATANS, *and for the most part successfully—liberal to profusion of the vast Treasures found at* DELHI *and* AGRA—*attempted to be poisoned by the Mother of Ibrahim, but surmounts the Danger—his great martial Skill, and his unequalled Magnanimity under extreme Difficulty—in a general Battle he again defeats the combined Omrahs of* PATAN *extraction—his Death and exalted Character.—*HUMAIOON *ascends the Throne of his Father—commences a vigorous War against* BAHADUR, *King of Guzzerat, and displays, in the course of it, uncommon Gallantry.—Rebellion of* SHERE KHAN, *the Afghan; ungenerous Conduct of the Brothers of* HUMAIOON—*that Prince unfortunate in several Engagements with* SHERE; *compelled at length to fly from Hindostan, and seek Refuge at the Court of Persia—dreadful Distress endured in that Flight—*SHERE KHAN *seizes upon the Throne.—Short History of this daring Usurper.—By a Stratagem he takes* ROTAS, *a Fortress deemed impregnable—conquers the Kingdom of* BENGAL—*reduces* MALVA—*takes* RANTAMPORE—*takes* CHITORE, *at the Siege of which he is killed by the bursting of a Shell.—Though an Usurper, his Conduct as an Emperor marked by strict Justice, and by Deeds of public Magnificence, of which many Monuments yet remain in Hindostan.—Succeeded by his younger Son* SELIM—*in Opposition to the just Claim of* ADIL, *his eldest.—In consequence of this Infringement of a Brother's Right, his Reign is distracted by Commotion and Rebellion.*

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—*Having escaped various Attempts to assassinate him, he is carried off by a Fistula, after a short Reign, distinguished neither by prominent Virtue, nor glaring Vice.*—MOHAMMED *having massacred Feron, the infant Son of Selim, causes himself to be crowned—ignorant, debauched, polluted with Blood and Crime, he is soon driven from his ill-gotten Throne by* IBRAHIM III. *his Cousin and Brother-in-law, who, in his turn, is attacked and defeated by* SECUNDER, *bound by the same ties of affinity, and who afterwards assumes the Imperial Titles at Agra. These intestine Commotions pave the way for the triumphant Return of* HUMAIOON *to the Throne of his illustrious Progenitor, and by that Return was effected the Extinction of the second* PATAN *Dynasty, commencing in* SHERE, *and terminating in* IBRAHIM.

BABER, THE FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY IN INDIA.

THE reader has already been presented, towards the close of the preceding chapter, * with a concise sketch of the daring character, and singular adventures of Sultan Baber, extracted from Herbelot, and all the attainable sources in my power at the time that portion of this work was originally composed. As the history of Baber, in Ferishta, is professedly taken from the VAKEAT BABERI, or *Commentaries of Baber*, written by himself; we shall pay more than usual attention to that authentic narrative of the exploits of the GREAT FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY OF INDIAN SOVEREIGNS.

With the early efforts of his bravery when manfully contending against the overwhelming armies of Uzbeck Tartars, headed by Shah Bakht, that eventually deprived him of his patrimony, the thrones of Fargana and Samarcand, this history has no particular

* Consult page 46 preceding, et seq.

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concern. Compelled finally to abdicate the throne of his ancestors, we have seen the royal exile retire to GAZNA, on the frontiers of Hindostan, which his arms had subdued, to plan the subjugation of that great empire.

When Secunder, the emperor of Hindostan, died, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by Ibrahim the Second, in whose reign the Patan, or Afghan chiefs of the imperial family of Lodi, became so factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Baber esteemed this a good opportunity to establish himself in India, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs. Baber accordingly, in the year A. H. 925, or A. D. 1519, marched his army as far as the Nilab, or blue river, one of the branches of the Indus. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing that river, advanced to Berah, in Panjab, raising heavy contributions, according to the Mogul maxims of war, for with-holding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah an embassy to the emperor Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and thus prevent the war from being carried further into India. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab; he then marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati, their chief, had retired. The Gickers were tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Doost Beg, the Mogul general, while the king in person cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for the present, and he returned to Cabul.

In the latter end of the same year Baber returned to Hindostan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chastised some

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Patans of the tribe of Zehi, who molested him in his march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then advanced to the Indus. He there received intelligence, that the king of Kashgar, or Little Bucharia, had marched into Badachshan, which obliged him to return, leaving the prince Mohammed, one of the descendants of Timur, with four thousand horse, to support his authority in that country. He had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that the king of Kashgar had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face against the Afghans, who began to make depredations upon the kingdom of Cabul in his absence, and severely chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their country, and returned to his capital.

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

Soon after the surrender of Kandar, Dowlat Lodi, apprehensive of the emperor Ibrahim, sent a deputation to Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year 930, augmented his army, and advanced within six crores of Lahore, where Par Lodi, and Bicken Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Panjab, joined their forces, and opposed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Moguls.

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender; but

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as the garrison forced him to risque an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Lodi, with his three sons, joined Baber at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Panjab, which rendered him very powerful. From particular circumstances that greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways advisable to proceed to Delhi this year. He accordingly returned to Lahore, and having appointed governors to the different countries in his possession in India, set out for Cabul.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Lodi, marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Alla, the brother of the emperor Ibrahim, and Baba Kiska, and defeating them, subdued that country. Alla fled to Cabul, and Baba to Lahore. Dowlat sent five thousand Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Aziz, governor of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

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

Alla, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his officers in those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat and Ghazi Lodi, hearing of this order, acquainted the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Baber espoused the cause of Alla, who was the very person they themselves would choose to raise to the throne of

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Delhi; that if they would, therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the musnud. The Mogul chiefs, having first obtained a grant for Baber of all the countries to the north-west of the Indus, permitted Alla to join the Lodis himself, without complying further with their master's orders. When accordingly Alla arrived in their camp, Dowlat and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before related, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, the emperor Ibrahim advanced against his brother from Agra, and was surprised in the night, when he had nearly reached the city; but, by the irregular behaviour of Alla's army, who, in the morning, dispersed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat in great distress to Panjab. When Baber heard of the defeat of Alla, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring of the year 932, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his son Humaioon, with a great force, from Badachshan, and Chaja Callan, with the troops from Gazna. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded, and thus had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery of most of his chiefs to trial, as that was a dangerons and warlike exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive in toils.

Upon the first of the month Ribbi, Baber crossed the Indus, and upon the banks of that river mustered his army, which consisted of only ten thousand chosen horse. Crossing then that branch of the Indus which is called Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Alla met him, and likewise Ali, governor of Cullanore, and Hassen, the collector of the revenues in those provinces. Dowlat Lodi and his son Ghazi who had enrolled themselves publicly in the service of Alla, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an

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army of forty thousand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi to the skirts of the hills. Baber invested Milwit, and Dowlat, after a few days, capitulated. It seems, that some days before he put on two swords, and boasted what he would do to Baber. Baber now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the king forgave all his crimes, and took him into favour. When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The king, by this means, saved the honour of Dowlat's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat being a poet and a man of learning.

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Indian troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Ibrahim. When he had reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that the governor of Firosa was waiting to oppose him in front, with the troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent his son Humaioon, with some of his most experienced officers, to drive the governor from his post, which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this was the first battle in which Prince Humaioon commanded, his father was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firosa and Jallender in jaghire. Two days after, Meian, a chief of the party of Ibrahim, appeared in sight, and desired to join Baber's colours with three thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

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Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received intelligence that Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood and Hatim formed his vanguard with twenty seven thousand horse. The sultan immediately detached Timur, and other nobles, with all the troops of the left wing, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate conflict, put Daood and Hatim to flight, but the latter fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he, deviating from his usual humane conduct, put them to death, by way of striking terror into his enemies.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there six days, ordering chains to be made to link the carrriages of his guns together, to prevent the horse from breaking through them. The imperial army under Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and a thousand elephants; that of Baber, of thirteen thousand only. When Ibrahim had advanced sufficiently near, Baber ordered five thousand horse to attack the Indian camp in the night; but, finding the enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempting any thing.

This retreat hastened Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched next morning to Panniput. Baber, at the same time, advanced within twelve miles of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. The first division on the right was commanded by Prince Humaioon. The first on the left was under the orders of the King's cousin Mohammed. The second, on the right towards the centre, was commanded by Timur. The second, to the left towards the centre, by the noble Chalifa. Chusero, and other omrahs, were appointed to command the light horse in the front. There was a

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reserve in the rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Casim, and that on the left by Ali. The king himself took his post in the centre of the first line, after having personally given orders to his generals.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, but drew up his forces in one great line or column of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down with numbers. But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unweildly column began to break and grow thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed against the centre of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the centre, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Patans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

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

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pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death.

According to the most moderate accounts there were sixteen thousand Patans killed in this action, though some say fifty thousand. Of the loss of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race afterwards made many efforts, and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of Humaioon.

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

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which

* A rutty is seven eighths of a carat.

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was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided the whole among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former amounting to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharoch,* besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorasan, Mecca, Medina, and other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, fixed upon Baber the name of Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan, the son of Diria Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mohammed; and all rendezvousing at Canouge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time Mai, the Afghan chief who had joined Baber, deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died.

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

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

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those whose valor would reflect honour on themselves, and glory on their king and country. The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behavior, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favor, began to come over to him; first, Gurin, with three thousand horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose and Chirmali, with the whole of their dependents. Baber, encouraged by this, sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate Patan omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Canouge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fati, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favour, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest.

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

Tatar and Saring, who were in possession of the fort of Gualior, being besieged by the Indian prince of that country, in the same

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manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched a detachment, which defeated the rajah, but Saring recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. However, it was at length obtained by a stratagem, in which philosophy condescended to become the pander to ambition.

In the year 933, Chajagi, who had been sent ambassador from Cabul to congratulate Shah Tahmasp, king of Persia, upon his accession, returned, accompanied by Soliman, and brought various curiosities; but that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of the emperor Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favourite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administred in some hare-soup; but the king, after eating a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediatele vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner: upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Ibrahim's sons was sent at the same time to Cabul, where he remained in banishment. Prince Humaioon having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Birlass to keep those provinces in awe, and returned himself to court, having upon his way conciliated matters with Allum, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed by advices that many Patan omrahs, with Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder, and other chiefs and rajas in alliance, whose force

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exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan chiefs who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the king's small army. Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Sherif a little add to the general consternation. This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput* (in Sanscreet VRIHASPATI) was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown.

The king perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council of war. The greatest part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was advisable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Panjab. Baber, with a sullen aspect, fixed his eyes in silence upon the ground. He at length sternly asked the chiefs, What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom? "The voice of glory," said he, "is loud in my ear, and forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with so much difficulty, acquired. But as death is at last unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honour, face to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits of the grave." The whole assembly, as if inspired with one soul, cried out at once, "War! War!" The king, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, should he, upon this occasion, prove victorious.

* The planet Mars.

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Upon the ninth of the second Jimmad, of the year 933, which happened to be Norose,* Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of six miles. But after he had advanced two miles he halted, and encamped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out, under the command of Mohammed Casim, to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The king next day advanced two miles further, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and in a few minutes was able to receive the shock of battle. His order of fight was as follows: the line, which upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life guard's in the centre, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the king placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry. The brigade immediately to the right of the center was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the centre was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the emperor Beloli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by prince Humaioon, and of these the right-hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Hussein, and other chiefs of family

* New-year's day.

