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**THE HOUSE OF TAIMUR,**

**BABER AND HUMÁYUN.**

18281

**BY WILLIAM ERSKINE, ESQ.,**

TRANSLATOR OF "MEMOIRS OF THE EMPEROR BÂBER.

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CSL

# HISTORY OF INDIA.

## BOOK FOURTH.

FROM HUMÁYUN'S ACCESSION TO HIS EXPULSION FROM INDIA.

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When Nasír-ed-dín Muhammed Humáyun succeeded his father, he was in the twenty-third year of his age.\*

CHAP.

A. D. 1557

\* He was born in the citadel of Agra (A. D. 1508, March 6) and mounted the throne A. H. 937, Jemádi I. 9. (A. D. 1530).



BOOK IV.

A. D. 1530.

Humáyun's

cession,

A. H. 937,

A. D. 1530,

Jamádi I. 9.

Dec. 29.

difficulties

his

tuation.

He ascended the throne in the city of Agra, on the 29th of December, A. D. 1530, three days after the late Emperor's death. The usual solemnities followed; the chief nobility presented themselves at the Derbár, and tendered their allegiance, and money was scattered among the populace. The public prayers were read, and coin struck, in name of the new prince.

But, though the son of the great Báber thus mounted the throne of Agra, his situation was not free from danger and difficulty. Even in his own court, and in the army, all was not sound. In that age, the right of succession to the crown was very unsettled. Though the claim of the eldest son to succeed his father was acknowledged in a general way, the order of succession was not in practice rigidly adhered to. The public feeling was little hurt when any other of the sons, or an aspiring uncle, made his way to the throne. The sword was the grand arbiter of right; and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers. The custom of granting large governments or appanages to the younger princes, gave them the means of asserting their ambitious pretensions by force, at the head of armies. In the present instance, other principles unfavourable to the regular succession were in operation. The conquest of Hindustán had been begun only five years before, and was still in progress. Humáyun had not latterly been employed in any military command in that country. The government was still, of course, military. The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghatái, Uzbek, Moghul, Persian, Afghán and Indian. Even the Chaghatái chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though

1530, Dec. 29). His mother was Máham Begum, a relative of Sultan Husein Mirza of Khorásán. Ak-

bernama, f. 35. v. Was Máh-am, "My Moon," a term of endearment converted into a name?





attached to the family of Báber, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Taimúr, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution; and the kingdoms on every side,—Persia, Samarkand, Bokhára, Hissár, Balkh, and Hindustán itself,—saw the throne occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventurers, not more distinguished than themselves. The length of time during which the late Emperor's health had been declining, had given time for parties and intrigues to be formed among them, which his talents and respected name had hitherto prevented from bursting out, but which were not the less dangerous on that account. We have seen by what a minute accident a plan of the prime minister himself, for setting aside Báber's son altogether, had been defeated. Syed Mehdi Khwája, the candidate in whose favour he had acted, seems to have been of a religious family, was a son-in-law of Báber, and known to the army, a division of which he had often led. Muhammed Zemán Mírza, another great lord of the court, and a descendant of Taimúr, being a grandson of the celebrated Sultan Husein Mírza Baikra of Khorásán, and who had also married a daughter of Báber, was supposed to have in his interest a formidable party, consisting of many of the most powerful men in the army. He was a man of talent, and had been employed by the late Emperor in many important commands. Muhammed Sultan Mírza, also a descendant of Taimúr and grandson of the late Sultan of Khorásán by a daughter, was a third nobleman, who, from his royal birth and high station, was thought worthy to aspire to the throne. All had their followers and adherents. The very supposition that such men might be placed in hostility to the legal heir, rendered their position dangerous; and it might in some circumstances seem safer to incur the immediate

Competitors for the throne.



## BOOK IV.

A. D. 1530.

Unsettled  
state of the  
Empire.

risks of revolt than to endure the lingering annoyances and real dangers of suspicion. Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to blow the smouldering embers of intrigue and faction into a flame.

Nor was it only in the court and in the camp that dangers were to be apprehended. The Empire was far from being yet consolidated, when Báber died. It was only five years since that able prince had entered India; and, during that period, his life had been too busily employed, in military expeditions, to admit of his devoting the needful time to settling the details of the internal administration of the kingdoms that he had conquered. He had entered the country as a stranger and a spoiler; he had defeated the armies and broken the power of the reigning dynasty; but the only hold which he, or his race, yet had upon the people of India was military force. Of the two great classes of which the population of India was composed, the Hindus could have little unity of feeling with their Muhammedan conquerors. Both religions are, in their particular ways, exclusive. The Hindus admit of no proselytes; regard all strangers, even their rulers, as not only far behind them in the road to final happiness, but as, at best, only successful barbarians, many of whose habits they view with disgust and abhorrence. The Musulman, too, though eager for proselytism, is an exclusive religion, which looks with hatred or contempt on every other, and is very unfavourable to the existence of much sympathy between the believing lord and the infidel subject; especially where that subject adds to his other crimes that of idolatry. But the difficulty was not less, even with the old Muhammedans. India, for centuries, had been governed by Muhammedan dynasties of foreign descent. The last of these had been the Afghán; and chiefs of that race, with their followers, were scattered all over the kingdom, and held the most important offices and the most valuable

Formidable  
power of  
the Af-  
gháns.





jagirs. These they considered as their birth-right, and they were indignant that so noble a prize, so long enjoyed as an inheritance, should be wrested from them. Though repeatedly defeated in the field, they were still numerous and powerful, ripe for revolt, and ready on the first signal to fly to arms, in what was a personal as well as a national cause. They had also the advantage of possessing a rallying point. The cause of Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, the brother and successor of the late Sultan Ibráhím, was still supported by Baban and Bayezíd, the old heads of the Afghán nobility; who, though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of Behár, were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return, and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled; and their countryman Shír Khan, one of the ablest men of the age, had already taken up arms in Behár and Bengal, about the close of Báber's reign.

Of the princes and states beyond the limits of the Empire, the King of Bengal was friendly to the Afgháns and had given protection to Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, whose daughter he afterwards married. The Rájputs, though stunned by their late discomfiture, were powerful still; and, though the kingdom of Málwa at that moment possessed little strength,—being in a state of deplorable confusion from the intestine factions that had long torn it to pieces, and made it a prey to its neighbours,—yet, in Gujrát, Beháder Shah was fast rising into power, had added to his territories on every side, and, from the mere extension of his conquests, was likely soon to come into direct collision with the Emperor of Delhi.\*

Foreign relations.

At such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of deep importance. If we remove the glare of eulogy thrown over the actions of all Asiatic

Character of Humáy-un.

\* Abulfazl, in the Akbernáma; Báber's Memoirs, *passim*.  
Tarikh-e Kháfi Khan; Ferishta;

A. D. 1530.

sovereigns by the historians who wrote in their own time, or in that of their immediate descendants, we shall find that Humáyun, though a prince of lively parts and elegant accomplishments, brave, and on the whole of a humane temper, was volatile, fond of pleasure, and deficient in those enlarged views so necessary for conducting the affairs of an extensive Empire; as well as in that decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can secure the respect and confidence of his subjects. *Me*

Provision  
for his  
brothers.

One of Humáyun's first acts was to assign jágírs to be held by his brothers. Kámrán he confirmed in the kingdoms of Kábul and Kandahár, which seem to have been bestowed on him by his father. To Askeri Mírza he allotted the province of Sambhal; and that of Alwar or Mewát to Hindal Mírza. He confirmed his cousin Suleimán Mírza in the government of the little kingdom of Badakhshán. His nobles, and the army, he conciliated, as is usual with Asiatic princes at the commencement of a new reign, by conferring on them titles, khiláts, and other marks of honour, and by munificent largesses.

Preten-  
sions of  
Kámrán,

But the want of union among the brothers was not long of showing itself. No sooner did Kámrán, who was at Kábul, hear of his father's death, than, disdaining the ample dominions he had enjoyed under his father, and in the possession of which his brother had consented to confirm him, he consigned Kandahár to Askeri, collected an army, and, in the true spirit of brotherhood among Asiatic princes, marched for Hindustán; under pretence of congratulating Humáyun on his accession, but in reality to try the strength of his sword, and to see whether his own good fortune might not raise him to the throne of Delhi itself. Humáyun, alarmed at the news of his motions, and harassed by the dangers that surrounded him, despatched an envoy to meet the Mírza, and to announce to him his intention of adding

who ad-  
vances to-  
wards Hin-  
dustán,  
A. H. 938,  
A. D. 1531.





the countries of Pesháwer and Lamghán to the territories which he already enjoyed. But Kámrán's views were too extensive to be satisfied even with that concession. He crossed the Indus; and, having traversed the greater part of the Penjáb, drew near to Lahúr, the capital.

There he found that Mír Yúnis Ali, who had been the governor under Báber, was faithful to his trust, and adhered to Humáyun. To have bestowed the time necessary for reducing the capital of the Penjáb by regular military operations, might have been fatal to his enterprise. To gain possession of it without delay therefore, Kámrán resorted to stratagem. Having arranged his plan, he one night affected to be violently offended with Kerácha Beg, one of his chief Amírs, and publicly, in the Derbár, reviled him in the most harsh and unmeasured terms. Next night the Beg fled from the camp with all his followers, and sought refuge in Lahúr. In those days of versatile and unstable allegiance, such a defection had in it nothing uncommon. Mír Yúnis Ali, delighted to have gained a man of so much consequence, went out of the city with an honorary procession to meet and welcome him. He afterwards treated the Beg not merely as a political, but as a personal, friend; gave him constant invitations to partake of the hospitality of his table, and made several social and friendly parties for his amusement. Kerácha Beg coolly watched his time; till, one night, after a convivial entertainment at the Mír's palace, where, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the soldiers had been allowed to go home to their quarters, he seized his opportunity, perfidiously took his host into custody, got possession of one of the gates, and despatched messengers to Kámrán to announce his success. The Mírza, who had been waiting with much anxiety, no sooner learned the result of the stratagem, than he hastened to the gate with a strong force and entered Lahúr

Captures  
Lahúr.

BOOK IV.

A. D. 1531.

without resistance. Mír Yúnis Ali was then relieved from custody, and Kámrán, who wished to give the whole proceeding the air, not of a conquest, but of an ordinary assumption of the government, apologising to Yúnis Ali for the violence he unwillingly employed, asked him to enter his service, and to retain the office he had held. This the Mír declined, and was allowed to leave the city and to join Humáyun.

And occupies the  
Penjáb.

A. H. 938.

A. D. 1531

=2.

Concessions  
of Humá-  
yun.

After this first success, Kámrán took possession of all the neighbouring provinces; so that, in a short time, the whole of the Penjáb, as far as the Sutlej, acknowledged his authority.

Still, however, as if nothing uncommon had occurred, and as if he had been acting all along like a faithful subject, he continued, by his ambassadors, to assure Humáyun of his attachment and fidelity; and, at the same time, petitioned, in the humblest terms, to be allowed to hold the territory of which he had thus become possessed. The Emperor, who, before these transactions were brought to a conclusion, had become involved in troubles and difficulties on every hand, affected to accede cheerfully to a request, which he could not without danger refuse. He signified his assent; and, to save appearances, ascribed his large concessions to the ties of kindred which united them, and the wishes expressed by their late father. After some delay, a firmán was accordingly issued, bestowing on Kámrán the government of Kábul, Kandahár, and the Penjáb; a grant which exalted that prince to the possession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own. Kámrán, who had a turn for poetry, delighted with the success of his schemes of ambition, in the fulness of his joy, addressed several odes to Humáyun, in which he exhausted all the powers of song to express his gratitude. The Emperor, either flattered by his high-flown praises, or to gain time and to confirm him in his pacific dispositions, farther rewarded the royal poet by bestowing





on him, what seems a most imprudent grant, the rich province of Hissár-Firóza; an acquisition the more acceptable to the Mirza as it lay nearly on the high road between his possessions in the Penjáb and Delhi. Each probably attempted to deceive the other. At all events, a friendship founded on such a basis could be neither sincere nor lasting. These transactions with Kámran\*, which occupied a considerable part of two years, have been recorded in this place, to avoid interrupting the future course of the narrative.