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and experience in war. The left-hand battalion of prince Humaioon's division was made up of the troops of Seid Amir, and of those of other six nobles of the Mogul race.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left-hand battalion of whose division was composed of different squadrons, commanded by their respective chiefs. The right-hand brigade was made up of the troops of Angi the Mogul, and those of Kumal, of the race of Alla, formerly emperor of India. The light horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg; and those of the right wing by Mahmud Casim. Mohammed, the captain-general, took post before the king, with all his yessawils,* and a choice body of horse.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Malleck Casim, and compelled them to give way. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, seized upon their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the king, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was condensed into a circle. In this position he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli of Rumi†, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field.

* Aids-de-camp.

† Rumi is the Mohammedan name of the lesser Asia, so called from its being a part of the Roman empire. It is remarkable that the Eastern nations call the Ottomans, Romans to this day.

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He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Timur and Allum, and charging them like a lion rushing from the forest, after an obstinate resistance put their whole army to flight. Hassen of Mewat was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive, Chunder Ban, Mannuk Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead. The king, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

In the year 934 the king marched for the purpose of hunting towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chase for some time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai, a Hindoo chief, had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out and attacked the king; but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner: they placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he successively slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves for the honour of being first slain. The soldiers then sprinkled a yellow powder over their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and sought after that death,

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which they all obtained. The fort, wholly empty, fell into the hands of the Moguls.

The Emperor's relation Ashkari, who governed Multan, was this year ordered to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was commanded to go against Nuserit, one of the Patan chiefs, on the borders of the Decan. Nuserit, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, sent an ambassador to the king, subjecting himself to the royal authority. Nizam Beri, prince of Ahmednagur, at the same time sent to congratulate Baber on his good fortune, and proffered obedience. Baber, towards the close of this year, received advices that Mahmud, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, had possessed himself of the province of Behar, and that one Bellocha had erected the standard of rebellion in Multan. The king sent orders to his omrahs in the north-west, concerning the affairs of Multan, and marched in person towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Jellal, descended of that dynasty of Patans who stiled themselves Emperors of the East, prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honoured with his presence. Zeman was detached from Kurrah to the conquest of Behar, and he quickly drove Mahmud out of the field.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting themselves together a second time, advanced to the Ganges, opposite to Hideri. The king detached Ashkari with a division of the troops to oppose them, and the next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross; but Timur begged permission to go before. As soon as he made his landing good with eighty horse, Ashkari, who had crossed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Junied Birlass to prosecute the war in conjunction with Nuserit, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra.

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In the year 936 the sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaioon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of the first Jemmad, in A. H. 973, or, A. D. 1530, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre.

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty-eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality.

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

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

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Argana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident,

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and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

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

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he had the road measured after him. He also made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which still remains in force.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterises a soul truly heroic.

Tahmasp, the second of the Sophi dynasty, began his reign seven years before the death of Baber. He held the empire of all Persia and Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana, in peace for more than ten years after his accession. The provinces between Chorasan and India remained in the house of Baber.

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HUMAIOON.

The Prince HUMAIOON, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in India. He was devoted to the study of astronomy, and took great delight in judicial astrology. He is said to have fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. In the house of the Moon met foreign ambassadors, travellers, and poets; military men attended him in the house of Brisput;* and judges, lawgivers, and secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven.†

But the urgency of public affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent vagaries of peace and leisure. In the first year of his reign he led an army against the strong fortress of Callinger, and invested the place. While the king carried on the siege, Mahmud, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein the Afghan, took possession of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the eastern provinces. 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 government of that province.

The emperor, after this signal victory, returned to Agra, and bestowed honorary dresses upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He in the mean time dispatched a herald to Shere Khan, and demanded possession of the fortress of Chunâr,‡ which

* The planet Mars. † Mercury.

‡ Chunâr is a very strong fortress in the province of Oude, within seven crores of Benares. Both Shere Khan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

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being refused, Humaioon marched his army that way. When the king lay before Chunâr, he was informed that Bahadur, king of Guzzurat, had turned towards him the points of his spears. This obliged him hastily to conclude a sort of peace with Shere, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub, the son of Shere, whom the emperor had taken as an hostage, found means on the way to make his escape, and to return to his father at Chunâr.

Mohammed Zeman, of the race of Timur, the grandson of Hussein, 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 Mohammed Sultan and Nuserit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious designs; 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 Guzzurat. Sultan, by the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shah Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Canouge, where he was joined by about six thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, under whose dominion was the city of Canouge, and commanded him to deliver up Mohammed; but he rejected the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur king of Guzzurat had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of Chitor from the Rana. Rana threw himself under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualior, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana, despairing of relief, sent a crown and a considerable sum of money to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the siege.

Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation,

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by the reduction of Mandu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mohammed to great honours. He also prompted Alla, descended of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt possessing himself of the throne of Delhi. He for this purpose made Tatar, the son of Sultan Alla, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

This pressing danger awakened the king from his lethargy. He immediately sent his brother, the prince Hindal, with a force to oppose Tatar. When the armies approached one another, there was so great a desertion 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; but he was totally overthrown, lost the greatest part of his troops, three hundred officers of distinction, and his own life. 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.

Bahadur, in the year 940, marched a second time towards Chitore; and in the mean time Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Panna. The sultan soon after marched towards Saringpoor, then governed by Bahadur, as king of Guzzurat, and wrote to him a sarcastic couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majesty of a king.

Bahadur, after receiving the above insult, summoned a council of war. It was the decided opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raise the siege, and march against him, and thus at once terminate the contest. 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 siege, which was now far

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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 Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year 941, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other near Munsoor. Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer, Rumi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from risquing an attack, and both armies continued in sight of each other for the space of two months. Daily skirmishes were in the mean time fought, with various success.

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 six thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began soon to be severely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers.

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 Mandu. This was no sooner 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 Mandu, with great slaughter of the unfortunate victims, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur threw himself into Mandu, and the place was closely invested.

In a few days three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mandu in the night; and though the garrison consisted of many thousands,

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such was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzzurat, while Sidder Khan, his captain general, who was dangerously wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being besieged, he capitulated the second day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favour. Sidder, during the pursuit, saved Bahadur, when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between the kings, till his master had an opportunity of making his escape. But he himself was attacked with such violence by Humaioon, in person, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

The king, three days after the taking of Mandu, renewed the pursuit of Bahadur, who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of the city of Chapanier, fled towards Amedabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the siege of the citadel, which still held out, to Dowlat Birlass, continued to pursue Bahadur. The unfortunate Bahadur, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambay, but Humaioon pursuing him thither, he retired to the island of Diu; Humaioon arrived in Cambay the very evening of the same day in which Bahadur forsook it.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that Bahadur's wealth was mostly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that siege. Achtiar, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had several years provision in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily supplies by a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood. The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, observed the proceedings of Achtiar, with regard to the provisions. He immediately seized upon a party of country people who carried the supplies through the woods. He persuaded, or rather commanded

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them, to carry him, in disguise, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the necessary remarks, returned to his camp, and the same night ordered a quantity of iron spikes to be made.

He himself, with three hundred select men, went to the place, 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 other points of assault. This negligence of theirs 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 signal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent assault upon all sides, while Humaioon, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! and forcing his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the sword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained terms of capitulation. 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 Guzzurat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and soldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the riches of Europe and India, which had been there collected to a vast amount, were delivered over to plunder.

Soon after intelligence concerning the insurrection of Shere Khan, the Afghan, reached the royal ear. Humaioon, having marched into the eastern provinces, invested Chunâr, and reduced

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that strong fortress, after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, then the capital of Bengal, and took it. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of the country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as well as by the rebellion of his brother the prince Hindal at Agra, to return.

Hindal had been sent to suppress Mohammed Mirza, who had escaped to Canouge; but instead of performing that service, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, the prince 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 and Ibrahim to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mohammed Zeman, of the race of Timur, who had formerly joined Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time Shere the Afghan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of 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.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother,

* Perhaps the Sone.

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Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched with ten thousand horse from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, prince Hindal prevailed upon him to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the siege. Ali, who commanded in the city, acquainted Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to shed the last drop of his blood; but that, if he would first possess himself of Agra, the capital, and entirely subdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Camiran and his brother found the governor so determined, and that the siege would cost them much blood and time, they set out together for Agra. When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Hindal, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwir with five thousand horse and three hundred elephants; and Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Humaioon endeavoured, by every possible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father so much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Timur in one common ruin; 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, who were so blinded with ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoped that after Shere had defeated Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere; and each had the folly to suppose, that he would be able to exclude the other, and thus reign alone.

At this juncture Shere sent the learned Chelili, a dervish of great

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reputation, to Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which the king accepted with gladness, upon the following conditions: that Shere should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

When the conditions were signed 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 aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprised the emperor's camp before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the king 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 party 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 the prince Mohammed Zeman. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in A. H. 946, or A. D. 1539.

The king, by the assistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Prince Camiran hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother Hindal. Finding that the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behaviour 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 and Ibrahim having left Bengal, and even Mohammed Mirza, who had rebelled in Canouge, joined now in the general cause against the Afghans.

Shere, in the mean time, advanced with an army to the banks of the Ganges, and detaching his son Cuttub over the river, possessed

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himself of the adjacent provinces. Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Hussein the Usbek against him with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals at the same time invited the king to come and have the honour of conquering Shere in person.

Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Ganges near Canouge, sat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere, which consisted of little more than half his number. In the mean time Mohammed Mirza and his sons, 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 king into distress; for his army being dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy season now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water. The king therefore resolved to move his camp to higher ground.

On the tenth of Mohirrim, 947, Humaioon put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere on his march, and defeated with great slaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and 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 routes.

Shere, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and there joined the greatest part of his Mogul omrahs, who had been dispersed since the action. Shere still continuing the pursuit, to make the best use of his victory, crossed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the king was compelled to pass the river of Lahore, and retreat towards

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Tatta and Bicker, upon the Indus. Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behaviour, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw 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 crossed the Indus on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an ambassador with a horse and dress to his cousin Hussein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzzurat. Hussein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. The prince Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Kandahar, being invited thither by the governor of that province.

Humaioon with his little army laid siege to Sewan for seven months, without effect, when Hussein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced with a great force from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army was soon greatly distressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Eadgar, to whom he had recently given the government of Bicker, to join him with what forces he could raise; but this ungrateful man chose rather to join Hussein, who promised to give him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. Thus basely deserted, at this dangerous crisis, Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan towards Bicker. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats from his own perfidious subjects, to waft 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. But on neither side was there safety for Humaioon. A rebellion soon after broke out in his army, and a

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treacherous Hindoo chief, Maldeo, to whose frontiers he had fled for succour, formed the black design to seize him, and deliver him up to the usurper Shere. Humaioon, informed of the intended treachery by an old domestic, mounted his horse at midnight, and attended by a few faithful troops, fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, and the soldiers of Maldeo urging close behind, he was compelled, for want of another, to pursue part of his journey on the back of a camel. The country through which they fled being an entire sandy desart, the troops soon began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; and nothing was heard on every side but dreadful screams and loud lamentations. A well at length was fortunately found, and their pangs alleviated; but marching forward, they were soon more distressed than before, there being no water found during two whole days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat they fell in with another well, which was so 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 people when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The unhappy men were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the verge of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all again became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves in agony on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently 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 a brook, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, that had not tasted water for several

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days, now drank so much, that the greatest part of them died. The people also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

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

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in A. H. 949, or A. D. 1541, the immortal Akber, was born. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Rana, the prince of Amercot, and, by the aid of that rajah, 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 Ali, one of his principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Candahar and was on his way, joined by that gallant Mogul chief Byram Khan, from Guzzurat. The prince Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Candahar from his brother Hindal; and Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Hussein, who governed at Tatta, changing his mind with the increase of Humaioon's misfortunes, wrote to 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 infant son Akber, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorasan. Ashkari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince to Candahar.

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 Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of

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Tahmasp, king of Persia. He brought Humaioon to the capital of Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money of which he was possessed, and furnishing the Sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest. He from thence set out for Herat, and was in that city met by the prince Mohammed, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to the Persian court. In the progress of Humaioon towards the capital of Persia, 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 to the Persian king at Ispahan, and waited for his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan during his exile.

SHERE.

The original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Hussein, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous country on the confines of India and Persia. When Beloli ascended the throne of the Indian empire, the grandfather of Shere, Ibrahim, came to Delhi in quest of military preferment, and, soon after, engaged himself in the service of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, the son of Beloli, the noble Jemmal, a chief of high renown, was appointed subah of Jionpoor, and he took Hussein, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him so much, that, in a short time, he gave him the districts of Sassaram and Tanda in jaghire, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Hussein had eight sons; Ferid and Nizam of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

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Hussein had no great regard for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferid, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal, the governor of Jionpoor. Hussein wrote to Jemmal upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal could say had no effect upon Ferid. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sassaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so good an effect, that he soon could repeat the works of the celebrated poet 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.

After three or four years had elapsed, Hussein came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hussein gave Ferid the charge of his estate, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferid, 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 impu-"nity." When he arrived at his jaghire, he actually put this resolution 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.

We pass over as too unimportant for the page of GENERAL HISTORY, his disputes with his brothers relative to the family estate. His soul was formed for empire; he grasped at, and obtained it. Amidst the distractions that ensued on the invasion of Sultan Baber, he joined the standard of Pir Khan, the son of Dirio Lohani, who had subdued Behar, and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of Mahmud. As that monarch was one day on a hunting party, he

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roused an enormous tiger, which Ferid immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in Mahmud's presence, he was honored with the title of Shere Khan.* We find this daring Afghan soon after in the service of the Emperor Baber, whom he attended 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 minister, who held the reins of government, would be "too much biassed in favour 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 unite in mutual con-"cord, the work was completed; and should fortune ever favour "him, he imagined himself equal to the task, however difficult it "might at present appear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion. Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, some solid dishes 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, that he might not 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 behaviour. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles, and "is likely to be a great man." Shere perceiving, by these words, that the king had been informed of his private discourse to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own estate of Sassaram in Behar.

* Shere signifies a lion.

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Mahmud of Behar dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere. The Sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into the hands of Shere. Allum, the governor of Hadgipoor, on the part of Mahmud, king of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere's protection. Mahmud, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal contest, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub was slain, and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the political designs of Shere.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani the cousins of Jellal, the young king of Behar, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy to take away his life. Shere discovering the plot, taxed Jellal with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He, on this occasion, told the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting rid of his servant, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that government, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would by no means consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister. Shere, finding that he had no security, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his

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omrahs, he fled to Mahmud of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere, who had usurped his throne.

Mahmud, joining his compassion for the young prince to his personal hatred of Shere, sent Ibrahim, the son of that Cuttub whom Shere had formerly defeated, with a considerable army against the usurper. The Bengalese besieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without success; so that Ibrahim was obliged to send home for succours. Shere, informed of this circumstance, marched 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 himself was slain in the action, and the young prince Jellal fled in great distress to Bengal.

Mahmud of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, the capital, which Shere for a long time besieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left Chawass to carry on the siege, and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Mahmud fled in a boat to Hadgipoor; and Shere, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmud being compelled to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzzurat, thought it necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere. He for that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chunar. Jellal, a son of Shere, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi, of the Soor tribe of Afghans, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, whence he very much annoyed the besiegers. The siege had been carried on six months, when Rumi Khan, who commanded the king's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he sent down the river close to the wall, reduced the place. Humaioon left two hundred soldiers in garrison there,

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and marched towards Bengal. Mahmud, who, as we have already observed, was wounded in the action with Shere, threw himself under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to the pass of Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere had sent his son Jellal, Chawass, and a considerable detachment to guard that defile. He immediately ordered Kulli, and some other chiefs, to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being however supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls became masters of the pass. Jellal fled to his father Shere at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, and begun to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in security,

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, that might ensure success. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkis, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, informing 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 send his family and treasure into the place, with a "few attendants." Berkis at first rejected this request, but Shere sent an artful ambassador to him, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women "and treasure he requested his princely protection: That should he "be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper "acknowledgements for the favour on his return; but if he should "lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and "wealth should fall into the hands of Berkis, than into those of the "Moguls, his inveterate enemies." Berkis, suffering himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere's request.

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The Afghan having provided covered chairs, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He, at the same time, filled five hundred money bags with leaden bullets, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, who were destined in appearance to assist in carrying the treasure up the mountain. The men, who carried the close chairs, were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out, and the first and second chair being examined at the gate, and found to contain only old women, all further examination was neglected. The raja was in the mean time busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the chairs had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and began to dye the fold with their blood. The disguised soldiers used their staves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the chairs. They easily subdued the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere, who was encamped at a small distance. Berkis 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, together with a vast treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages.

Rhotas is built upon the summit of a lofty mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of two miles, 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, are more than ten miles. In this space are included towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the surface. On one side runs the river Sone, under an immense precipice, and another river, in the same manner, passes close to the other side, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into

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a triangular peninsula. There is a very deep valley on the third side, full of impervious woods, which spread all over the mountains, and render access that way next to an impossibility.

Shere 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, the capital of Bengal. He there received advices that his brother, prince Hindal, had revolted in his governments of Agra and Mewat; that he had put to death Shech Phoul, the only man of consequence who would not break his allegiance to the emperor, and coined money in his own name. Humaioon therefore left Kulli with five thousand horse in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

By the excessive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers, on his march, through fatigue and want of forage. Shere, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jossa, 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 Kulli in several battles, defeated him, and at length cut him and his army to pieces.

Shere, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, assumed the imperial title of Shah, 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 his brother the prince Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkman mercenaries. He however crossed the river with one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere, who had but fifty thousand. Shere, as has been already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and

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pursued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshab; from which place the king retreated towards the Indus.

After the flight of Humaioon to Persia, Shere, now acknowledged emperor, left the captain-general with a great army in the north-west, and returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed that Chizer, whom he had placed in the government of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmud, the former king of that province, and affected all the state of a sovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting such conduct to go unpunished, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer being unexpectedly surprised, submitted without resistance, and was imprisoned. Shere very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs, independent of one another, and appointed Kasi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

In the year 949, Shere led his army towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualior, Suja the Afghan, who had before invested the place on the part of Shere, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim, governor of Gualior for Humaioon, and he delivered up that strong fortress into his hands. Shere having entered Malava, the Mogul governor of that province submitted without a blow. A few days after, being seized with sudden alarm, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Khan was appointed to that government; Suja had also a jaghire conferred upon him in that country. Shere having marched from thence to Rantimpore, Mullu fell upon the governor of Malava and upon Suja, but he was defeated. Suja having acquired all the honour of the victory, Hadjee was superseded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Shere arriving before Rantimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortress from the governor, on the part of

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the pretended emperor Mahmud, who had still kept it. The emperor, after taking Rantimpore, returned to Agra; he remained in that city a whole year, settling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He in the mean time ordered Hybut to wrest Multan from the tribe of the Bellochies. This Hybut soon effected by defeating Fatti Bellochi, and entirely subduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

Shere after this returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr; during his march he intrenched himself every night, as well for security as to exercise his troops, and to make them expert in this necessary service. When crossing the sandy deserts, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the rajah of Nagor and Todnoor, whose name was Maldeo, and esteemed the most powerful Hindoo prince in India. He opposed the king with fifty thousand rajahputs, and both armies lay thirty days in sight of one another. Shere 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 situation, a successful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere forged a letter in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the rajah's generals, addressed to himself, setting forth, "that, being conquered by the rajah, they had, through "necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were "in secret, very weary of his yoke. That if Shere would, therefore, "reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to "make him a due acknowledgment for the favour." On this letter Shere superscribed, as usual, in Persian, that they should fear nothing, desiring them to persevere in their intentions, and

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that they might rest assured that he would comply with their demand.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of Maldeo, who, being always in dread of his chiefs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, 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 Maldeo had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the rajah's suspicions could not be removed, he told him, that the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true rajahputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which Maldeo had thrown upon their reputation with his own blood, or the conquest of Shere with his own tribe.

Maldeo continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men separated themselves from their prince and turned back, with an intent to surprise Shere's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was clear day-light before they saw the enemy. Shere immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave rajahputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the rajahputs with renewed vigour, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, was cut to pieces.

Shere, finding himself in possession of a victory of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "that, for a handful of barley, he "had almost given the empire of India to the wind." This grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, for

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which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor.

Shere, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. He then directed his march to Rantimpore, and gave that country in jaghire to his son Adil Khan, who fixed his residence there. The king, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. The Indian prince of Callinger, on account of the king's treacherous behaviour to Paran Mull, would make no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere, having drawn a line of circumvallation, began to carry on his approaches to the place; he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general assault 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, which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown up; and the king and many of his omrahs were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were carried for dead to their tents.

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe, in great 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 happened on the twelfth of the first Ribbi, in A. H. 952, or A. D. 1545. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

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The character of Shere is almost equally divided between distinguished virtue and the most degrading vice. In administering public justice he was inflexible; in private concerns, he was guilty often of the basest perfidy. His aspiring soul made him look up to the empire, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

Shere left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal to the Nilâb, which is fifteen hundred cose,* he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every cose; he also raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran, and priests. He ordered that at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense. 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. Couriers were placed at proper distances, as well for forwarding quick intelligence to government, as for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. He was buried at Sassaram, his original estate, in a magnificent marble mausoleum, which he had built in the middle of a great reservoir of water.†

Tahmasp still sat on the throne of Persia, and reigned in peace, protecting Humaioon during the usurpation of Shere in Hindostan.

* About three thousand of our miles.

† This fine monument of the magnificence of Shere still remains entire. The artificial lake which surrounds it is not much less than a mile in length.

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SELIM.