A. H. 937  
-9,  
A. D. 1531  
-2.

Before his relations with Kámran began to bear a threatening aspect, Humáyun, about five or six months after his accession, had set out to besiege the strong fort of Kalinjer, in Bandélkand†, the possession of which was necessary at once to strengthen his frontier, and to open an easier communication between Malwa and his dominions on the Jamna and the Ganges. The Raja of Kalinjer was probably in the interest of the Afgháns. When Humáyun had blockaded the fort about a month, and had made some progress in his advances, he was alarmed by the information that Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, supported by Biban Khan Jilwáni and Sheikh Bayezíd, the most eminent leaders of the Afgháns, had again invaded the provinces east of the Ganges, had taken Juánpúr, and was overrunning the country in great force. Eager to meet the invaders, he proposed a treaty to the Raja of Kalinjer, who gladly gave a large sum of money to hasten his retreat.‡

Campaign  
against  
Kalinjer,  
A. H. 937.  
Shawal or  
Zilkader,  
A. D. 1531,  
May or  
June.

Humáyun, on leaving Kalinjer, directed his course to the eastward, crossed the Ganges, and reached the

And to the  
Eastward.

\* Akbernáma, f. 35—37.; Kháfi Khan. Some specimens of Kámran's verses may be found in the Akbernáma, f. 37.

† The siege of Kalinjer, according to the Akbernáma, occurred in A. H. 937; according to Ferishta, A. H. 938. As Humáyun seems to have left Agra in the last months of

937, had afterwards to march to Bandélkand, and lay a month before the fort, he must have raised the siege in A. H. 938.

‡ Akbernáma; Tabakát-i-Akberi, f. 173, 174.; Kholáret-ul-Towárikh, f. 255.; Kháfi Khan; Abulfazl, f. 35, says twelve máns of gold and other valuable considerations.

BOOK IV.

A. D. 1531-2.

town of Doura, when he was met by the Afgháns in great force. A battle ensued, in which Sheikh Bayezíd was slain, and Sultan Mahmúd and his Afgháns completely dispersed, as his friends affirmed, by the treachery of Shír Khan. Mahmúd was soon after expelled from the province of Juánpúr, and fled to Patna and Bengal, whence he never returned, and where he died a natural death.\*

Humáyun  
returns to  
Agra.

A. H. 938,  
Jemádi I.  
9.  
A. D. 1531,  
Dec. 19.

The Emperor, having defeated this invasion, settled the country, and reinstated Sultan Juneid Birlás as his lieutenant in the government, returned to Agra, where, on the anniversary of his accession, he gave a grand entertainment, in the course of which, besides rich presents and other gratifications to his nobles, in elephants, jewels, &c., he is said to have distributed among the officers of his court and army no less than twelve thousand khiláts, or honorary dresses, two thousand of which were richly embroidered and ornamented with precious stones.†

Campaign  
against  
Chunár.

A. H. 938,  
A. D. 1532.

The most important object of policy for the Emperor of Delhi at this moment, next to that of crushing the seeds of rebellion in his own family and court, was undoubtedly to break in pieces the power still possessed by the Afgháns throughout India, and to become master, if possible, of the course of the Ganges. To secure these objects, the Emperor soon afterwards again took the field, and marched towards the fort of Chunár, in the province of Behár, a place of extraordinary strength, and one of the most important positions on that river. It was now held by the celebrated Shír Khan, who, since the defeat and flight of Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, had risen to the first distinction

\* Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 255. In the translation of Jouher, the battle is said to have been fought on the banks of the Goompty. Mem. of Humáyun, p. 3. In the original, it is said to have been at "Daureh

on the river Sini," probably an error of the transcriber for Gumti. No date is given, nor are Kalinjer or Juánpúr mentioned.

† Tabakát-i-Akberi, f. 144.; Ferishta, ii. 72.





among the Afgháns. Formerly it had belonged to Sultan Ibráhím, but soon after his defeat and death had submitted to Báber, as we have seen, and, by a series of events to be afterwards mentioned, had very recently passed into the hands of its present master. Humáyun, desirous both to possess the fort and to humble the owner, had sent a large force in advance to invest it, and now himself followed and laid close siege to it, at the head of a formidable army. At his approach, Shír Khan, leaving his son, Jilál Khan, in the fortress with a strong garrison of trusty adherents, retired to the higher grounds, and hovered round the imperial camp, for the double purpose of harassing it and of succouring the besieged. After the blockade had lasted three or four months, Humáyun, who, fortunately for the Afghán chiefs, was surrounded by enemies, received intelligence, with some alarm, of the rapid progress made by Beháder Shah, the King of Gujráat, in Málwa and Nagór. Shír Khan, seizing the favourable moment, sent ambassadors to the Emperor to sue for peace, to express the Khan's gratitude to the Emperor and his illustrious father, by whose patronage he had attained his present rank; to make professions of submission, and such offers as, while they saved the dignity of the sovereign, left the Khan in possession of his stronghold. Humáyun, little disposed to protract a siege which might be drawn out to a very inconvenient length, and had already interfered with most important objects, concluded a capitulation with Shír Khan, who was perfectly willing to make ample promises, flattering himself, that when the imperial troops were withdrawn, it would cost him nothing to act as he pleased, and to pursue his own policy, unfettered by any flimsy treaty that had been forced upon him. A peace was, therefore, concluded, by the terms of which he agreed, that his son, Kutb Khan, should join the Emperor's army, with a body

Interrupted  
by the pro-  
gress of Be-  
háder Shah.

Nominal  
capitulation  
of Shír  
Khan.



## BOOK IV.

A.D. 1532-3.

Embassy  
from Be-  
hâder Shah,  
A. H. 939,  
A. D. 1532  
-3.

Muham-  
med Zemân  
Mírza.

of Afgháns; and the young prince, accordingly, along with Isa Khan Hijáb Sirwáni, his vizier, did wait upon Humáyūn, and accompany him on his march into Gujrát. While there, Shír Khan having found the time favourable for revolt, and Humáyūn being busy reducing that province, Kutb Khan contrived to make his escape, and rejoined his father.\*

On relinquishing the siege of Chunár, Humáyūn returned to Agra, where he gave audience to an embassy that Beháder Shah had sent, for the purpose of quieting any apprehensions which he might entertain in consequence of the rapid progress that prince was making in Málwa, and in the Rájput territories. This mission he received with much pleasure, as circumstances rendered it important that his declared enemies should be as few as possible. He dismissed the ambassadors with every mark of distinction, and with assurances of his own pacific intentions, and turned himself to averting the dangers which threatened him in his own court and in the heart of his dominions.

The Emperor had long entertained a jealousy of Muhammed Zemân Mírza's ambitious projects, and now resolved to take away from him all means of carrying them into execution. It has been mentioned that he was the son of Badi-*ez-zemân* Mírza, and grandson of the famous Sultan Husein Mírza Baihra, of Khorásán. After his father's kingdom had passed into the hands of the Uzbeks, he had resided at the court of Báber, with whom he is said to have been a particular favourite, and had married one of his daughters. He

\* Akbernáma, f. 42.; Ferishta, ii. pp 110—113.; Jouher, c. 2.; Tar. Kháfi Khan; Tabakát-i-Akberi, f. 174.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 213.; Nisábnáma Afgh. f. 88.; Tar. Bed. f. 147. The Tabakát, Nisábnáma, Ferishta, Kháfi Khan, and the original text of Jouher, call this

young prince Kutb Khan. Abul-fazl calls him Abdal Reshíd; and is followed in the translation of Jouher. The Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 275., solves the mystery, calling him "Kutb Khan, generally known as Abdal-Reshíd."





had been honoured with the most important commands.

Many of the northern Chaghatai chiefs, who formed the Emperor's great strength, had much influence in his court and filled the chief offices in the country, were attached to this prince. We have seen that, in the late reign, he held the government of Behár. The events that preceded his imprisonment are not known with much certainty. Abulfazl affirms, that he formed a party and carried on intrigues in conjunction with his cousin, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, also a grandson of Sultan Husein Mirza, but by a daughter, as well as with Muhammed's son, Ulugh Mirza, with whom at this crisis he rose in rebellion a second time, after having been once pardoned; that, to check this revolt, Humáyun led an army down the Ganges, and, when opposite to Bhujpúr, sent a strong detachment across to the right bank of the river, under the command of his cousin, Yádgár Násir Mirza, who defeated the rebels, and made Muhammed Zemán, Muhammed Sultan, and Wáli Khub Mirza, prisoners.\* The narrative of other historians makes it more probable that the Emperor, acting on his belief or suspicion of their treasonable designs, had arrested the first of these princes, in his government of Behár, by means of an armed force, before any rising took place, and afterwards seized the others as his accomplices. Muhammed Zemán, on his earnest professions of fidelity, was pardoned, and sent under the custody of Yádgár Taghái Beg to be imprisoned in Biána; but he had not been long there before he wrought upon his keeper not only to allow him to escape, but to accompany him in his flight. He reached the court of Beháder Shah, where he was well received. Muhammed Sultan Mirza, with his sons, Ulugh and Shah Mirzas, when thrown into prison, were ordered to be blinded by the fire-pencil,

A. H. 940,  
A.D. 1533-4.

Suspected  
and im-  
prisoned,

escapes to  
Guzrat,

Muham-  
med Sultan  
Mirza and  
his sons.

\* Akbernáma, f. 36.

A.D. 1534.

Progress of  
 Beháder  
 Shah,  
 A. H. 941,  
 A. D. 1534.

that so an end might be put to their public life; but, from the indulgence of the operator, it was so lightly applied that the structure of their eyes remained unimpaired. They, too, effected their escape from prison, about the same time, and hastened to Kanáuj, where Muhammed Sultan soon saw himself at the head of a respectable army of six thousand men,—Chaghataís, Afgháns, and Rájputs.\*

While Humáyun was occupied at home in dreamy speculations of false science, and by dangers within and without his court, which he found it difficult to avert, the King of Gujrát was pursuing his victorious career. So decisive were the advantages which he gained over the Rána of Cheitúr, whom, after over-running Malwa, he now attacked in his own dominions, that he was emboldened to advance and lay siege to Cheitúr itself, the capital of the Rájput. The Rána, in his distress, despatched an envoy to ask succour from Humáyun, who could not see with indifference the rapid progress of a rival rendered more odious to him by the protection which he ostentatiously afforded to the refugees from Delhi. Humáyun, thus invited, moved forward with a considerable army, as far as Gualiár; as if to assist the Rána. There he encamped

**B**  
 \* Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii. p. 73.; Kháfi Khan, f. 40.; *Tabakát-i-Akberi*, f. 145. Abulfazl and *Ferishta* do not mention that Muhammed Zemán was ordered to be blinded; which the author of the *Tabakát-i-Akberi*, and of the *Tarikh-i-Bedáuni* do. The former says, that they did not injure the organisation of the iris of his eye, so that he soon recovered his sight (f. 145.); and is followed by the *Kholáset-ul-Towárikh*, f. 255. There were two modes at that time employed in blinding princes, who were the objects of jealousy. By the one, the

eye itself was cut with a lancet: by the other, a heated plate, or sometimes a heated pencil of brass or iron was applied to it, till the sight was destroyed. The latter was often preferred in the case of princes, since, the form of the eyeball not being destroyed, the appearance of the countenance was less injured. There is some disagreement among historians as to the chronology of these events. I have followed the leading authorities in the way that seems to me best fitted to reconcile this difference.





for about two months, and despatched an ambassador to Beháder, to demand that he should desist from his enterprise against Cheitúr; and, at the same time, deliver up the traitors who had fled from the Emperor's dominions. Neither demand was complied with; and the Emperor, with some loss of reputation, soon after decamped, being compelled by the necessity of his affairs to march toward Juánpúr and the Behár provinces, to repress new disturbances which had arisen in that quarter. The Rána, upon this, despairing of any effectual assistance, was glad to purchase the temporary retreat of Beháder Shah, by consenting to pay a large sum of money, and by sending him as a propitiatory offering, a celebrated crown and belt adorned with jewels of immense value\*, and other costly presents.

Humáyun determined to employ the interval of quiet, which this pacification promised to afford, in putting an end to the perpetual invasions and insurrections of the Afgháns of Behár, and in punishing his own rebel-

Measures  
against the  
Afgháns of  
Behár.

\* These are said to have been the crown and regalia which Sultan Mahmúd of Malwa carried off from the tent of Kutb-Shah of Gujrát (A. H. 856, Sefer 1, A. D. 1452, Feb. 23), and which fell into the hands of Rána Sága of Cheitúr, on the defeat of Sultan Mahmúd II. of Malwa, about A. H. 925 (A. D. 1519). Ferishta, iv. pp. 39. 263. It will be afterwards seen that, from Beháder Shah, they were said to have passed to Soliman the Magnificent, Emperor of Constantinople.

There seems some difficulty, however, in the transmission of these regalia. "When Rána Sága defeated Sultan Mahmúd, and made him prisoner," says Báber, (Mem. p. 385.), "the Sultan had on a splendid crown-cap and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the pagan, who, when he set Sultan Mahmúd at liberty, retained them.

They were now with Biker-májít. His elder brother, Ruttonj, who had succeeded his father as Rána, and who was now in possession of Cheitúr, had sent to desire his younger brother to deliver them up to him, which he refused to do. By the envoys, who came from him to wait on me, he now sent me" (Qy. tendered?) "this crown and golden girdle, and asked Biána in exchange for Rantambór," &c. We nowhere hear of their being regained from Báber or his successor. Yet the Mirát-e Ahmedi, agreeing with or following Ferishta, makes Biker-májít's mother give this very "waist-band and jewelled crown, which had been captured from Mahmúd Khilji I., of Malwa, when the Rána defeated him" to Beháder Shah, to induce him to raise the siege. Bird's transl. p. 244.

A. D. 1534.

Arrested by  
the advance  
of Beháder  
Shah and  
Tátár  
Khan Lodi.

lious nobles. For this purpose, having collected a large army, he once more marched from Agra, and had reached Kinár, in the district of Kalpi, on the Jamna, when his progress was arrested by the intelligence that Beháder Shah had again laid siege to Cheitúr; and that, supported by him, Tátár Khan, the son of Sultan Alá-ed-dín Lodi, the uncle and rival of the late Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, was advancing, at the head of a formidable army, to assert his father's claim to the throne of Delhi itself. He hastened back to Agra, and took immediate measures for repelling the aggression, and for hurling back the danger on the head of Beháder Shah\*, whose success seemed now to threaten ruin to the house of Taimúr. But, as Malwa and Gujrát are soon to become the scene of important operations, it becomes necessary to interrupt for a while the course of the narrative, in order to give some idea of the political state of these countries at this period.

\* Tabakát-i-Akberi, f. 145.; Fe- f. 35—37. does not mention the two rishta, ii. 72—74. The Akbernáma, months' encampment at Gualiár.

*Humayun never gave any of his enemies  
regular defeat.*





## CHAPTER II.

## AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA.

## SECTION I.

EARLY HISTORY OF THOSE KINGDOMS. — PROGRESS OF  
BEHÁDER SHAH.

DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER SULTAN MUHAMMED TOGHLAK.  
— KINGDOM OF GUJRÁT. — KINGDOM OF MALWA. — PROSPERITY OF  
GUJRÁT — ITS IMPORTANCE. — STATE OF MALWA. — POSITION OF  
THE EARLY MUSULMÁNS IN INDIA. — PRINCES OF MALWA. —  
MAHMÚD II. — INTRIGUES OF MOHÁFEZ KHAN. — INTERPOSITION OF  
MEDÍNÍ RAO. — RÁJPÚT LEAGUE, AT THE COURT OF MALWA. —  
KINGS OF DELHI AND GUJRÁT INTERFERE. — DEFENSIVE MEASURES  
OF MEDÍNÍ RAO. — THE RÁJPÚTS ALL-POWERFUL IN MALWA. —  
MAHMÚD ATTEMPTS THEIR DISMISSAL — IS DISCOMFITED — ESCAPES  
TO GUJRÁT — HIS RESTORATION. — EXPEDITION AGAINST THE RE-  
FRACTORY RÁJPÚTS, AND DEFEAT. — DISMEMBERMENT OF MALWA.  
— BEHÁDER SHAH IN GUJRÁT. — RÁNA RUTTONSI AND BEHÁDER  
SHAH IN MALWA. — MÁNDU TAKEN. — BEHÁDER SHAH PROCLAIMED  
KING. — PARTITION OF MALWA. — CAPTURE OF SILÁH-ED-DÍN BY  
BEHÁDER. — CATASTROPHE OF RAISEN. — FURTHER SUCCESSES OF  
BEHÁDER SHAH.

THE kingdoms both of Malwa and Gujrát, at a former  
period, nearly a century and a half before the time of  
Humáyun, had been included in the kingdom of Delhi.  
About the close of the fourteenth century, on the de-  
cline of the Toghlak dynasty, when the empire fell to  
pieces, many of the provinces, and among others Gujrát  
and Malwa, became independent sovereignties. The  
insane violence and brutal cruelty of Sultan Muhammed

CHAP. II.  
SECT. I.Disruption  
of the em-  
pire, under  
Sultan  
Muham-  
med Togh-  
lak.

Toghlak of Delhi had spread universal alarm over his dominions. Having, by his profusion, exhausted the treasury, he imposed taxes beyond what his subjects could bear. He rigidly enforced them; and the landholders and peasantry, to escape from his tyranny, fled to the woods and wastes. He tampered with the coin; and the distress and ruin, which in all circumstances follow an injudicious meddling with the currency, were soon experienced. He attempted to remove the population and city of Delhi to Doulatábád in the Dekhan; and thousands of the wretched inhabitants perished on the road and after their arrival, of fatigue, want and misery in every shape. Famine, civil war, robbery, murder, and anarchy, all over his dominions, marked the close of his reign. Driven to desperation by misgovernment, each district and province was forced to provide separately for its own safety; so that, from the mere necessity of substituting some kind of government for the misrule and rapine that prevailed, several new dynasties arose in the principal provinces of the empire.

Kingdom of  
Gujrát.  
A. B. 793,  
A. D. 1391.

The nobleman who at that crisis rose to be King of Gujrát was Mozeffer Khan. His origin is uncertain. While some describe him as having been the son of a low spirit-distiller, or water-carrier; others, with more probability, represent him as the son of a Hindu chief converted to Muhammedanism.\* The menial office, which he is said to have filled in the palace, argues little; as men of rank in all countries have been eager to fill offices nominally menial, about the person of the sovereign; and Báber †, a judicious and careful reader of history, describes the employment to have been that of cup-bearer. The disorders which at that period pervaded India, and the consequent confusion and indistinctness in the narrative of the historians of the time,

\* Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 3.

† Mem. p. 311.





leave us rather uncertain as to the extent of Gujrát, when its governor assumed the symbols of royalty. His capital was Nehrwála or Patan; but what now forms the southern part of the province did not then belong to it. The new King, however, an active and able man, speedily compelled the various Rajas of Kattiawár, and the western peninsula, to acknowledge his authority, and to pay tribute. He, likewise, turned his arms against the Raja of Eder, and expelled him from his dominions.

Emboldened by this success, he ventured at a future time to invade Malwa. That country had also recently undergone a revolution, similar to what had occurred in Gujrát, and from the same causes. Diláwer Khan, a Ghúri Afghán, from governor had become king; and his son Hosheng now reigned. A strong party, however, opposed his government, and called in to their assistance Mozeffer Shah of Gujrát, who readily marched to their aid. The hostile armies met near the ancient town of Dhár in Malwa; and, after a desperate battle, in which Mozeffer was wounded and Hosheng unhorsed, victory declared for the invader; and Hosheng was forced to take refuge in Dhár, where he was besieged, and soon after compelled to surrender. Mozeffer, leaving a part of his army in Malwa, to retain it in subjection, returned with his prisoner to Gujrát. But he had hardly turned his back on his new conquest, when, the officers whom he had left in command having made some burdensome exactions on the inhabitants, the party that had called him in, who wanted an ally not a master, rose and expelled his troops, setting up a king of their own. This change of affairs induced him to release Sultan Hosheng from confinement, and to send him, accompanied by a strong force, to assert his rights; and the different internal parties, tired of the evils which civil war had brought on their country,

Kingdom of  
Malwa.A. H. 810,  
A. D. 1407.A. H. 811,  
A. D. 1408.



## BOOK IV.

Prosperity  
of Gujrát.  
A. H. 815-  
847,  
A. D. 1412  
-1443.

soon after united, and once more acknowledged Hosheng as King of Malwa.

After the death of Mozeffer Shah, several of his descendants increased the territory of Gujrát. His grandson, Ahmed Shah, a very distinguished prince, and the founder of Ahmedábád, reduced under his power nearly the whole country that forms the present Gujrát, including the low lands to the south below the Gháts, the Northern Kokan, and the island of Bombay; he forced the Rajas of the western peninsula, and other chiefs bordering on his dominions, especially the Raja of Champanír, who, it is affirmed\*, could at that time bring sixty thousand men into the field, to pay tribute; and he carried his victorious arms in different campaigns into Khándesh, and Málwa, the capital of which he besieged. Under him, and his immediate successors, Gujrát obtained a high degree of prosperity.

A. H. 863-  
917,  
A. D. 1459-  
1511.

One of them, Mahmúd Shah Bigara, was particularly successful. He besieged and took the strong and, in the opinion of the natives, impregnable hill-forts of Girnál or Júnagar, and of Champanír†; he did much to consolidate the kingdom within; and without, he extended his marches in different expeditions, as far as the Indus on one side, and Doulatábád in the Dekhan on the other; at the same time that he carried on an active war, by sea and land, with the Portuguese.

A. H. 917-  
932,  
A. D. 1511-  
1526.

A. H. 932.  
Ramzán  
26.  
A. D. 1526.  
July 6.

His son, Mozeffer Shah II. maintained the glory of his arms. He restored the King of Malwa to the throne of that kingdom, from which he had been expelled by a combination of Rájpút chiefs, taking Mándu from them by storm. To this prince, with the intervention of the short reigns of two of his brothers, Sultan Be-

\* Ferishta, iv. p. 66.