When Shere became numbered with the dead, his eldest son Adil, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Rantimpore, and his younger son Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Pheta. The omrahs, who favoured Jellal more than his brother, then at so great a distance, urged the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They for that purpose dispatched expresses to Jellal, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Isah Khan and his party, in consequence mounted the throne, in the fortress of Callinger, and assumed the title of Islam Shah, which, by false pronunciation, was turned to that of Selim, by which name he is more generally known. The efforts of Adil, and the omrahs attached to his fortune, to wrest from the new emperor his usurped sceptre, occupy a considerable portion of the life of Selim in Ferishta. As they were utterly unsuccessful, we shall pass them over as irrelevant.

After being firmly seated on the throne, the king moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid, the brother of Humaioon, governor of Lahore, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a new rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which the emperor Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi, Suja joined him with the army from Malva. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the rout of Lahore. Azim Humaioon, Chawass, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before him at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some

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time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with "my honour to hesitate one moment in attacking 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 the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawass, still a friend to the family of his patron Shere, insisted that search should be made for prince Adil; 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, so that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawass retreated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumstance 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 emperor narrowly escaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant chief, with ten of his friends in armour, 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. The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to the mountains, Selim pursuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He thence detached Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, but soon after proceeded to Gualior. Suja, governor of Malva, going one day up to the fort before the king, one Osman, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed

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himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The assassin rushed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without 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 Malva with all his forces. The king pursued him as far as Mondu, but hearing that he had fled to Banswalla, he returned, leaving his own cousin, with twenty thousand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions.

Serwani 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 pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners. The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim, finding that he could never have real peace without effectually crushing this rebellion, marched in person towards the Indus, 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, by which the emperor one day ascended the mountain of Mannicot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, killed the assassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Eckbal Khan. The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the emperor, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into the kingdom of Cashmire; but the prince of that country, fearing Selim's resentment,

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opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, his brother Seid, and Shabass, to the king. Selim being now secured against further disturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. The prince Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother the emperor Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim. But he was very ill received by that prince, and he therefore fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Selim, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that the emperor Humaioon had reached that branch of the Indus which is distinguished by the name of Nilâb, or the blue river. The king was at that instant under the operation of drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped that evening six miles 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 was drawn by one or two thousand men; yet in this manner he marched with great expedition towards Lahore. But in the mean time Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualior, where he took up his residence.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chase, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached many chiefs, who were immediately executed; after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put numbers to death upon the slightest presumptions.

Chawass, the captain-general of the armies of Shere, of whom frequent mention has already been made, a man justly renowned

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for personal courage, strict honour, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taji Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and was now governed by Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim, basely assassinated Chawass. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, who number him among the saints of India.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year A. H. 960, or A. D. 1532, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Mahmud the Patan king of Guzzurat, and the Nizam of the Decan, who was of the same nation, died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate serai between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expense.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son Ferose was, at twelve years of age, raised to the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualior. He had not reigned three days, when Mubarick, the son of Nizam Soor, nephew to the late emperor Shere, brother of Selim's wife, and the uncle of Ferose, assassinated the young prince. Mubarick assumed the title of Mohammed 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 sister, Bibi Bai, defended, for some time, her son in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did she intreat and weep: his soul was hardened against pity. He tore

* Adil signifies the *Just*.

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the young prince from her arms, and, in her presence, severed his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for saving his life repeatedly, when Selim, foreseeing his atrocities, would have put him to death.

The state of Persia suffered no change during the reign of Selim in India. Tahmasp continued upon the throne.

MOHAMMED.

The infamous Mohammed, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and associated with illiterate fellows like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, an Indian of low birth, but gigantic in person, and of a desperate undaunted spirit, was now entrusted with all the weight of the administration.

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 emperors, particularly Ferose, for their great generosity, he mistook prodigality for that virtue, and to exceed them all, opened the treasury, and lavished its riches without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon dissipated the great treasures of his predecessors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Adili, which in the Indian language signifies literally the blind, and metaphorically, the foolish.

When Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and insolence, though he was otherwise a man of good parts, exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan chiefs 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,

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while all order and government totally declined. Mohammed giving one day public audience, and distributing estates and governments among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Canouge to be taken from Firmalli, and given to Sermust Sirbunna. Secunder, the son of Firmalli, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the emperor, " Is my fortune then to be conferred on a seller of " dogs?" for it appears that Sermust was descended of one of that low occupation. The elder Firmalli, who was also present, endeavoured to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more: he charged the king, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family. Sermust, who was a man of uncommon strength and stature, seeing this behaviour to the king, and being also personally affronted, seized Secunder by the breast; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then flew at all who endeavoured 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 pursuing him, had the door thrown in his face, which stopped his progress, till Mohammed drew the bolt, and secured himself. The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design upon Mohammed, resolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, and rushing back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him. In the mean time Ibrahim, of the tribe of Soor, the king's cousin and brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with some of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Lohani killed at the same time the good old man, Firmalli, who could not have been blamed for his son's rashness.

The king soon becoming jealous of the popularity of his avenger Ibrahim, gave private orders to seize him; but his wife, who was sister to the king, having heard of this design in the Mahl, informed her husband of it. He fled from Chunar to his father, Ghazi, governor of Biana, and was pursued by Isah Neazi, who coming up with

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him at Calpie, an engagement ensued, in which Isah was defeatd, and driven back from further pursuit. Ibrahim soon after raised a great army, and possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Mohammed marched from Chunar to suppress this usurpation, and on the way received an embassy from Ibrahim, promising that if he would send Hussein and other chiefs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The king was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim, by presents, promises, and courteous behaviour, soon drew them over to his own interest. Mohammed finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chunar, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim. This event took place in A. H. 961, or A. D. 1552.

IBRAHIM III.

Ibrahim had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in the province of Panjâb. This was Ahmed, a nephew of the emperor Shere, and also brother-in-law to Mohammed, the expelled emperor. Ahmed having attached Hybut, and other chiefs, raised to the dignity of omrahs by the late emperor Selim, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shah, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within four miles of that city. 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, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked was the government of Panjâb. But Ibrahim, in the pride

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of superiority, would grant him no terms, and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and with a choice body of horse took post in a wood, where he could not be discovered. Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder, when Secunder, rushing out upon them, struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before. The emperor Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his good fortune, when he was obliged to march to Panjâb, to oppose the Mogul emperor Humaioon; who, having returned from a long exile, was now rapidly advancing to recover his dominions.

To that monarch and his affairs, passing over many incidents of less important consideration, amidst the struggles for empire of numerous inferior competitors, we now return.

THE RETURN OF HUMAIOON FROM PERSIA.

Humaioon at the court of Tahmasp, king of Persia, had been treated as his rank and his virtues merited. The particulars of his reception there, and his renewed contests in Afghanistan with his rebellious brother, prince Camiran, whose perfidy and rancour had so much contributed to his exile, occupy many pages in Ferishta. It is my wish only to exhibit him in his more striking character of a king and a conqueror; and therefore coming at once to the point most interesting to the studious in Indian history, it will be sufficient to remark that after an absence, according to Fraser, our best authority in respect to chronological dates,* of five years and

* See Fraser's short History of the Mogul Emperors, prefixed to his Shah, p. 9.

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an half at that court, having received from Tahmasp an assistance of ten thousand horse, in A. D. 1545 he commenced his march back to Hindostan; that on the 1st of September of that year he took Candahar from Ashkari, who governed that fortress for prince Camiran; that on the 16th of November he conquered Cabul from Camiran himself; and in the spring of the following year conquered Badakshan from the Mirza Soliman, who is said by Fraser to have revolted, and to have usurped that government.* By the conquest of rebellious chieftains, and by the strong power of the ruling dynasty of the Afghan emperors, who had usurped his throne in India, he was detained in that region, and prevented from making any vigorous attempts to regain that throne, till the year A. D. 1554.

In that year Humaioon received an address from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting him that Selim, the Afghan emperor of India, 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 discovered great joy upon this intelligence, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake an expedition into India. He left to Monim the government of Cabul, and the tuition of his young son Hakim, and immediately began his march from that capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the western branch of the Indus, he appointed Byram his captain-general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chizer, Tirdi Beg, Secunder, and Shubiani.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar, the Patan governor of the province of the five branches of the Indus, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place, and fled to Delhi. Humaioon

* See Fraser's short History of the Mogul emperors, prefixed to his Nadir Shah, p. 10.

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pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place. The king having received intelligence, that a large body of Afghans were assembled at Debalpour, he ordered Abul Mali, whom he used to honour 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 had, in the mean time, dispatched Tatar Khan, and Hybut Khan, with an army of forty thousand horse from Delhi against Humaioon; but Byram Khan, notwithstanding their vast superiority in number, boldly attacked, and completely defeated them; taking a vast spoil in elephants, baggage, and horses. Byram Khan sent the elephants to the king at Lahore, and encamped at Matchiwarrah. He dispersed detachments on all sides, and possessed himself, by means of his increased cavalry, of the whole country, almost to the walls of Delhi itself. The king exceedingly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram the title of Khan Khanaun, or Lord of Lords, the grateful friend.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar, the emperor Secunder 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 the Indus. Byram thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind, and to provide against a siege, by laying in provisions, and throwing up new works. Secunder encamped before Sirhind, and Byram 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.

Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young prince Akber, then only thirteen years of age, was going the rounds of the camp, the

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Patans suddenly drew up their forces and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous valour of that young prince, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly, having obtained his father's permission, also drew out the Mogul army. Humaioon gave the command of the right wing to Byram, and of the left to Secunder, which was composed of the troops of Abdulla the Uzbek, Abul Mali, Alla, and Tirdi Beg, who were to begin the action. He took his station 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 Byram displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akber distinguished himself by acts of heroic personal valour. The Moguls were so animated by the behaviour of that young prince, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortals. The enemy at last were driven off the field with very great slaughter, and the emperor Secunder fled with precipitation to the mountains of Sewalic.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which now fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder the Uzbek, 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 Panjab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue the fugitive emperor. In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi in triumph, and became, a second time, EMPEROR OF HINDOSTAN. Byram, to whose valour and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration, was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned to him.

But the end of the glory of the reign of Humaioon was rapidly approaching, for in the evening of the seventh of the first Ribbi,

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Humaioon walked out upon the terrace of the library of the palace, and sat down there for some time to enjoy the fresh air. When the emperor began to descend the steps of the staircase from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformably to the practice of the Moslem religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma, or Mohammedan creed; he then sat down upon the second step of the stairs till the proclamation was ended. On rising 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 staircase. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all the art and power of medicine; but in vain, for upon the eleventh of the same month, about sun-set, 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 Akber. Humaioon died at the age of fifty-one, after an interrupted reign of twenty-five years in Cabul and India.—A. H. 963, or A. D. 1555.