† It is pretended that the reduction of these two strong hill-forts gave rise to Mahmúd's appellation of Bigara (from *ba*, two,

and *gar*, a fort). Ferishta mentions another and more probable origin, namely, the colour of his mustachios.





hader Shah had succeeded, and now swayed the sceptre of Gujrát.

That kingdom had always an extraordinary influence over the neighbouring states; and could raise armies, and subsidise troops, with a facility apparently disproportioned to its extent. But few countries in the world are more blest in a fertile soil and a favourable climate; and the possession of the great emporia of Cambay, Diu, and Surat, besides other convenient harbours, had enriched it with the most active commerce of any portion of India. The greater part of the trade of that country with Persia, Arabia, Africa, the Red Sea, and Europe, besides an active coasting trade, passed through its harbours; and the various commodities imported from these regions were conveyed over Hindustán, and the north of the Dekhan, through its provinces, and by its merchants. The benefit of this trade overflowed upon the country, which became a garden, and enriched the treasury of the prince. The noble mosques, colleges, palaces and tombs, the remains of which still adorn Ahmedábád, and its other cities, to this day, while they excite the admiration of the traveller, prove both the wealth and the taste of the founders.

Its importance.

The same circumstances which, on the decline of the Toghlak dynasty of Delhi, induced the governor of Gujrát to assert his independence, had, as has been noticed, a similar effect on Diláwer Khan, the governor of Malwa; who also assumed the sovereign power in his capital of Dhár. We have seen his son Hosheng defeated and made prisoner, and again restored to his kingdom by the Sultan of Gujrát. Hosheng Ghúri was the founder of Mándu. After his death, the intrigues in his court led to the murder of his successor; and the son of his prime minister was raised to the throne, under the title of Sultan Mahmúd Khilji.\* He was an

State of  
Malwa.

A. H. 804,  
A. D. 1401.

\* Have the *Khilji* monarchs any connection with the *Ghilji* Afgháns? They are generally described as *Túrks*.

able prince ; but the country, in consequence of the dissensions that always attend a change of dynasty, was harassed for some time by civil wars. The weakness of the kings of Delhi, at this period, enabled Sultan Mahmúd to extend his dominions on different sides ; and he reduced the important forts and districts of Bhílsa, Chándéri, and Hoshengábád in Malwa. He carried his arms into the centre of the Rájput states, reduced Kambelmér in Mewár, and besieged the mountain capital of Cheitúr. He even aspired to the throne of Delhi, and engaged in war, not only with the King of Gujrát, but with the kings of the Dekhan, of Khándesh, and of Juánpúr ; with which last he had quarreled about the possession of Kalpi on the Jamna. He levied contributions on Kota and Biána, and added Mandsúr, Mandelgar, Búndi and Rantambór to his dominions. At one time, he overran Gujrát ; but was finally defeated, near Ahmedábád, and compelled to retreat from that country. He was one of the most distinguished princes of his age ; and, in his reign, Malwa attained the summit of its power and glory.

Position of  
the early  
Musulmans  
in India.

Much of the time of all the Musulman kings of India, and among others of the Sultans of Malwa, seems to have been employed in reducing to subjection the half-independent Hindu chiefs in or bordering on their states. The Musulmans had no hold of the country, but by military force. Their capital was a camp ; and the different towns and forts that they occupied, were posts in an enemy's country. The great mass of the population had no sympathy with them, either in religion or civil policy. The popular religion was considered by their conquerors as a guilty idolatry, which it was, to a certain degree, sinful even to tolerate ; and pious or bigoted princes were often led to persecute their pagan subjects. They had no general system for conducting their internal government. The will of the ruler, capricious and uncertain at best, but to which





there was no check, was the acknowledged rule.\* Fortunately, the old inhabitants were strongly attached to their own system of village and district government, which remedied many of the evils of political neglect and oppression to which they were exposed; and they continued to be warmly devoted to such of their native chiefs as still maintained their authority in their hereditary states. As the Musulmans extended their power, first by arms, and afterwards gradually by colonisation and proselytism, the range of territory enjoyed by these little Hindu chieftains was gradually diminished, and the power of many of them was, in the end, altogether extinguished. The superiority of the Musulmans increased every day. The causes of this were various. They were strangers, and felt that their power, and in some degree their existence, in India, depended upon their mutually supporting each other. They were bigots to their religion, and this bigotry, which was increased by their being placed among infidels and heathens, whom they regarded as the enemies of God, and whose lands and wealth they willingly imagined were unjustly withheld from the true believer, whose natural portion they were, formed another bond of union. They had also a burning zeal for making proselytes, indifferent whether by argument or force; and their great power was naturally attended with great success. The Hindus, on the contrary, long divided, even under their own great monarchies, into petty principalities that had little intercourse with each other, but in the way of quarrel or hostility, had no principle of union, except in cases of intolerable oppression; and that only against the immediate tyrant of the hour. Their principles of quietism led them to acquiesce in any govern-

Extension  
of their  
influence.Its causes  
and charac-  
ter.

\* See General Vans Kennedy's admirable little "Abstract of Muhammedan Law," (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii.) especially his additional remarks on the *Urf*, or customary law, p. 157.



ment once established; and though they might lose they could not gain by proselytism, since with them religion was a matter of birth, and every one was held to be bound for life to the class and faith in which he was born; so that, by their tenets, no converts could be received. In war, too, the Muhammedans, who were not always braver than their Hindu enemies, owed their superiority to the same causes that have ensured success to the Europeans in modern times. They had more active energy of character, were more intelligent, were more ready to change their policy and their tactics as experience required; and had the unspeakable advantage of being constantly joined by new crowds of adventurers from Tartary, Persia, Arabia, and Afghánistán. These adventurers flocked to support them, inspired with all the ardour, activity, and enterprise natural to men who had still their fortune to make, and whose minds and bodies were still un-ennervated by the impatience of exertion, and the habit of self-indulgence which in India are almost inevitably generated by the physical and moral influences that surround those educated in the country. It is to be remembered, too, that though the great majority were bold, hardy, ignorant, and unpolished adventurers, many of them were men of no mean class, gentlemen and scholars, some of whom had served in the wars of different countries; while others had their minds enriched with all the literature, both of the Túrki nations and of Persia and Arabia. This literature, which we are too apt to despise, while totally ignorant of its nature and extent, however defective in some of its branches, if measured by the standard of modern Europe, was yet extremely valuable; not only as affording some acquaintance with the positive sciences and arts, but as, to a certain degree, counteracting the harsh bigotry of the Muhammedan religion. It had a tendency to open and refine the reason and imagination





by the ample stores of history, as well as of moral truth and ingenious speculation, which it possessed; while its poetry, enriched and animated by the genius of such writers as Ferdausi, Háfez, Sádi, and Jámi, — names that fall dead on a western ear — displayed an enthusiasm, a sublimity, and a grace, to which the west, since the most favoured ages of Greece and Rome, had nothing to compare. These new comers constantly infused a fresh spirit of ardour and enterprise into the descendants of their countrymen, whom they found in India; they generally occupied the higher offices; and, in several instances, on a change of dynasty, were elevated to the throne. The Musulmans, inflamed by the spirit of political and military adventure, were generally on the offensive, an invaluable advantage; the Hindus, with the inertia common to their character and cherished by their religion, and with the passiveness often found in old establishments, acted merely on the defensive. Of these foreigners, in Hindustán in general, the Túrks and Moghuls, the Afgháns and Persians, were most numerous; while, in Gujrát and the Dekhan, the adventurers of these races were often counterbalanced by the Abyssinians and Arabs. These observations may serve to account for the nearly uniform success and progress of the Muhammedan arms, with a few remarkable exceptions to be afterwards noticed. In Malwa, nearly all the great chiefs were Hindús; many of them Rájpúts, the bravest of the Hindús, who have more feeling of common origin than usually belongs to their countrymen.

The reigns of the son and grandson of Sultan Mahmúd Khilji were chiefly remarkable for the disgusting sensuality and wanton cruelty of these princes. That of Sultán Mahmúd II. was more important. The valour and activity that characterise usurpers had now, after several generations of regular succession, given way to the incapacity and ignorance of life and

Princes of  
Malwa.  
A. H. 873-  
916.  
A. D. 1469-  
1510.  
Mahmúd  
II.

18984

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A. H. 916,  
A. D. 1510,

Intrigues  
of Moháfez  
Khan.

Interposi-  
tion of  
Medíni  
Rao.

A. H. 917,  
A. D. 1511.

business, that are the lot of hereditary princes, when educated under ambitious ministers, and confined to the pleasures and amusements of the haram. Sultan Mahmúd, a weak prince, but personally brave, was raised to the throne by his father's will and the influence of the minister, Moháfez Khan; though he had two elder brothers. The Sultan soon felt that he was a mere puppet in the hands of a party, who sought to govern in his name. He had ambition enough to wish to deliver himself from this thralldom, and to assert his authority. For that purpose, he fled from the palace; and thus, for a time, escaped from the personal restraint to which he had been subjected. Alarmed at this manifestation of an unexpected spirit, Moháfez Khan attempted to throw down the idol he had raised; and placed Mahmúd's immediate elder brother on the throne, under the name of Muhammed Shah. Sultan Mahmúd was, at first, supported in asserting his authority only by the Persians, Arabs, and Abyssinians immediately about the court; but, as these foreigners, though numerous and personally brave, had not been long enough settled in Malwa to establish any extensive influence among the natives, and so depended chiefly on their individual numbers and vigour, he must have sunk under the power of his rival, had he not been opportunely joined by Medíni Rao or Rai, a powerful Rájpút chief, who brought over to his cause not only the force of his own tribe, but the support of the great body of the Hindu population; the example of so eminent a leader being followed by many other men of rank and consequence. Moháfez, and his king, Muhammed Shah, were in the end driven out of Malwa; and took refuge, first in Gujrát, and next in Berár. But this did not restore the country to repose; for, on the death of the eldest brother of Mahmúd, a party declared his son Mahsós king, under the title of Hosheng. This prince, however, seeing no prospect of

1881





success, soon gave himself up to Sultan Mahmúd, who had thus the satisfaction of having one of his rivals in his power, while the other was driven into exile. These events were passing, between that important period of Báber's life when he was driven from Ferghána, and that when he once more attempted the conquest of Transoxiana, after the defeat and death of Sheibáni Khan.

But though Mahmúd thus became the only sovereign in Malwa, his throne was far from being secure; for while Medíni Rao, his prime minister, managed everything with absolute authority, the jealousy which always subsisted between the Rájput and Musulman lords was not abated. The former, — from meeting together at court, instead of residing as formerly detached in their little principalities; and from their reliance upon, and pride in, the talents of the minister, — had gained more of that principle of cohesion, which is as necessary for the permanence of political as of physical bodies, than is usually attained among Hindu chiefs. The Muhammedan lords, on the other hand, mourned to see their king and the country directed by Pagans. To remove this grievance, a confederacy was formed among them, under Bohjat Khan, then the chief of Chándéri; in which the pagan Rais of Gondevána were induced to join. Medíni Rao, however, who did not slumber, was successful in detaching from the league Sekander Khan of Bhilsa, one of the principal confederates. Alarmed at this defection, the Musulman lords invited the exiled Muhammed Shah Chándéri, that they might once more oppose him to his younger brother, Sultan Mahmúd. But still, even with the assistance of his name, finding themselves unable to cope with Medíni Rao, they called in Sultan Sekander Lodi of Delhi, and Mozeffer Shah of Gujrát\*, resolved, at any cost, to check this Hindu

Rájput  
league at  
the court of  
Malwa.

\* Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 252, 253.