The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive; if there can be any excess in virtues so noble and elevated as these. His affection to his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was both learned himself, and 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 prevented 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 two preceding chapters are the substance of Ferishta's account of the domestic events of Hindostan during this dark and troublesome æra. His book is the

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only authentic record of them, and the author had the archives of the state to assist him in his researches. He often disgusts by the minute detail of facts neither important nor interesting. I have throughout, therefore, used the pruning-knife freely, and have sketched only the grand features and predominant incidents in each reign. A swarm of historians and travellers, Asiatic and European, many of them eye-witnesses of the facts related, about this period start into existence, and from them principally, compared with Ferishta, both as to events and date, will the following chapter be composed. The task of *mere abridgement* is not the most pleasant one; and I trust both in point of general arrangement and style, that chapter will be found more deserving of the reader's approbation.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Author quitting FERISHTA, *proceeds from other Sources to detail the History of the restored Dynasty of Mogul Emperors.—Additional particulars concerning* HUMAIOON, *from a* MANUSCRIPT *History long ago composed by himself from contemporary Writers and Travellers.—Apology for delaying to give the History of the European settlers in India till the close of the reign of Jehanguire.—The Life of* AKBER *from the same* MANUSCRIPT *compared with Ferishta.—Uncommon Display of both military and political Talents in that young Prince at a very early Period.—Conquers, and with his own Hand kills* HIMU, *the Patan General, discards his Vizier, and assumes himself the Reins of Government.—Advances against and takes* CHITORE.—*Builds the superb Castle and Palace of* AGRA.—*Adorns Fettipore; reduces Guzzurat; reconquers Bengal from the Patan Chiefs; renews the War with the rebellious Rajahs, and takes their principal Fortresses.—Meditates the Conquest of Uzbek Tartary, and actually marches to Cashmere, but renounces that Intention, and devotes his remaining Life to his favourite Project of subjugating the Deccan.—The Life of* JEHANGUIRE *from the same Manuscript, compared with* FERISHTA.—*Selim, the Son of Akber, having ascended the Throne by that name, his son Sultan Khosro rebels.—Battle of Lahore, and extinction of that Rebellion.—The Emperor enslaved by his Passion for the fair Nourmahall.—Successful War with the Ranna and other rebellious Rajahs in Malva.—The Deccan reconquered.—Rebellion of Shah Jehan.—He is repulsed at Agra;—defeated by the Imperial Army, and submits.—Again rebels, and is victorious in Bengal; but is totally defeated by his Brother, Sultan* PARVEZ.—*Sir* THOMAS ROE

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the English Ambassador, arrives at the Court of JEHANGUIRE. *—Rebellion of* MOHABIT.*—The Emperor seized and confined by that Omrah, but afterwards released.—Death and Character of* JEHANGUIRE.

WITH the preceding chapter terminated that regular, though concise, abridgement of Ferishta's domestic history of India, which was absolutely necessary to fill up a large chasm in its annals, for the closing of which there are few authentic materials to be collected from any other existing author. After all, it is little more than a rapid and dreadful detail of perfidy and massacres, and of the same sanguinary cast, it is deeply to be regretted, are nearly all the Asiatic histories. The MANUSCRIPT to which allusion has been made, in a preceding page,* and which was composed before I had seen Ferishta, on the authority of Herbelot, De Laet, Fraser, Du Barros, Texeira, De Faria, and other oriental writers and travellers, contains in considerable detail the life of Baber, which is necessarily superseded by the native original documents, inserted above. The life of Humaioon however, in that MANUSCRIPT, contains some particulars not to be found in Ferishta, and, as it exhibits a very concise and connected summary of the events of an interrupted reign, may not be displeasing to the reader; and is therefore submitted to his candid perusal. It is followed by the successive lives of the great Akber, and of Jehanguire, composed from the same sources; to which I shall add, from Ferishta, as in the life of Timur, above, those more striking circumstances in such reign that have novelty and interest to recommend them.

As during these three reigns the Portuguese had been gradually establishing themselves in India, and had finally consolidated a vast empire on its coasts, the reader may probably have been surprised by my silence hitherto on that interesting subject; but in

* See of this Second Volume p. 4.

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this wide survey of Asiatic events it is convenient to keep the incidents that have befallen the great empires passing in review before us, as little mixed as possible; it is my intention to consider the progress of the Europeans in India in a separate book, that immediately following. The most important circumstance to us, the complete establishment of the English as factors in Hindostan, did not take place until the great and able negociator, Sir Thomas Roe, in the ensuing reign of Jehanguire, had firmly established their interest at the court of Delhi, and consequently any extended introduction of the subject, until the period of that reign, would be premature. After that æra it would be improper to delay a discussion at once so highly interesting and gratifying to my readers.

ADDITIONAL ACCOUNT OF HUMAIOON.

Humaioon, the son of Baber, in A. D. 1530, succeeded him in the empire of Hindostan, and soon proved that he inherited the military virtues, as well as the throne of his illustrious father. He entered with eagerness on the completion of all his designs; and, for the first ten years of his reign, in every plan was fortunate, and in every action glorious. He first carried his victorious arms into Malva and Guzzurat, where Sultan Bahadur then reigned, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, and drove the fugitive monarch to the most distant boundaries of his own maritime dominions. Previously to this invasion, Bahadur had been for some years engaged in disputes with the Portuguese, who, by the union of arms, and policy, had secured a firm footing on his frontier, and had become extremely formidable to the neighbouring potentates. The terror of this new and more dreaded enemy, now compelled him to make peace with *them*, and their assistance encouraged him to revolt after the departure of the Mogul army; but Humaioon returning the next year reduced him to entire obedience. The unfortunate

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Bahadur had soon reason to repent of the new connection entered into with the Portuguese: for, having granted them permission to erect a fort at Diu, they fortified it in such a manner as ever after to render it impregnable to any force he could bring against it, and he himself perished in an attempt to regain it, not many years after. *

The rich, the powerful, the fertile kingdom of Bengal was the next object of the ambition of the new emperor. Full of innumerable castles and fortified towns, for the most part governed by the ancient independent rajahs of the country, whose inaccessible retreats their Afghan, or Patan tyrants could never effectually penetrate; the subjection of this extensive and populous region was an arduous and hazardous undertaking. But the ardent desire to become master of a kingdom, denominated by Oriental writers "the granary of Asia, and Paradise of the Indies," made danger vanish, and difficulty be forgotten amidst the more splendid hopes of conquest. He began his march from Agra at the head of an army fully adequate, by its magnitude and intrepidity, to the accomplishment of any project, however daring. Though every inch of ground was disputed, and defeat only produced new armies to be encountered, the undaunted conqueror rushed on from one fortress to another, and from field to field of still untarnished glory, till at length Gour, at that time the capital of Bengal, being taken, in a short time the whole country on the Ganges submitted to his arms, and thus another bright jewel was added to the imperial crown at Delhi. †

Such, for a few years, was the brilliant success of Humaioon, but shortly after, a dreadful reverse of fortune befell this prince, the commencement of whose reign was distinguished by such a series of illustrious events. The power of the Afghan chiefs, though severely shaken by Sultan Baber, was by no means entirely subverted.

* De Laet's India Vera, p. 172; and De Faria, Portuguese Asia. Vol. I. p. 375.
De Laet's India Vera. p. 173.

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Their awe of that conqueror indeed, after the signal defeat of their combined forces under the emperor Ibrahim Lodi in A. D. 1526, retained them in external obedience during the remainder of *his* reign, and the vigour displayed in the first actions of the present, contributed to repress any open enterprizes of sedition. The latent flame, however, soon grew too violent to be longer restrained, and now burst forth with redoubled violence.

Humaioon was at a distance, settling the affairs of the newly-conquered provinces in the west, when he received the intelligence of the general revolt of his Afghan subjects, who under Shere Khan, a determined soldier, were in full march to give him battle, and had already retaken the province of Bahar, with Rotas, Chunar, and many other strong castles in Bengal. He immediately hastened back to Agra, where, having collected his scattered forces, he returned in the firm intention to engage the enemy, and having repassed the Ganges, encamped on its banks. Too confident in that bravery which, under more disparaging circumstances, had so often procured them victory, and perhaps imagining the foe at a greater distance, the army of Humaioon there resigned themselves to intemperate festivity, and spent the night in carousals and revelling. Shere Khan, whose active spies observed, and diligently reported, every motion of the royal army, having obtained early intelligence of this inconsiderate conduct, instantly dispatched ten thousand Afghan cavalry, who, by forced marches, arrived by break of day in the camp of the Mogul; and while they lay buried in sleep * and

* A remark of Mr. Cambridge will perhaps elucidate this passage. "Notwithstanding the Eastern armies have so severely suffered by being surprised in the night, they can never be brought to establish either order or vigilance in their camp. At the close of the evening, every man eats an inconceivable quantity of rice, and many take after it some kind of soporific drugs, so that about mid-night the whole army is in a dead sleep. The consequence of these habits is obvious: and yet it would appear a strange proposition to an Eastern monarch, to endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of

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intoxication, rushed suddenly upon them, and made a great and undistinguished slaughter. The disorder that prevailed in every quarter was too great and general to admit of the troops being rallied; the royal tents, with very considerable treasures, fell into the hands of the rebels; a multitude of elephants and horses was captured; and the unfortunate emperor himself desponding, and almost deserted, was compelled to save his life by swimming across the stream! Mere accident having presented him a horse, he rode off towards Agra, but Shere Khan pursuing close in his rear, compelled him to continue his flight on to Lahore, where his brother, the Mirza Cameron governed; who, instead of giving him a welcome reception, loaded him with insult and reproaches. Humaioon, justly indignant at this treatment, hastened with his few attendants towards Cashmere, where a favourite omrah, appointed by himself, held the supreme command; but that omrah was dead, and the capital fortified against him. He now directed his course towards Cabul, the place of his nativity, trusting at least to find shelter in the city that gave him birth, and farther hallowed by the ashes of his father; but by this time Cameron, being driven by Shere Khan from Lahore, had arrived there, and ordered the gates of the fortress to be closed. At Candahar another brother, the Mirza Ashkeri, resided as governor, whom he now supplicated by every tender tie that binds relations, to receive a banished prince under his protection; to allow him to put that strong castle in a state of adequate defence; and to take himself an active part in the extermination of the enemies of his family. To this humble and interesting request Humaioon received only a haughty answer, amounting to a denial.

Thus deserted by his subjects, and insulted by his kindred, one only resource remained to the unhappy monarch; to throw himself

" the meals of a common soldier; much less would he be prevailed upon to restrain " him in the use of that *opium* which is to warm his blood for action, and animate " his soul with heroism." Introduction to the War in India.

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on the generosity of Tahmasp, king of Persia, who was infinitely indebted to the house of Timur, even for the sceptre he swayed, and whose gratitude he hoped would prove stronger than fraternal love had proved. He therefore dispatched one of his attendants by a readier route than the imminent danger of his situation would allow himself to take, with letters to that prince, in which he conjured him by the revered memory of Timur, by the sacred name of king which they mutually bore, and by the inviolable friendship that united their ancestors, to lend him, in this emergency, that decisive support which, if immediately afforded, might restore him to the dignity from which he was thus ignominiously driven by his revolted vassals. Soon after he had taken this step, he was joined by Byram Khan, an aged and skilful officer, at the head of a select squadron of veteran soldiers, who had long sought their exiled master, and were now determined to share his fortunes. The resolution of soliciting the assistance of Tahmasp being approved of by this loyal chief, Humaioon sent to demand of Hussein, the Mogul viceroy of Tatta, permission to pass through that province into Persia; but that lord, who had likewise caught the general spirit of disaffection, excused himself by saying, that if his majesty's intentions were to visit Persia, the directer way lay through Candahar. Enraged at this reply, but unable with his slender train to exact vengeance on the rebellious omrah who sent it, he now resolved to go by that directer way, and at every hazard to force a passage into the Persian dominions. In a city of the province of Candahar he left his wife and infant child, Akber (who was born during this flight, and afterwards amply avenged the injuries of his father), and having disencumbered himself of his baggage, his domestics, and what treasures yet remained to him, by rapid movements soon arrived unmolested at the court of Persia. Shah Tahmasp received him, not only with the honour due to his distinguished rank, but with every possible token of liberal friendship; entertained him

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with hospitality truly royal; and promised, in as short an interval as the vast preparations necessary for so important an expedition would allow, to furnish him with troops and money sufficient both for the reduction of his disobedient governors, and his own re-establishment on the throne of Hindostan.