The Kings  
of Delhi  
and Gujrát  
interfere.

Defensive  
measures of  
Medíni  
Rao.

influence, and to defend the Muhammedans, now overborne by the power of the Rájputés.

The King of Delhi, Sultan Sekander Lodi, glad of so favourable an opportunity of extending his influence over the kingdom of Malwa, sent a body of twelve thousand cavalry, under Imád-ul-mulk Lodi, to assist Muhammed Shah; while, on the side of Gujrát, Mozeffer Shah, at the head of an army, entered the country, and advanced as far as Dhár. At the same time, Sekander Khan of Bhílsa, who had lately joined the Sultan, once more revolted and sided with the confederates. Medíni Rao, undismayed by the dangers that encompassed him on every hand, resolved to bend his chief force, in the first place, against him whom he regarded as the most formidable opponent. While he despatched an army against Sekander Khan, to keep him in check, he himself marched to meet Mozeffer Shah, who had now approached Mándu; engaged and defeated him, and drove him back into his own country. Against Sekander of Bhílsa, his arms were less fortunate; for the general sent to oppose him having fallen at the close of a successful action, Sekander rallied his broken troops, and totally defeated Mahmúd's army, thus deprived of its leader.\*

Medíni Rao, on his return from his campaigns against the troops of Gujrát, neglecting, for the present, Sekander Khan, who after his victory had retired to Sívás, advanced to meet the more important invasion that threatened him from Chándéri. The force there collected was led by his rival Moháfes Khan, accompanied by Muhammed Shah; and was composed of the disaffected nobles of Málwa, and the Delhi auxiliaries. The hostile armies approached, and lay opposite to each other, neither party being in haste to bring the contest to a final issue, by hazarding a decisive battle. At this

\* Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 253, 254.





crisis, the prince, Mahsós (Hosheng II.), who was in Sultan Mahmúd's camp, and Sadr Khan, an officer of great rank and consideration, deserted and joined the invaders; carrying along with them a large body of cavalry. By this defection the affairs of Sultan Mahmúd seemed to be brought to the brink of ruin. Fortunately for him, however, the general in command of the auxiliaries of Delhi, presuming too much upon the value of his services, and mistaking the feelings of those whom he came to succour, insisted with Bohjat Khan of Chándéri, the chief of most influence among the insurgents, and the real leader of the revolt, that the public prayers should be read in the name of Sultan Sekander Lodi, as the supreme sovereign. This he absolutely refused to admit. Besides such attachment as he may have had to Muhammed Shah, for whom he was fighting, his own power, and that of the other confederate nobles, rested on the weakness of their King; and they were little disposed, by acknowledging a more powerful prince, to resign all their own importance. This produced a coolness, which was followed by Bohjat Khan's withdrawing himself from the camp of the allies. Sultan Sekander probably discovered that Malwa was not yet ready to fall into his hands, and the Delhi auxiliaries were soon after recalled. In the extremity to which he, in his turn, was reduced by these losses, Muhammed Shah, resolving to strike a bold *coup-de-main*, despatched a strong body of his troops, by a circuitous route, to surprise Mándu. But this detachment was overtaken and defeated; and Moháfes Khan, who conducted it in person, was slain. In spite of this disaster, however, Muhammed Shah and Bohjat Khan, who had again joined him on the retreat of the Delhi troops, succeeded, by the intervention of Sheikh Oulía, a holy man, in concluding a peace with Sultan Mahmúd; by which Raisen, Bhílsa, and Dhamoni were assigned to Muhammed Shah, as a provision for his support, at the

Their success.

Subsequent history.

same time that a general amnesty was granted to all his followers; and Medini Rao was glad thus to be able to put an end to hostilities, which exhausted the kingdom and endangered its independent existence.

To conclude the history of this little kingdom, some years after these transactions, Muhammed Shah died, leaving a son Ahmed Shah. Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, who had now succeeded his father in the throne of Delhi, and who professed to be the ally and protector of the prince, carried him off, and committed the charge of his forts to such persons as he supposed to be in his own interest. When Rána Sánga, the head of the Hindu interest, advanced to attack Sultan Ibráhím, the governor of these strongholds, being much more attached to the Rájputés than to Delhi, revolted; and all these places, with Chándéri and many other towns, fell into the hands of the Rána, who bestowed them on his allies, the leading Rájput chiefs of Malwa. Raisen and Bhilsa he gave to Siláh-ed-dín; and Chandéri to Medini Rao.\*

The Rájputés all-powerful in Malwa.

The conclusion of a peace, and the discomfiture of the Musulman confederacy, had left Medini Rao and the Rájputés all-powerful at the court of Malwa. They filled the principal offices with their dependents; the royal guards were composed entirely of Rájputés. An unsuccessful attempt made to secure Mándu for the Muhammedan interest by revolt, gave a colour for removing the few Moslems who still continued to hold any charge of importance. Except the personal servants of the king, about twenty in number †, few were left in any situation of trust. The king either taking an alarm at these proceedings, or wrought upon by the complaints and representations of the discontented Musulmans about his person, resolved for once to act with vigour and to dismiss his Rájput troops. This

Mahmúd attempts their dismissal.

\* Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 256.

says, two hundred.

† Tabakát-i-Akberí. Ferishta





would have been no easy task even for the ablest prince. The mode of doing it adopted by Mahmúd, proved only his weakness and ignorance. It is usual, in many parts of India, when a master discharges a servant of some consideration, with whom he wishes to part on friendly terms, to present him, as a mark of his good will, a little betel-nut and lime wrapped up in a leaf \*, as is done to a guest when taking leave. As the Rájput troops amounted to forty thousand, the king ordered that number of packets of *pán* to be prepared, and sent in baskets to Medíni Rao, that he might present them to the troops, and at once dismiss the whole army. The Rájputs, inflamed at the indignity, called upon Medíni Rao to depose Mahmúd, and at once to elevate his own son, the Rái-Ráian †, to the throne. The minister, by his influence, contrived to suppress this mutiny; but Mahmúd, tired of the restraint under which he felt himself, and too pusillanimous to resort to any politic or manly measure,—with dastardly imbecility attempted, by means of his household servants, to assassinate Medíni Rao and Salbhan, his principal ministers. Salbhan fell murdered under their blows; but Medíni Rao escaped, severely wounded. No sooner did the troops hear of this violent outrage, than they rushed to the palace, which they attacked; but were repulsed by the personal bravery of the king and his immediate attendants; and were once more appeased by Medíni Rao, who was, to appearance, again received into favour. ‡ Mahmúd, however, not long after, contrived to escape from the palace, with but a few attendants; and made good his way into Gujráat.

Is discom-  
fited.Escapes to  
Gujráat.A. H. 923.  
A. D. 1517.

From Gujráat, he soon returned, accompanied by Mozeffer Shah, then king of the country, at the head of a powerful army. Medíni Rao, though deprived of that authority which in monarchical countries attends

\* Pán-supári.

† Rái of Rais.

‡ Tabakát-i-Akberi, f. 453.; Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 257.

His restoration.

A. H. 924.  
Sefer 3.  
A. D. 1518.  
Feb. 24.

Expedition against the refractory Rájputs.

the name of king, took active measures to sustain his cause. He left his son to defend Mándu, and himself hastened to meet the invaders in the field; but, soon finding himself too weak to oppose the army of the two kings, with any hopes of success, he retreated; and, having reinforced the garrison of Mándu, proceeded to Cheitúr, to solicit succour from Rána Sंगा, at that period the chief of the Rájput race. The allied sovereigns, advancing, took Dhár; and then besieged Mándu, which, in the course of a few days, surrendered on terms; but the terms were broken by the besiegers, the place attacked and carried by surprise, and nineteen thousand Rájputs, without discrimination of age or sex, are said to have perished,—numbers falling in the *jóhar* or voluntary massacre, by which the sack of the place was accompanied.\* Mozeffer Shah, having reinstated Sultan Mahmúd in his capital, returned to Gujrát, leaving an auxiliary force behind him under Asof Khan.

But though Sultan Mahmúd was thus restored to his capital and the adjoining provinces, a large portion of Malwa was still hostile to him. Medini Rao possessed Chándéri and Gagrown; while Siláh-ed-dín held Bhílsa, Raisen, and Sarangpút, some of the most important forts and districts of Malwa. While these chiefs were nearly independent, or dependant rather on the Rána than on Mahmúd, their extensive territories could hardly be reckoned parts of his kingdom. Sultan Mahmúd resolved, therefore, to reduce them to obedience; and led his own troops and his Gujrát auxiliaries against Gagrown, which he besieged.

Medini Rai, having been joined by Rána Sंगा from Cheitúr, advanced with a formidable army to its assistance. On hearing of this movement, Mahmúd raised the siege, and made several days' march to meet him. On the last of these days, the Sultan, after a long

\* Ferishta makes the siege last some months, and says nothing of the treachery, the particulars of which are detailed in the *Tabakát-i-Akberi*, ff. 455, 456.





March, came to his ground about seven kos from the enemy. Rána Sánga, however, who had heard of his approach, and who was determined to attack him while his troops were fatigued and in disorder, mounted and moved forward. As he approached the camp, he came upon scattered parties of Mahmúd's men; but, even when he had reached the main army, found all in disorder, and no regular opposition was attempted. It could hardly be called a battle. Thirty-two of the chief nobles of Malwa fell in the contest and rout that ensued; as did Asof Khan, and hundreds of the Gujrát auxiliaries. Sultan Mahmúd himself was taken prisoner, after an obstinate resistance, in which he received several wounds. He was, as we have seen, generously treated by Rána Sánga, and restored to his kingdom; partly, perhaps, by the influence of Medíni Rao. But, as Medíni Rao, Siláh-ed-dín, and Sekander Khan of Sivás, besides a number of small chiefs, retained their possessions; and, as Rána Sánga had himself seized upon many districts, insomuch that not above a tenth part of the kingdom of Malwa remained in the Sultan's hands, the revenues of the state were miserably impaired. Indeed, it was generally believed that the Rána was restrained from occupying the whole kingdom only by respect for the power and influence of Mozeffer Shah.\*

Defeat of  
Mahmúd,and dis-  
member-  
ment of  
Malwa.

But the imprudence of Sultan Mahmúd soon involved him in new dangers. On the death of Mozeffer Shah, Beháder Shah, after two reigns of only a few months' duration, succeeded to the throne of Gujrát; and Chand Khan, his younger brother, fled to Mándu, where he was entertained by Mahmúd. Attempts were made to engage in his cause the Emperor Báber, who, by this time, had gained possession of the throne of Delhi; and a correspondence was carried on between

Beháder  
Shah in  
Gujrát.  
A. H. 932,  
A. D. 1526.

\* Tab. Akb. f. 457.; Ferishta, iv. p. 262.

Delhi and Mándu, for that purpose. Information of this reached Beháder, who smothered his resentment for the moment, but resolved to take the earliest opportunity to revenge the injury.

Báber in  
 Rájputána.  
 A. H. 934,  
 A. D. 1528.

About two years afterwards, Báber himself appeared on the stage of Malwa. After he had defeated Rána Sánga, he turned his arms against Medíni Rao, the chief supporter of the Rájput interest in Malwa; and took by storm Chándéri, the seat of his power, with the slaughter of all its defenders, and of that eminent man himself. He restored it to Ahmed Shah, Muhammed Shah's son, whose cause he affected to espouse, leaving a "governor over him." It was the Emperor's intention to have followed up his success by reducing Bhílsa, Raisen and Sarangpúr, the Chiefship of Siláh-ed-dín, and then to have marched to Cheitúr to attack the Rána in his capital; but this plan he was forced to abandon, by insurrections, which made his presence necessary in the eastern provinces.\*

Rána Rut-  
 tonsi and  
 Beháder  
 Shah in  
 Malwa.

A. H. 926,  
 A. D. 1520.

At this period, Rána Sánga died, and was succeeded by his son Rána Ruttonsi. Sultan Mahmúd, thinking this a favourable opportunity to recover what he had lost, with that spirit of restless incapacity which marked his character, sent an army to attack and plunder the new Rána's territories. Ruttonsi, in revenge of this injury, marched into his dominions; upon which the Sultan advanced from Sarangpúr to oppose him. Here he summoned to his standard Siláh-ed-dín (with whom he had, a few years before, been at war; and whom he had even deprived of Sarangpúr) and Moyín Khan, the adopted son of the late Sekander Khan of Sivás. He now, when too late, attempted to conciliate these chiefs. On Moyín Khan he conferred the title of Masnad Khan, and presented him with a scarlet pavilion; to Siláh-ed-dín he gave some additional villages, near his various

\* Báber's Mem. p. 377, 378.





jagirs. But the Sultan had ceased to command their confidence; and these noblemen, — believing that the favours conferred upon them were intended to serve a present purpose, while his hatred was in nothing abated, and that they had every thing to apprehend from his intrigues, — soon after left his camp and joined the Rána. Meanwhile, Beháder Shah, seizing the opportunity for which he had been in wait, of prosecuting his revenge, had also entered Malwa. The Rána, with the Malwa chiefs who had joined him, marched towards the King of Gujrát, that all might act in concert. Sultan Mahmúd, filled with alarm at this revolt and double invasion, sent to Beháder Shah, professing his readiness to wait upon him; but, under various frivolous pretexts, constantly put off the time of meeting. Beháder, at length, aware of his insincerity, pushed on to Mándu, his capital, into which the Sultan had thrown himself; and, after a short siege, took it by escalade. Mahmúd fell into his hands, and was at first treated with respect; but three days afterwards, on some offence, real or pretended, Beháder Shah proclaimed himself King of Malwa; and next day sent off the Sultan, in chains, with twenty of his sons, under an escort of an hundred horse, to be confined in the hill-fort of Champanír. But the escort that attended him being attacked, near Dokad, during the night by a party of Bhíls, he was put to death by his guard, to prevent a rescue. This event occurred only three months after Humáyun had mounted the throne.\*

A. H. 937.

Shábán 9.

A. D. 1531.

March 8.

Mándu

taken.

Shábán 12.

Shábán 13.

Beháder

Shah pro-

claimed

King.

Shábán 15.

\* Ferishta, in the History of Malwa, (vol. iv. p. 368.) fixes the date of the storming of Mándu, on the 9 Shábán, A. H. 932, (22 May, A. D. 1526). This can hardly be correct, as Báber, (Mem. p. 376.) in Moharrem 934, (Jan. 1528), speaks of Sultan Mahmúd as still in Mándu. The real date is probably A. H. 937, Shábán 9, (A. D. 1531, March 8),

that assigned in the Tabakát Akberí, and by Ferishta in the History of Gujrát (vol. iv. p. 115.). In the History of Kándesh (vol. iv. p. 310.), Ferishta seems to place the reduction of Mándu, and, consequently, the death of Sultan Mahmúd, in A. H. 939 (A. D. 1532-3). The Mirát-i-Ahmedi (Bird's transl. p. 238.) makes the escalade of Mándu take place

Partition  
of Malwa.

Capture of  
Siláh-ed-  
dín by  
Beháder.  
A. H. 938,  
A. D. 1531.

Beháder Shah and Rána Ruttonsí now overran all Malwa. The capital, with the western and northern provinces, Beháder added to his dominions. The Rána, on the other hand, seems to have added little to his own immediate territories; but the Malwa lords, who had espoused his interest, and who, for some time before, had acknowledged his authority, he confirmed in the possession of Ráisen, Rantambór, Sarangpúr, and several other extensive districts.

The ambition of Beháder, nourished by success, was not to be restrained by conventions and treaties. Siláh-ed-dín or Silhádi was too powerful a subject not to be viewed with jealousy; and he determined to ruin him. That chieftain's son, who was in Beháder's camp, was sent to invite his father to wait upon the King, who wished to consult with him before returning to Gujrát.\* The Rájpút, leaving his son in Ujein, met Beháder Shah near Dhár. That prince entered the fort, accompanied only by Silhádi, whom he there treacherously seized, with the two Rájpúts by whom the chief was attended. One of them, laying his hand on his dagger, drew it, and prepared for resistance. "Forbear," said the chief, "it is me whom you are killing." "'Twas in your defence it was drawn," said his faithful follower; "but, since my act endangers you, thus I slay myself, and escape the misery of seeing you a prisoner." With these words, he inflicted on himself several mortal wounds, "and so," says the Musulman historian, "went to hell." Beháder's pretext for this outrage, and for his quarrel with Siláh-ed-dín, was that the pagan had in his seraglio several Muhammedan women, and even some ladies of the haram of a deceased Sultan.

20 Shábán, (A. H. 937) and the surrender of Mahmúd Shah follow, 12 Moharrem, A. H. 938, (26 Aug. 1531). Ferishta makes him killed five days after the escalade (14 Shábán). The Tabakáte Akberi

makes his death occur on the Sheb-e-Berát (15 Shábán) one day later, f. 459. Instead of twenty sons, Ferishta gives him seven.

\* Tabakáte Akberi, ff. 391. 459.; Báber's Mem. pp. 312. 376.





The King, after getting Siláh-ed-dín into his power, entered his dominions, and, with little opposition, gained possession of Ujein, Sarangpúr, and Bhilsa. He finally besieged the brother and one of the sons of that chief in the strong fort of Ráisen, which contained also his wives and family, and, after a long siege, reduced it to the greatest distress.

Silhádi, though in captivity, and even, it is said, compelled to renounce his own religion for the Moslem creed, most keenly sympathised with his afflicted subjects. Seeing no prospect of relief from an army sent to his assistance by Rána Ruttonsi, a prince far inferior in all respects to his illustrious father, and in which his own son Bhopat served with the shattered remains of his force, was compelled to seek relief in submission or despair. A capitulation was at length entered into, on condition that the fort was to be given up, but that the lives, liberties, and honour of all who were in it should be respected, and that Siláh-ed-dín was to be set at large. That chieftain asked permission to enter the fort for the purpose of bringing out the females of his household, in terms of the treaty. Here he had to sustain the reproaches of his wife, Durgáwati, a daughter of Rána Sanga, who, distrusting any Moslem promises, declared her resolution to die free and unblemished, and concluded her invectives by setting fire to a pile that she had reared, which consumed in its flames the palace and seven hundred beautiful females that were in the haram. Siláh-ed-dín himself, stung to madness, put on his armour, and, accompanied by his brother, rushed out with their devoted followers, and died the death of Rájpúts. Beháder bestowed Ráisen, with Bhílsa and Chándéri, on Alem Khan Jilál-Khan Jigat\*, a noble

Catastrophe  
of Ráisen.

\* The Miráte Ahmedi calls him Sultan Alem Lodi. He seems to have been the son of a Sultan Jilál-khan, who aspired to the throne in

the beginning of his brother Sultan Ibráhím's reign. See also Baber's Mem. pp. 349. 335.

Further  
successes of  
Beháder  
Shah.  
A. H. 936,  
A. D. 1529.

A. H. 939,  
A. D. 1532-  
3.

man, who had lately held the government of Kalpi, under Báber; but who had subsequently fled from that place, and renounced his allegiance.\* Having thus strengthened his power in Malwa, Beháder returned in triumph to his hereditary dominions.

Besides his conquests in Malwa, Beháder Shah had extraordinary success in other quarters. He marched through the territories of his nephew, Miran Muhammed Khan, the prince of Kandesh, to succour Imád-ul-Mulk, the King of Berár, when attacked by the kings of Beder and Ahmednagar†; and, driving the invaders before him, advanced by Jálma to Doualábád. He compelled Burhán Nizám Shah to acknowledge him as King of Ahmednagar, as well as Gujrát; and to read the public prayers in his name. He gained some important advantages over the Portuguese, who infested his dominions. He was fond of state, and affected much pomp and splendour, both in his court and camp. His armies were numerous, and the Prince of Kandesh, and the King of Berár, served in them with their auxiliaries; as did the legitimate Prince of Malwa, who was allowed or compelled to attend his court.‡

\* Báber's Mem. p. 378.; Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 270. 118.

† Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iii. p. 489.; vol. iv. p. 112.

‡ The greater part of the preceding narrative is from the Tabakáte Akberi, ff. 389—392. Ferishta, Hist. of Gujrát, vol. iv. pp. 1—123.; Hist. of Malwa, Ibid. pp. 167—269.; Hist. of Kandesh,

Ibid. p. 310., corrected by a few short notices in Báber's Memoirs.

It may be remarked, that the different histories of Ferishta vary from each other in several particulars, especially in the chronology. In each, he probably followed the historian of the particular dynasty whose annals he was writing.





## CHAPTER II.

## AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA.

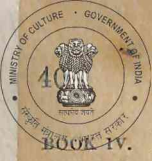
## SECTION II.

## CONQUEST OF MALWA BY HUMÁYUN.

RELATIONS OF GUJRÁT AND CHEITÚR. — SUCCESSES OF BEHÁDER SHAH IN MALWA AND RÁJPUTÁNA. — HE FORMS A LEAGUE AGAINST HUMÁYUN. — JOINED BY SULTAN ALÁ-ED-DÍN LODI AND HIS SON, TÁTÁR KHAN LODI — AND BY MUHAMMED ZEMÁN MÍRZA. — HUMÁYUN REMONSTRATES WITHOUT EFFECT. — OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIES. — THEIR ENTIRE DEFEAT. — HUMÁYUN INVADES MALWA. — STORM AND SACK OF CHEITÚR BY BEHÁDER SHAH. — THE ARMIES OF HUMÁYUN AND BEHÁDER MEET AT MANDSÚR. — THE LATTER ENTRENCH THEMSELVES. — DISTRESS IN BEHÁDER'S CAMP. — FLIGHT OF THE KING — HIS TROOPS PLUNDERED AND PURSUED. — INVESTMENT OF MÁNDU. — DESCRIPTION OF THAT CAPITAL. — OVERTURES OF BEHÁDER. — MÁNDU ESCALADED. — BEHÁDER ESCAPES TO GUJRÁT. — MÁNDU PLUNDERED BY THE IMPERIALISTS. — HUMÁYUN SUPREME IN MALWA.

THE destruction of the kingdom of Malwa, as an independent state, entirely changed the political relations which had subsisted between the rulers of Gujrát and Cheitúr. Formerly, they were often allies; henceforward, they of necessity became direct rivals. The spoils and provinces of that extensive country were the prize for which both contended. In this contest, the means which they employed to attain their objects were different. The King endeavoured to occupy the country directly by his own troops; the Rána, to secure an ascendancy by the intervention of chieftains of great

CHAP. II.  
SECT. II.Relations of  
Gujrát and  
Cheitúr.



local influence. The wealth and commercial prosperity of Gujrát enabled Beháder Shah to bring into the field a large regular army and a powerful artillery; the Rána's gallant followers were ever prepared to sacrifice their lives for their chief or their tribe, in the day of battle, but they had no means of keeping the field for any great length of time, or of securing permanently such conquests as they made. A battle being gained, or a city stormed and pillaged, they were eager to return to their homes, with their glory and their plunder. The constitution of the Rájput states, a confederacy of tribes or of little chieftains, was little suited for retaining distant possessions.