The promise of the Persian monarch was punctually performed. It was not, however, till after a residence at his court of some years, that Humaioon was enabled to return with a force sufficient for the accomplishment of those designs. He was attended by the bravest and most skilful officers of the Persian army, who were anxious to enlist under his banners, and made his cause their own. The first exertions of his vengeance were pointed against Candahar and its governor, who now submitted with a pusillanimity only to be equalled by his former insolence. Cabul was next surrounded by the victorious army, and the perfidious governor punished for his unnatural baseness by loss of sight and banishment to Mecca. After these successes Humaioon did not immediately march into Hindostan, but staid to settle the affairs of the conquered provinces, and waited with impatience for some favourable opportunity to assert with effect his just, but invaded, rights. The death of the usurper Shere Khan, with that of his son Selim, and consequent distractions, afforded this opportunity, and he then set forward with the best founded and most sanguine hopes of re-possessing his lost dominions. The most distinguished success attended every effort of a cause supported by justice, and regulated by maxims of the soundest prudence. The army passed through Lahore in February 1555; in May it arrived at Sirhind, where an ineffectual effort to check its progress was made by the Afghan governor at the head of ten thousand horse; and in June following encountered and totally defeated the forces of Secunder II. son-in-law to the usurper. Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan, with some other experienced generals, were then dispatched southward, to reduce to obedience the

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interamnian provinces, lying between the Ganges and Jumna, which they fortunately effected; while Humaioon, at the head of the remaining forces, triumphantly entered into Delhi.

Thus, after a long interval, was the sovereignty of this extensive kingdom restored to its rightful Mogul lord, (if right can indeed be given by conquest,) who did not however, for any extended term, enjoy that power, in the possession of which it had cost him so many years of anxious toil to re-establish himself. In the contemplation of many, and the execution of some, important projects for the advantage and aggrandizement of the empire, death suddenly overtook this great prince at the early period of his fiftieth year; and his decease is supposed to have been the effect of a too powerful dose of opium. He had retired to the terrace of the palace of Delhi, and is said to have fallen asleep while, in a sitting posture, he breathed the pure air of that elevated station. From the highest step of the marble staircase he fell headlong down *forty steps* to the bottom; after languishing three days, in great agony, he expired. This is De Laet's account, and as it is different from that of others, the original passage is added below. * This melancholy event took place according to Fraser, still our best judge in all chronological points, on the 24th of January, 1556, after a chequered reign of twenty-five years, ten months, and five days. †

AKBER, THIRD MOGUL EMPEROR.

On the death of Humaioon, Akber, who, as before related, was born at Amercot, A. D. 1542, during the flight of his father, though then at a great distance from the capital, was proclaimed emperor at Calanor, ‡ in Lahore, by the generals of the imperial army.

* Verum quum opium paulo ante largius usurpasset, somno obrepente, ruit in præceps, et circiter *quadraginta gradus* devolutus, ita se afflixit, ut post triduum moreretur. De Laet INDIA VERA, p. 180. Lugd. Bat. Elzevir, 1631.

† Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 10. ‡ Fraser, p. 11.

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Notwithstanding he had hardly yet reached his fourteenth year, the young prince had already distinguished himself in several engagements by many acts of dauntless fortitude, and was at that moment in the active pursuit of his father's enemies, the Patan chiefs. Byram Khan, his guardian, now, at Akber's urgent request, undertook the management of public affairs, and was invested with the whole civil and military power of the empire.

In the mean time a formidable rival in the person of Mohammed Adel Shah, nephew of the usurper Shere Khan, and who had himself usurped the throne, and been driven from it, had started up in Bengal, and sent his vizier and general, Himu, an Indian, brave and resolute, but of low extraction, with an army of thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants, to sieze on the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi. Agra was not prepared to resist so numerous a force, and its viceroy fled before it; but Tirdi Khan, the governor of Delhi, being better prepared and reinforced by some neighbouring omrahs, with their troops, issued forth to give the invader battle. Himu, eager to engage, posted himself in the centre of his army with three thousand chosen horse, and some of his best elephants: with these he rushed furiously upon his adversary and drove him from the field. He then returned to the contest, attacked the right wing with equal impetuosity, and at length the rout becoming universal, entered Delhi in triumph. The vanquished viceroy took the route to Sirhind, where he met the new emperor advancing towards Delhi to assert his title to the throne. The news of his defeat rather rouzed than depressed the soul of Akber, who now resolved to conquer this daring rival or perish in the effort.

The generals Khan Ziman and Bahadur Khan, who had been dispatched to compel the southern provinces to obedience, were now summoned with all their forces to the relief of the capital. Those officers, with speed proportioned to the emergency, hastened back to the imperial army, which by this addition, when arrived at

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the plains of Paniput amounted to twenty thousand strong. The rebels however had by this time increased their army to five times that amount, with a proportionate train of elephants and artillery, and headed by their undaunted leader, had marched out of Delhi, and approached their antagonists in the vain confidence that numbers would ensure victory. Himu began the attack with his elephants, on whose multitude and strength he placed his chief dependance; but Ziman Khan and the other omrahs of the royal army, observing this, assaulted those monstrous animals with such fury, galling them with their lances, and raining such showers of arrows upon them, that they became outrageous with pain, and falling back on the Afghan ranks spread havock and disorder through their whole army. The greater part of that immense army likewise, consisting of new raised troops, now began to give way, and left a few determined legions to contend with the whole force of the enemy. Akber, whose life was so important at this juncture, and therefore detained by Byram in the rear, was, during the conflict, with the utmost difficulty restrained from plunging amidst the thickest ranks of the foe, and joining his friends, whom he saw so nobly fighting in his cause. On the other hand, Himu himself, riding on a prodigious elephant, at the head of four thousand horse advanced into the very heart of the Mogul army, and there waded through a stream of blood, made to flow by his own valour; nor did he give over the dreadful conflict when an arrow, piercing his eye, lodged in that tender organ; for regardless of the excruciating pain, he tore out the barbed shaft, and with it the eye from its socket, and continued fighting in that terrible condition till all his party were cut off, and himself taken prisoner. Fainting with loss of blood, yet still breathing defiance, Himu was then led into the presence of Akber, who, mindful of his father's wrongs, and fired with the ardour of a youthful warrior, with his own hand smote off the traitor's head, and ordered it to be fixed on the gate of

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Delhi.* An immense booty was taken on this occasion, with fifteen hundred elephants and a fine train of artillery. Akber immediately after the victory took possession of Delhi, and was a second time crowned emperor in that accustomed place of the inauguration of the monarchs of Hindostan.

During the long absence of Humaioon from his hereditary dominions, that many-headed monster, ever springing up anew after defeat, the tyranny of the Afghan tribes, had again reared its crest in most of the provinces of the empire, and notwithstanding that prince's endeavours on his return to place matters on the same footing in which Sultan Baber left them, it seemed necessary that the whole ground on which his victorious standards had been displayed, should be again marched over by the armies of Akber. The generals Ziman and Bahadur were therefore ordered to repair to their former stations to exterminate, if possible, in those parts the power of the Patans, whom they afterwards overthrew in three general engagements; the first at Sambal; the second at Lucknow; the third at Jionpore. † Akber, in the mean time, resided at Agra, which he preferred to Delhi, and spent his time in hunting and

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 182. Ferishta gives a different account of this matter. It is as follows. When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the presence, almost expiring with his wounds, Byram told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akber, in compliance with the advice of his governor, drew his sword, but only gently touched the head of the captive, bursting into tears of compassion. Byram, looking sternly upon the king, insinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family, was the source of all their misfortunes, and with one stroke of the sabre, severed Himu's head from his body. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 222.

† The reader who is desirous of more particular details of the life of Akber, will find them in Ferishta, though not arranged in the same chronological order as in De Laet's short history of the Mogul emperors. The increasing mass of historical matter compels me, as I proceed, to draw still closer the line to which I have restricted myself. In fact, the prescribed bounds of this entire work would scarcely suffice for a minute account of the illustrious exploits of Akber.

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other amusements suited to his age, and, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the regent he had appointed, did dot minutely examine into the conduct of the public business; but that accumulation of wealth and power which, in gratitude for his eminent services, he had bestowed upon Byram Khan, is said to have filled him with insolence and vanity, which broke out in many acts of despotism towards the omrahs, and of disrespect towards the king himself. Resolved, therefore, no longer to be holden in disgraceful shackles, he summoned his omrahs from all quarters to meet him at Delhi, whither, unknown to Byram, he repaired, and receiving from them all the strongest assurances of affectionate attachment, issued a proclamation, that the regency was dissolved, and that, from that moment, he should take upon himself the sole administration of affairs. The degraded minister was ordered into banishment as far distant as Mecca, who at first proved refractory, and armed his followers for resistance; but, being defeated, at length reluctantly prepared to undertake the expedition, when in passing through Guzzurat towards the ocean, he was set upon by some Afghan cavalry, and murdered in revenge by a chief of that nation whose father he had slain.

Scarce was the new emperor firmly seated on the throne, when the utmost efforts of his power were called into action for the reduction of the almost impregnable fortress of Chitore, situated in the heart of the province of Malva, on the summit of a mountain twelve miles in compass, and only accessible by one ascent by means of a path cut out of the solid rock. This castle had occasionally resisted for ages, all the force that the kings of Delhi could send against it; and had never known a conqueror, except in the renowned ALLA-UL-DIEN.* It was at this time governed by Jamel, another

* Chitore was the ancient hereditary castle of Rajah Rana, by far the most powerful of the native princes at that time flourishing in Western India. Chitore in the earlier annals of Hindostan, ranked as a province itself, or rather was a kingdom,

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dauntless rajah, who had made repeated incursions into the Mogul provinces, and thus drawn down upon himself the vengeance of the new emperor. Independent of the importance of the post, and the glory to be acquired by the reduction of so celebrated a place, Akber, with justice, thought that the capture of it would strike terror into all the neighbouring rajahs whose principal dependance, in any rebellion, lay in the impenetrable fastnesses in which they intrenched themselves, and bade defiance to assault. As the conquest of this castle was therefore of so great consequence to the expanding fame of Akber, he surrounded the hill with a vast army, and laid close siege to the fortress itself, battering its walls incessantly with his cannon for several months. Little success, however, seemed to crown his perseverance. His troops were wearied by the tediousness of the siege, and diminished by the frequent and vigorous sallies of the besieged. A mine at length being successfully sprung under the principal bulwark of the castle, that part of the fortress was with a dreadful explosion blown into the air, and the besiegers violently rushing in at the breach made a great slaughter of the garrison. Jamel, determined neither to be subdued or taken, threw himself, sabre in hand, amidst the thickest of the enemy, and there gloriously perished. * The victor, in remembrance of this illustrious exploit, as well as in veneration of that valour which he could respect, even in an enemy, caused the statues of Jamel, and Polta, his brother and principal commander, mounted on elephants, to be placed on each side of the gate of his palace at Delhi. †

large, wealthy, and populous, governed by sovereigns of its own, who boasted their descent from Porus, whom Herbert (incorrectly) supposes to have issued hence against Alexander the Great. See Thevenot's Indian Travels, p. 70, and Herbert's Travels, apud Harris.