Successes of  
Beháder  
Shah,

The attack of Beháder Shah on Siláh-ed-dín had brought the Rána into the field, in his defence. But the Rájput army were no longer directed by a warrior like Rána Sंगा. Rána Ruttonsi, after a short reign, had yielded the sword of command to his brother Biker-májít.\* This impolitic prince, having disgusted the chiefs, who formed the strength of his armies, could offer but an imperfect resistance to the attack of Beháder; who now, flushed with victory, invaded his territories, year after year. In the summer after the death of Siláh-ed-dín, following up his success, he reduced the important fortress of Gágrown, and sent an army to besiege Rantambór. Though compelled to hasten back to Diu, to check the encroachments of the Portuguese on his coasts, he next season returned to Malwa; marched victorious through its provinces; and, not only wrested from his rival the conquests made by Rána Sंगा in that kingdom, but even advanced into the Rána's hereditary dominions, and besieged him in

A. H. 939,  
A. D. 1532-  
3.

A. H. 940.  
in Malwa

and Rájpu-  
tána.

\* The period of the death of Ruttonsi, and accession of Biker-májít, is not well known. The Muslim historians do not fix it; and the chronology of the Rájputs themselves is in general extremely erro-

neous. As Colonel Tod allows Ruttonsi a reign of five years, and as he ascended the masnad in A. H. 934, his death may be placed A. H. 939.





Chetúr itself. We have seen, that, in spite of the march of the Emperor Humáyun, as far as Guáliár, to his assistance, the Rána was compelled ignominiously to purchase, at a high price, the retreat of the King of Gujrát.

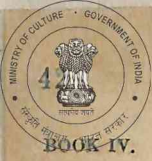
These continued successes added fuel to the naturally ambitious temper of Beháder. He and Humáyun had now become neighbours, and the events of the last campaign had shown that they must inevitably soon come to a collision. The King of Gujrát, indignant that his prey should have been wrested from him, looked round for means to occupy and injure the Emperor; and they were not wanting.

He forms a  
league  
against Hu-  
máyun.

Many Afghán Amírs, and other refugees from Delhi and the eastern provinces, who had been driven into exile by the successes of Báber, had fled to his court for shelter. Sultan Beháder, who had himself been a fugitive from Gujrát at the time of Báber's invasion, and who had spent some time in exile at the court of Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, as well as at Juánpúr, stood in too great awe of the late Emperor to hazard any hostile proceedings during his lifetime. But after the succession of Humáyun, he was incessantly urged by Tátár Khan Lodi, and other fugitives from what had been the Afghán, and were now the imperial, dominions, to lend them even a moderate aid; as they boasted, with that, to be able, if not to exterminate the Chaghatai invaders, at least to drive them back beyond the Indus. We have seen that Sultan Alá-ed-dín Lodi, the father of Tátár Khan, the uncle of the late Sultan Ibráhím, and twice an unsuccessful competitor for the throne of Delhi, had been sent by Báber to be imprisoned in the distant fort of Kila-Zefer, in Badakhshán\*, for reasons unknown, but probably for the crime of being dangerous from his birth and his pretensions. Having escaped

Joined by  
Sultan Alá-  
ed-dín Lodi,  
and his son  
Tátár  
Khan Lodi,

\* Akbarnáma, f. 37. MS. B. f. 74.



## BOOK IV.

from custody, by the assistance of some Afghán merchants, he found his way in disguise, through many perils, across the Afghán country and Baluchistán, to the court of Gujrát. Beháder, who had long resisted the solicitations of the exiles, at last, prompted by what he regarded as his own wrongs, yielded to their importunity; and, entering into their views, began to make preparations for an attack on Humáyun. He secretly employed considerable sums in drawing off the adherents of his rival, and received, with distinguished favour, the refugees from Agra, who flocked to his court.

and by  
Muham-  
med Zemán  
Mírza,

It was about this period that Muhammed Zemán Mírza, having escaped from Biána, arrived in his camp\*, with his keeper, Yádgár Taghái Beg, whom he had seduced to accompany him in his flight. Beháder Shah, situated as he was, and indulging the plans which he did, regarded the arrival of a prince of his rank and talents as a fortunate occurrence, and warmly entered into his animosities. The fugitive confirmed the opinion given by Tátár Khan, of the ease with which the Emperor might be expelled. He represented the discipline of the army as relaxed since the late Emperor's death; the troops, as giving themselves up to ease and luxury; the nobles, as discontented; and both the native and Afghán chiefs and officers, as only waiting for an opportunity to revolt.

Humáyun  
remon-  
strates  
without  
effect.

These proceedings could not escape the notice of Humáyun, who called upon Beháder Shah to dismiss Muhammed Zemán Mírza†, and the other rebels and

\* An instance of Beháder's luxurious and ostentatious magnificence is mentioned on this occasion. When Muhammed Zemán reached Beháder's camp, before Cheitúr, he was suffering from the heat of the weather. His physicians recommended Gúl-kend (candied conserve

of roses) to allay the heat. The Mírza sent to ask Beháder for a small quantity, and received forthwith twenty cart-loads. The King had been accustomed to have a spirit distilled from it. Táríkhe-Bedáuni, f. 129.

† No mention is made of any





fugitives from the imperial dominions, who were entertained in his court. This the King of Gujrát declined, on the general ground of that hospitality which all princes are accustomed to extend to the distressed. He adduced the precedent of Sultan Alá-ed-dín himself, Sultan Sekander Lodi's brother, who, as well as several other princes of the blood, in circumstances resembling the present, had found refuge with his predecessor, Mozeffer Shah, without giving offence to the sovereigns of Delhi.

Humáyun, in return, maintained, that the reception afforded to the fugitive enemies of his government was inconsistent with the relations of amity that subsisted between them, and must lead to dangerous consequences. He denied that the case of Alá-ed-dín, referred to, had any similarity to the present; he reminded the King, with something of a menace, that, unwilling as the great Taimúr had long been to attack Beyezíd \* Ilderim, while he was engaged in war with the infidels of Europe, and many as were the injuries which on that account he long bore, yet that his patience was finally exhausted, when that monarch refused to withdraw his protection from Kara Yúsef Túrkomán, and Sultan Ahmed Jeláir, Taimúr's rebellious subjects, who had taken refuge with him. That the consequences were sufficiently well known. And he insisted, that Beháder Shah should either deliver up Muhammed Zemán Mirza, or at least expel him from his dominions. Beháder obstinately persisted in his refusal.

The demonstration which Humáyun made on the side of Gualiar, during the siege of Cheitúr, was a suf-

Preparations for hostilities.

demand to deliver up Sultan Alá-ed-dín Lodi; either, because he had not then arrived; or, as is more probable, because his situation was different from that of Muhammed Zemán, and did not in the same degree justify the Emperor's demand. The former, though a claimant of

the throne of Delhi, was an Afghán of the race of Lodi; the latter, a Chaghatái prince of the race of Taimúr, who had been long in the imperial service, and had married a sister of the Emperor.

\* Called Bajazet by our historians.

A. D. 1534.

ficiently intelligible indication of what he would have attempted, had the internal disorders, which occupied him at home, admitted of his marching beyond the limits of his own dominions. Beháder, offended at the tone of his rival's remonstrances, now entered heartily into the views of the exiles, and lent every assistance in his power to the claims of Sultan Alá-ed-dín or Alim Lodi, who once more put forward his pretensions to the throne of Delhi. Tátár Khan, Alim's son, who managed the affairs of his father, urged the King to declare for him openly; contending, that the Emperor's army, in its present state, would not dare to meet that of Gujrát. But Beháder was still anxious not to come prominently forward; and it was, therefore, arranged, that the intended attack should have only the air of an unauthorised irruption of the Afghán refugees, for the recovery of their former empire; and that the King himself should not appear to take any share in it. He privately, however, supplied them with large sums of money, to enable them to put their army on an effective footing. The amount stated, probably with some exaggeration, to have been not less than a million sterling\*, was sent to Rantbór, to be employed by Tátár Khan. Adventurers and exiles flocked to his standard, from every quarter; and a formidable force was soon ready to take the field.

A. H. 941,  
A. D. 1534-5.

An extensive plan of operations was formed, and vigorously acted upon. Sultan Alá-ed-dín Lodi, Tátár Khan's father, led a considerable force† to Kalinger,

\* Twenty krór of old Gujrát gold coin, which Abulfazl (Akbernama, f. 37.) estimates at double the currency of his time, or forty krórs. This, if reckoned in rupees, would give forty millions sterling, which cannot be admitted. If reckoned in dáms, the current mode of Treasury computation, it would amount to one million sterling; if

in double dáms, to two millions. Briggs's Ferishta calls the sum three krórs of rupees, or about three millions sterling.

† I have been sometimes tempted to believe that this army was commanded by Alá-ed-dín or Alim Khan Jilál Khan Jigat, who, we have seen, now held Raisen, Bhilsa, and Chándéri. Abulfazl, however, says





in Bandelkand, to encourage the hostile spirit already existing in that quarter, and to threaten, or in case of success, to invade Behár and the neighbouring provinces. Burhán-el-mulk Sistáni, with a body of Gujrátis, was directed to march through the northern Rájput territory of Nagór, to make a feint of attacking the Penjáb; and thus to distract attention, and, by spreading alarm, to prevent any assistance being rendered from that province. The real attack, under Tátár Khan, was to be made in the line of Agra. Meanwhile, Beháder Shah himself, under cover of these different forces, proceeded with the army of Gujrát, as if uninterested in what was going on around him, to lay siege once more to the Rájput capital, Cheitúr, where he would be at hand to assist and take advantage of the invasion, should it succeed. Many able men in Beháder's council blamed, we are told, this disjointed plan of operations; giving it as their opinion, that it would be much better to keep the army in a concentrated state; and expressed their apprehension that the whole proceedings would be regarded as a breach of peace. But their advice was not listened to; the King having persuaded himself that, since the Lodis had undoubted pretensions to the throne of Delhi, their asserting such claims would be held to be a matter of their own, and could lead to no inferences unfavourable to himself. The different armies were soon put in motion. Tátár Khan, who had increased his troops to forty thousand horse, Afgháns and others, advanced towards Agra\*; and, having by the way attacked and carried Biána, his plundering parties extended their ravages to the very suburbs of the capital.

Humáyun, on receiving intelligence of these transactions, gave up, for the present, his expedition against

Their entire defeat.

expressly, that it was Sultan Alá-ed-dín, Tátár Khan's father; and the Táríkhe Bedáuni calls him the son

of Sekander, f. 139.

\* Akbernáma, f. 37.; Tabakáte Akberi, f. 145.

Bengal and Behár, and hastened back to Agra. Meanwhile, however, he ordered his brothers, Hindal and Askeri, his cousin, Yádgar Násir Mírza, the son of his late uncle, Násir Mírza, and Kásim Husein Sultan, Uzbek, with eighteen thousand horse, to proceed without delay to check the invaders; rightly judging, that, if their grand army was defeated, the others could do little mischief. When the approach of the imperialists, inferior as they were in number, became known, the invading troops were seized with a sudden panic, and large bodies of them deserted every day and returned home; insomuch that, in a short time, of this great army, collected with so much parade and expence, not more than three thousand \* horse remained with Tátár Khan. That nobleman, indignant at the treachery of his mercenaries, stung with shame at the result of his high promises, and defeated in his long-cherished schemes of ambition, when they seemed on the very eve of being accomplished, hesitated for some time whether he should fight or retreat. Impelled, however, by indignation and despair, he came to a conflict with the enemy at Mandráel, where the brave followers who still adhered to him were routed with great slaughter, and himself and three hundred of his officers slain. Biána was soon recovered, without a blow; and the other two invading armies, on hearing of these calamitous events, retreated into the territories of Gujrát.†

Humáyun  
 invades  
 Malwa.