* The account of this attack upon Chitore will be found with further particulars in De Laet, p. 185; and in Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 257.

† "I find nothing," says Bernier, "remarkable at the entrance of this palace, but "two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates. Upon

This arduous enterprize was no sooner accomplished, than Akber received intelligence that his brother Mohammed Hakim, who had erected his government of Cabul into an independent kingdom, was ravaging Lahore at the head of a body of thirty thousand horse. He immediately set forward to oppose his progress, and with incredible speed arrived at Sirhind, whence the invading enemy, astonished at the rapidity of his march, fled back with precipitation, leaving him sole master of his camp, baggage, and spoils. Fearing lest he might be frequently called from the important conquests he meditated to repel these incursions, he now resolved to put every fortress on those frontiers of his kingdom, in the strongest posture of defence, and give the command of them to officers of the most tried courage and loyalty. While he was thus employed the most afflicting news reached his ears: the generals Ziman Khan and Bahadur Khan, grown insolent with their victories over the Patans, had reared the standard of rebellion at Lucknow, in Bengal, and had extended their depredations even to the neighbourhood of Agra itself. With his accustomed celerity, Akber soon arrived on the banks of the Jumna, and falling suddenly on the revolters, drove them from their encampment, pursued their flying battalions with vast slaughter, and the rebellious chieftains themselves being overtaken in their flight, suffered the punishment due to their perfidy; the former being trampled to death by the horses of the pursuers, and the latter strangled on the spot.

A short interval of peace succeeding, Akber returned to Agra, which he determined for the future to make his principal residence, and accordingly commanded his whole court to be removed thither from Delhi. The old town being much decayed, and the palace

" one of them is the statue of Jamel, that famous rajah of Chitor; and upon the " other that of Polta his brother. These two great elephants, together with the two " resolute men sitting on them, do, at the first entry into this fortress, make an " impression of I know not what greatness and terror." Bernier's Account of Delhi.

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where the Patan kings had resided, very incommodious, he resolved to rebuild them both, and that in a manner becoming its founder, the august monarch of so mighty an empire.

As the construction of the stupendous castle and city of Agra ranks among the noblest efforts of Akber's reign, the following account of them from the Indian Antiquities will probably not displease the reader.

Agra, the Agara of Ptolemy, though that city is by no means placed on his map in a degree of latitude corresponding with Agra on the modern map, which is marked in 27° 15′, owed its importance, and indeed its existence as a capital, to the munificence of Akber. That emperor, pleased with its situation on the bank of the Jumna, and probably incited by its proximity to the kingdoms of the Deccan, from an inconsiderable fortified town, raised Agra to an eminence in splendour, beauty, and renown, which no city in India, not even Delhi itself, had ever before enjoyed. This monarch had far advanced towards the completion of the proud structures of Fettipore, of which the remaining ruins prove the original grandeur, when on a sudden he relinquished them to execute his more extensive projects at Agra. Indeed the projects of Akber were all vast and comprehensive like the mind that formed them. In the important plans for which peace gave leisure, as well as in the more dazzling scenes of martial glory, his genius and his abilities seemed to soar alike superior to the rest of mankind.

Akber, having determined to make Agra an imperial residence, ordered the old wall of earth, with which the city had been inclosed by the Patan monarchs, to be destroyed, and rebuilt with hewn stone, brought from the quarries of Fettipore. This undertaking, however considerable, was finished with no great difficulty, and within no very protracted period. But to re-build Agra and its castle in a manner worthy of the designer, and calculated to render it the metropolis of the greatest empire in Asia, required the

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unwearied exertions of one of the greatest monarchs whom Asia had ever beheld. For the full completion of his magnificent plan, Akber, by the promise of ample rewards, collected together, from every quarter of his dominions, the most skilful architects, the most celebrated artists in every branch both of external ornament and domestic decoration; and some judgment may be formed of the prodigious labour and expense required to perfect the whole undertaking, when the reader is acquainted, that the palace alone took up twelve years in finishing, kept constantly employed during that period above a thousand labourers, and cost nearly three millions of rupees. The castle itself, the largest ever erected in India, was built in the form of a crescent, along the banks of the Jumna, which becomes at this place, in its progress to the Ganges, a very considerable river; its lofty walls were composed of stones of an enormous size, hard as marble, and of a reddish colour, resembling jasper, which at a distance, in the rays of the sun, gave it a shining and beautiful appearance. It was four miles in extent, and it consisted of three courts, adorned with many stately porticoes, galleries, and turrets, all richly painted and gilded, and some even overlaid with plates of gold. The first court, built round with arches, that gave a perpetual shade, so desirable amidst the heats of a burning climate, was intended for the imperial guard; the second, for the great omrahs and ministers of state, who had their several apartments for the transaction of the public business; and the third court, within which was contained the seraglio, consisted entirely of the stately apartments of the emperor himself, hung round with the richest silks of Persia, and glittering with a profusion of Indian wealth. Behind these were the royal gardens, laid out in the most exquisite taste, and decorated with all that could gratify the eye, regale the ear, or satiate the most luxurious palate; the loveliest shade, the deepest verdure; grottos of the most refreshing coolness; fruits of the most delicious flavour; cascades that

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never ceased to murmur; and music that never failed to delight. In the front of the castle, towards the river, a large area was left for the exercise of the royal elephants, and the battles of wild beasts, in which the Indian emperors used to take great delight; and, in a square of vast extent, that separated the palace from the city, a numerous army constantly encamped, whose shining armour and gorgeous ensigns diffused a glory round them, and added greatly to the splendour of the scene.

But if this palace was thus externally grand, what a splendid scene must its interior parts have displayed? Mandeslo, who visited Agra in 1638, and saw that city in the meridian of its glory, after informing us that the palace was altogether the grandest object he had ever beheld, that it was surrounded with a wall of free-stone, and a broad ditch, with a draw-bridge at each of its gates, adds,* that, at the farther end of the third court, you saw a row of silver pillars under a piazza, and beyond this court was the presence chamber; that this more spacious apartment was adorned with a row of golden pillars of a smaller size, and within the balustrade was the royal throne of massy gold, almost incrusted over with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones; that above this throne was a gallery, where the Mogul appeared every day, at a certain time, to hear and redress the complaints of his subjects; and that no persons whatsoever, besides the king's sons, were admitted behind those golden pillars. He mentions likewise an apartment in the castle very remarkable for its tower, which was covered with massy gold, and, for the treasure which it contained, having eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable.

Tavernier, who visited Agra in the decline of its glory near the end of the 17th century, in the absence of the court at Jehaunabad, obtained permission from the commanding omrah to visit, in

* See Mandeslo's Travels, in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p. 118.

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company with a Dutch merchant, the inside of that splendid palace; and, among other proofs of its magnificence, makes particular mention of a gallery, the arch of which it was Shah Jehaun's intention to have overlaid with silver, and he had engaged an ingenious Frenchman to undertake the work, but the artist being soon after poisoned, the design was dropt. He describes the cieling of that gallery as adorned with branched work of gold and azure, and hung below with rich tapestry. But there was also another most sumptuous gallery seen by Tavernier, which fronted the river; and which the same monarch had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life "grapes when they are green, and when "they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a "noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world "could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only "three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought "to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with "emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought into the "fashion of grapes." * This splendid idea of Jehaun, was not without parallel amidst the magnificence of Eastern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus, † was adorned with jewels hanging in clusters, in form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find in Curtius, ‡ amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, Book I. chap. vii.

† See Herodot. Lib. VII. and also Athenæus, Lib. XII.

‡ Quintus Curtius, Lib. VIII. cap. ix.

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round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer. But to return from the *palace* to the *city* of Agra.

In a line with the palace, along the banks of the same river, were ranged the magnificent palaces of the princes and great rajahs, who vied with each other in adorning the new metropolis; the majestic edifices of which met the delighted eye, intersected with lofty trees, wide canals, and beautiful gardens. Determined to make it the wonder and envy of the East, and to bury both its former name and obscurity in equal oblivion, the sultan gave his own name to the rising capital, and called it Akber-Abad, while he enriched it with the noblest monuments of regal munificence that human ingenuity could plan or human industry could execute. That nothing might be wanting to render it useful for every purpose both of religion and commerce, Akber erected in it many spacious caravanseras, sumptuous bazars, and innumerable mosques, some remarkable for the elegance and others for the grandeur of their structure: he likewise invited foreigners from all nations to come and settle there, built them factories, permitted them the free use of their several religions, and indulged them in many immunities. In particular, knowing the great consequence of the Portugueze at that period in the commercial world, he endeavoured to establish a connection with that enterprizing nation, solicited the court of Portugal that missioners might be sent to instruct his subjects in the principles of Christianity, and permitted the Jesuits to erect a church and found a college in his new city, which he endowed with a pension from the royal treasury. By these liberal and politic exertions, Agra, or Akber-Abad, from being a country town of no great note, soon became the most flourishing city in his dominions,

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and the thronged resort of Persian, Arabian, and Chinese merchants, besides those from the European settlements, who flocked in multitudes to its mart.

In addition to this vast undertaking, other princely designs occasionally engaged his attention, and have rendered his name celebrated in Asia for architectural science. His mausolea, intended to be the sepulchres of his family, at Secundri near Agra, but which he did not live to complete, have no rivals of their kind in Asia, and the quarries of red marble at Fettipore contributed, by his order, to its own beauty and grandeur. Fettipore is situated about eighteen miles distant from that city, which he once designed to have made his capital, but was discouraged from that attempt by the unwholesomeness of the water. The reason of his beautifying that place is related as follows: Akber, desirous of having an heir to his empire, with a conformity very unusual in him to the predominant superstition of that age, had undertaken a distant pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of a celebrated saint at Ajmere, hoping by this act of piety to obtain the accomplishment of his desire. On his return from that pilgrimage he visited Selim, the aged Sheik of Sicari, the former name of that town, who, endowed with a happy spirit of prophecy, told him that his anxious wishes were granted by heaven, that one of his wives was then pregnant, and that he should soon be blest with three male children. This prediction proving true, he was so overjoyed that he gave his first-born the name of Selim, and evinced his gratitude to heaven and the Sheik, by building on the spot where he received the agreeable intelligence a palace of great beauty, a mosque of the utmost splendour, a noble reservoir for water, and a most stately bazar. The immense fortified castle at Allahabad, the point of confluence of the great rivers Ganges and Jumna, deserves also in this place particular notice, being entirely constructed of vast masses of hewn stone, brought from quarries at a great distance. It contained too a

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magnificent palace, whither that emperor frequently retired, during the scorching heats of summer, to breathe the pure air of the Ganges, and make excursions on its surface. Nor was pleasure alone consulted in its erection, since it was intended as a grand *dépôt* of arms, and to overawe the adjoining country; being one of a vast chain of fortresses that extended nearly in a line from Lahore to Chunar Gur, on the Ganges, all of which were raised by Akber, and must have secured the empire from the confines of Persia to the borders of Bengal. *

But the occupations of peace were again to be exchanged for the laborious enterprizes of war. In A. D. 1572 the flames of rebellion broke out in Guzzurat, which, as before observed, was subdued in the last reign by Humaioon, but during his absence had, with extreme difficulty, been holden in subjection by the Mohammedan viceroy Khan Azim, and now, under the incitation of Ibrahim and Mohammed Husseyn, and other adventurous chieftains, made a desperate effort intirely to shake off the Mogul yoke. As the coasts of that province abounded with robbers and pirates, who had long bid defiance to regular armies, Akber resolved to penetrate deeply into the country, and after chastising the rebels, to carry his arms to the very gates of Surat. To this end having procured dromedaries of great swiftness, he took with him his most resolute commanders and a few select squadrons of veteran soldiers, and travelling four hundred cosses in seven days, fixed his tents under the walls of Ahmedabad. † The enemy were already in possession of the whole coast, had siezed on the cities of Baroach and Surat, and were in full march to besiege that capital. But the unexpected arrival of Akber, who was now

* See this vast but now ruinous pile, as well as Agra itself, represented and described in "Hodges's Designs in India." Vol. I. tab. 20.

† Thevenot's account of the conquest of Guzzurat by Akber, is different from this of Herbert and De Laet; or may allude to a second rebellion in this province. He says that a great lord of the native court of Guzzurat, appointed regent of the

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joined by Azim Khan, and the other Mohammedan generals with all their forces, struck them with such consternation that they relinquished the design, and retreated before his army in great disorder. The emperor, pressing closely upon them, at length brought them to an engagement, and found a stubborn and determined enemy, very different from any he had recently contended with. At one moment, his principal general Coja Khan being slain, the event itself was doubtful, when Akber, at the head of his chosen reserved band, pouring like lightning upon their foremost ranks put them to flight, and thus secured the victory to the imperial army. The rebel commander Ibrahim was likewise slain in the engagement, and the rout was as universal as the carnage was terrible. The city and fortress of Baroach, at that time one of the strongest in India, and a place of the greatest trade, though now far eclipsed by and dependant on Surat, was next besieged and taken, and Surat itself having surrendered, received a Mogul governor with a body of troops to overawe those hordes of lawless free-booters that infested its neighbourhood. The better to secure his new conquest, Akber fortified Ahmedabad in the strongest manner against any future assaults, rebuilt the castle upon an extensive scale, and surrounded both that and the city with a wall of great thickness and extent. In this expedition he was attended by Shah Selim, his eldest son, who greatly signalized himself in the engagement above mentioned, and to whom some historians attribute the glory of the conquest of Guzzurat. *

kingdom during Sultan Modaffer's minority, (in Ferishta written Muziffer, Vol. I. p. 280.) called in Akber under pretence of protecting the young king against his rebellious subjects: that Akber on his arrival made both the Sultan and his governor prisoners, seized the kingdom, and reduced it to a province: that Modaffer made his escape, raised an army, and being defeated, slew himself. Theven. Ind. Tra. Part. III. p. 6.

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 187. This and every preceding account of De Laet, *in all the material points*, agrees with Ferishta; they both, doubtless, drew their information from the same source, the Akber Nama.

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Bengal likewise, where the power both of the Patans and rajahs long flourished in its vigour, though conquered by Humaioon, in A. D. 1576, again struggled for independence. At the head of fifty thousand horse and six hundred elephants Akber passed the Ganges, and exulting in an opportunity to attack the ancient enemies of his family in their own capital, laid siege to Patna, within whose walls Shah Daood, an indolent and sensual prince, had shut himself up, nor could the emperor, though for six months his army lay encamped before the city, by any efforts bring him to an engagement. On the seventh it was taken by storm, when a dreadful slaughter, unlimited as the rage of the incensed monarch, commenced. An infinite number of Patan officers, with their wives and children, were taken prisoners, and a treasure proportioned to the wealth of so flourishing a kingdom became the property of the victors.

After taking Patna and many other considerable places, Akber marched to Priag, now Allahabad, * a city situated at the conflux of the Jumna and the Ganges, which was a principal bulwark of the kingdom of the Patans. Having invested and taken it, he was so struck with the importance, and so delighted with the beauty of the situation, that he determined to make it that desirable residence and that impregnable fortress which have been just described; to which we shall in this place add, that it was surrounded with three walls of vast height and thickness, on whose erection twenty thousand men were constantly employed for several years, and above a million of rupees expended.

Elated with his success against the Patans, Akber now turned his arms against the declining power of the rajahs, and successively took from them three of their most vaunted fortresses, Rantimpore,

* Allahabad is supposed by D'Anville to have been the ancient PALIBOTHRA, the metropolis of the Gangarides, but that conjecture has been fully subverted by more recent investigation.

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in the province of Malva; Rhotas * in Behar; Jalour, in the sandy desarts of Bando in Ajmere; the first by assault, the two last by

* Rhotas has been before-mentioned as one of the strongest castles, not only in India, but in all Asia. Both nature and art combined to make it impregnable, being situated, like Chitore, on the top of a lofty hill, and, like that fortress, having only one ascent by a path cut obliquely in the firm rock for two coss, or four miles together. On the summit a spacious plain eighteen cosses in circumference, sowed with rice and corn, and watered by above twenty springs, abundantly supplied no less than fourteen villages, besides the very numerous garrison, with necessaries: the rest of the mountain is a steep precipice, covered with impenetrable woods. The stratagem by which it was taken, for it defied all the regular forces of Akber, was as follows: That prince having tried every method to reduce it without effect, one of his officers, Ali Khan, a man of an ingenious enterprizing disposition, undertook that task, and having cultivated a friendship with the native governing rajah, marched that way, as if for Bengal, and obtaining leave, for better security, to lodge his women (who in that country are generally carried in covered litters,) within the fortress until his return, filled the litters with armed young men in female habits, who, as soon as admitted, rushed out upon the unsuspecting guards whom they slew, and opened the gates to their comrades incamped without. These headed by their dauntless leader soon overpowered the garrison, and cutting off the rajah's head sent it with the keys of the castle to Akber. This capture exhibits a species of military fraud of very ancient date and practice in India; Shere is recorded to have used it at this very fortress at a former period. However, by my author, AKBER is positively said to have employed it *on this occasion;* and in vindication of myself I shall add the *original*, together with his description of RHOTAS. Ea nullam sibi non modo in India sed nec in Turcia, Persiave aut Tartaria parem habebat, sive loci situm spectes, sive munitionum amplitudinem et robur; sita in vertice editi montis qui II. cos. itinere ascenditur, undique planicie ad XVIII. cosas cinctus, ambitus ipsius arcis XIV pagos complectitur, cum arvis suis frugum omnis generis fœcundissimis; mediam secat torrens è fastigio montis descendens in tria amplissima stagna, quæ nunquam exarescunt: ad radicem denique montis Tzeon restagnat in paludem III cosas latam, commerciis vicinorum aptam et frequentem. Nihilo secius ACHABAR Moheb-Alighano, viro singularis prudentiæ et fortitudinis, mandat, ut arcem Radziæ gentili principi, qui illi secure dominabatur, præripere conaretur. Is ex aula profectus cum delectis militibus in viciniam arcis divertit, et postquam, muneribus ultro citroque missis, sibi Radziæ amicitiam conciliasset, ejuscemodi stratagema comminiscitur. Simulans se expedito itinere à Rege in Bengalam amandatum, petit obnixe à Radzia ut sibi gynæcium (*seraglio*) suum in arce illius concludere

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stratagem. Alarmed at this apparent attempt to exterminate their race, some rajahs, instead of waiting for the attack, gallantly led their armies to the field, among whom should be mentioned a beautiful princess at Sarangpur, who assuming the name of Bahadur, or valiant, made many inroads into the Mogul territories; but being at length defeated, like the others, the resolute heroine, disdaining the chains of a victor, put an end to her existence by swallowing poison. The greater part, however, finding that all opposition to so invincible a warrior was ineffectual, made the best terms they were able with him, and were both won with his clemency, and pleased with his generosity; for he left them in possession of their hereditary domains; requiring only an annual tribute, moderately proportioned to their own revenues, to be remitted to his court, and a stipulated body of forces to be maintained by each for the protection of the empire.

From tenderness to his brother Mirza Mohammed Hakim, Akber had not molested him, since his irruption into Lahore, in his newly erected kingdom of Cabul; but intelligence of his death at this time arriving, he dispatched raja Mansing, with a body of horse, to reduce it into its pristine state of a province of the empire. This was effected with great delicacy to the family which he left behind, and with much respect to his ministers and dependants; the former being allowed pensions, and the latter provided for by having regiments, or governments, conferred on them.

Crowned with conquest, and fortunate in the completion of all

licet: Radzia dolorum ignarus, facilius quam par erat consensit, suis imperans ne gynæcio quicquam molestiæ afferrent; nec mora Mohebalieghanus, ducentas doulias quibus fœminæ gestantur, singulas binis fortissimis adolescentibus implet, atque in arcem submittit, qui intromissi et è douliis progressi excubitores principalis portæ inopinantes oppresserunt. Alighanus autem cum reliquis copiis vestigiis illorum insistens, Radziam cecidit, et arcis compos factus, ingenti gaza potitur, quam nobili stratagemate æternum nomen apud posteros promeritus, Regi submisit. De Laet, India Vera, p. 193.

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his schemes, the genius of Akber expanded with the limits of his dominions, and the empire being in profound peace, he now turned his eye towards that country which gave birth to Timur, and had beheld the glory and disgrace of his ancestors. While he reflected on that sublime pitch of unrivalled grandeur to which the Tartarian empire had at one period arisen—the bright series of victories that distinguished its early sovereigns—and the almost unbounded extent of their domain, and when the ignominious expulsion of Sultan Baber, his immediate progenitor, rushed upon his mind, he was alternately fired with the noblest ardours of ambition, and depressed with a sense of generous shame. The fame of his own conquests had already filled Asia with astonishment, and among other august visitors had brought Abdollah, son of Escander Shah, the reigning monarch of the Uzbek nation to the frontiers of Hindostan, to behold and admire so renowned a warrior. Akber hastened to Lahore to meet the young prince, and received him with great affability, though he secretly meditated the ruin of his father and the subversion of his kingdom. The surrender into his hands of the strong fortress of Candahar, which had been for some time annexed to the crown of Persia, and had been only of recent years delivered up to him by the rebel governor of Shah Abbas, contributed not a little to inflame his avarice of new conquests, and goad him on to the attempt of regaining a territory immortalized by the daring feats, and drenched with the illustrious blood of his forefathers. With a view to this conquest during his residence at Lahore, which was of long continuance, he actually sent ambassadors into Tartary under pretence of condoling with Abdollah, whose father Secunder died a short time after his return, but in reality to investigate the state of that country, and report the strength and resources of the Uzbeks. The account which the ambassadors brought back were ample and satisfactory, but preparatory to this distant expedition he judged it of great importance

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