Eager as Humáyun was to repress the disorders that were arising in his dominions on the Ganges, and in Behár, he saw clearly that he could not with safety leave behind him a victorious prince so formidable as Beháder Shah, who had shown the worst dispositions, and whose dominions now approached so near to his capital. It was evident that, should he proceed to Bengal, and should Beháder, after reducing Cheitúr,

\* Ferishta says, ten thousand.      rishta, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74.

† Akbernáma, f. 37, 38.; Fe-





avail himself of his absence to occupy Agra, the communication between the northern and southern parts of the imperial dominions would be cut off, and himself and his army exposed to the danger of being totally destroyed. He determined, therefore, at once to attack his enemy in the centre of his power; and, in the middle of November, A. D. 1534 \*, set out for a vigorous campaign. Marching in the direction of Malwa, he soon arrived near the strong fort of Raisen, on the Betwa. The governor sent a deputation to meet him, and, in the Asiatic style, to represent that he and the fortress were his Majesty's. Humáyun did not lose time in endeavouring to reduce the place; but, accepting the proffered submission, such as it was, pushed forward, and was soon encamped at Sarangpúr, an important town on the Kali-Sind, in the very heart of Malwa.

This rapid advance disconcerted Beháder Shah, who was still busily, and not unsuccessfully, employed in the siege of Cheitúr. He saw the thin mask, with which he had sought to cover his hostile intentions, rudely torn away; and an offended enemy in the centre of his dominions. His most experienced councillors differed as to the course proper to be pursued. Some advised him at once to abandon the siege, which could be resumed at any time, and march to repel the invading army. On the other hand, Sadr Khan, the most eminent man of his court, and equally distinguished for his rank and for his political and military talents, was of a different opinion. He urged, that Cheitúr was reduced to the last extremity, and must soon fall; that, to quit the siege now, was not only to lose all the labour which had been bestowed on it, but to injure the reputation of their arms; that besides, the Emperor, sensible of the

Beháder  
Shah at  
Cheitúr.

\* A. H. 941, beginning of Jemádi I. (A. D. Nov. 1534). It seems not very clear whether this is the date of his giving up his cam-

paign against the Purebis, or of marching from Agra. Akbernáma, MS. B. f. 73, and 5 r.

A. D. 1535.

Storm and  
sack of  
that place.

A. D. 941.  
Ramzán 3.  
A. D. 1535.  
March 8.

The armies  
of Hu-  
máyun and  
Beháder  
meet at  
Mandsúr.

odium which would attend such an interference, would not attempt directly to interrupt the operations of Musulmans, engaged in a holy war against infidels. This opinion prevailed; the operations of the siege were pushed on with redoubled fury; the defences were battered by the cannon of Rúmi Khan, a Turkish engineer, who was assisted by Portuguese and other European artillerymen; and finally, a mine was sprung, which left a broad and accessible breach. A storm followed, on the 8th of March, A. D. 1535, when the fort was carried by assault, in spite of every effort made by the courage and despair of the Rájput. The garrison, seeing that all hope was gone, proceeded to put to death their wives and women, who, on their part, voluntarily presented their bosoms to the sword, or rushed into the blazing pyre, to avoid the defilements of slavery, and to maintain untarnished the honour of their tribe.\* The remaining Rájput, then, clothing themselves in their yellow-died garments, the well-known sign of despair and death, sallied out to meet their assailants, and were cut off to a man. The victors, on entering the city, found only a heap of ruins and a lifeless solitude. The booty, which was great, was divided among the victorious troops.

Beháder Shah had now nothing to detain him from marching to chastise the invader of his dominions. To account for the inaction of Humáyun, at this important crisis, we are told, that, on reaching Sarangpúr, and being informed that it was the opinion of Beháder's councillors that, as a faithful believer, he would not attack a prince engaged in a holy war, he declared that they only did him justice; and immediately ceased

\* Akbernáma, as above; Tabakáte Akberi, ff. 145, 146.; Tod's Rajasthán, vol. i. pp. 311, 312. From native authorities, Col. Tod estimates the number of women,

who perished in this johár, at thirteen thousand; the loss of the Rájput, in the siege and storm, at thirty-two thousand, the flower of their tribe.





from all offensive operations. There was now, however, an end of this point of honour. On hearing of the fall of the Rájput capital, Humáyun left Ujein, where he then was, and moved to the northward; while Beháder Shah, marching to meet him, the two armies soon came in sight of each other, on the banks of a large tank, near the town of Mandsúr.\*

The tents of the army of Gujrát were not all pitched, and the army itself had not yet come to its ground, when its advanced pickets were attacked and driven in upon their centre with some slaughter, by a body of the imperial horse. This little incident had an effect on the spirits of the troops on both sides. Táj Khan and Sadr Khan, two of Beháder's most distinguished officers, strongly urged him, while his troops were still flushed with their success at Cheitúr, and before they had tried the discipline and vigour of the Túrki warriors, to lead his men at once to battle, in which they would assuredly exert themselves gallantly. Rúmi Khan, however, who commanded the artillery, and who had much influence with the king †, was of a different opinion. He had with him about three hundred Turkish artillerymen, besides eighty Portuguese and Franks commanded by a native Portuguese, named San Jago, who had received the title of Feringi Khan. Rúmi Khan was an Ottoman Turk, who had been honoured with the title of Khodáwend Khan. He had learned his art in the Turkish service, which, about this period, was distinguished for superiority in the management of heavy artillery. The

The latter  
intrench  
themselves.

\* Akbernáma, f. 38.; Tabak Akberi, ff. 146. 395. Jouher, (in the original) chap. ii. says, that the imperial army halted near Tálwar (or Tilúr, or Tísúr); that Beháder, after taking Cheitúr, had directed his march for Gujrát, but was intercepted by the Emperor, near Mori, a town dependent on Burhápúr. Jouher does not appear to give a

very distinct account of any campaign before that of Bengal; though, as he tells Kámran Míza, in Rámzán, A. H. 960, that he had been nineteen years in the Emperor's service, he was probably with him at this time. The Tabakát calls the place Sirsúr.

† Lafitau, Hist. des Découvertes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 209. 4to.

trade of the sea-coast, and the capture of several Portuguese ships, had furnished the king with an excellent train, which Rúmi Khan pronounced to be second only to that of the "Kaisar of Rúm." He said, that it would be foolish to throw away their superiority, by renouncing the use of the force in which they most excelled; that it would be better to cover themselves by trenches on all sides; to strengthen their lines by their cars, waggons and carriages, and to plant their guns so as to make their position impregnable to the enemy; that the Moghuls, as they called the imperialists, with their usual daring and impetuosity, would soon be seen to gallop up to the lines, within range of their shot, when they would be swept off in crowds; that, when they saw themselves unable to make any impression and beginning to suffer from scarcity, they must, in the end, be compelled to retreat; that, then was the time for the royal horse to follow, and cut them off in detail, in their long retreat, when exhausted and broken as they would be. Rúmi Khan's success at Cheitúr, and previously at Raisen, under circumstances very different from the present, gave perhaps an undue weight to his opinion; which prevailed, and was acted upon. For a time, skirmishes daily ensued, in which the invaders, from the quality of their troops, had uniformly the advantage; when, however, they followed the flying foe close to the trenches, they were soon made aware of the risk; and, as might have been foreseen, ceased to approach them.\*

Become dis-  
heartened.

The fortified camp of Beháder was, indeed, unassailable; but it was in danger of becoming his prison. The Chaghataí army had all the advantage of daring and activity. They soon taught their enemies to dread them, and showed a decided superiority, not only in discipline and in close combat, but in more distant

\* Tabak. Akheri, ff. 395, 396.





fighting, from the use of the bow. The Gujrátis, whose defensive armour could not resist their powerful arrows, after some experience of their energy and skill, did not willingly meet them in the field, and became dispirited; while the ardour and enterprise of their invaders daily increased.\* At this crisis Beháder was strengthened by the arrival of Sultan Alim, of Kalpi, with the troops of Raisen and Chándéri.

While the armies thus lay facing each other, it happened one night that some young officers, who had met at a drinking party in the Emperor's camp, having indulged in liberal libations, began to vaunt their prowess, and to exalt themselves, as nowise inferior to the heroes of former days. Warmed with their own boasting, and with the effects of the wine, they armed, mounted, and, in spite of the efforts made by their soberer comrades to prevent them, sallied forth, to the number of about two hundred, to have a dash at the enemy, and rode right for the hostile camp. When they had nearly reached it, they chanced to fall in with a division, under one of the Gujrátí generals, who, on seeing them approach, drew up his men, about four thousand in number, to receive them. The young enthusiasts, not deterred by this disparity of force, charged in amongst them without hesitation. The Gujrátis, astonished as they were, nevertheless at first stood their ground, and a short but sharp conflict ensued; but, being confounded and daunted by the unusual energy of the assailants, and numbers of them falling, they finally gave way, and fled back to their camp in confusion. In Humáyun's army this "Combat of Friends," as it was called, was loudly celebrated, and an official report† published, in a lofty strain, to make it generally known; while, in the camp of Beháder, it spread equal dismay, so that afterwards few

The "Combat of Friends."

\* Tabak. Akberi, f. 396.

† Kárnáma.



A.D. 1535.

Sháwál 1.

April 4.

Distress  
in Behá-  
der's camp.

of his troops willingly ventured beyond the protection of their field works and batteries. On one occasion, indeed, on the day of the rejoicings for the close of the Rámzán, Muhammed Zemán Mírza, anxious to distinguish himself among his new allies, advanced out of the trenches with about five or six hundred men, as if to challenge a combat, and was met by a party from the opposite side. His followers, after shooting a few arrows, retreated, and contrived to draw their pursuers within the range of the artillery, which poured in its fire upon them with terrible effect.

To act upon a plan of operations altogether defensive and passive, in an entrenched camp, is always dangerous, but, above all, in an open country. It places every advantage of daring and enterprise in the hands of an active enemy, and seldom fails to terminate in the discouragement of the troops who are placed on the defensive, and in their being cut off from all their resources. The Chaghatái Túrks, having established their ascendancy in the field, and not choosing to shatter their force by throwing themselves on the lowering barricades of the enemy, scoured the country on every side, cut off all foraging parties, intercepted all supplies of grain, provisions, and stores, and nearly succeeded in blocking up the Gujrátis in their position, which was thus impregnable to no purpose. All the grain and provender in the neighbourhood was exhausted, and the Gujrátí troops did not venture out to bring them from a distance. Scarcity was soon followed by famine. They were glad to subsist on horse-flesh, and on the vilest foods. Multitudes of men, as well as horses and camels, perished from hunger\*; and, in the end, the army of Beháder found themselves nearly in the same condition in which, rather more than two centuries

\* Jouher says, that grain sold was not to be had even at that price. for four and five rupees the sir, and





later, the Mahrattas were placed previous to the famous battle of Panipát.

Extreme as the distress of the Gujrátis had now become, it was not easy to adopt any new plan of operations. On the other hand, it being announced to the Emperor that a fortunate day was at hand, he resolved to attempt a general assault. But the misery of the enemy had already reached its height. Beháder, in despair of being able, by any active exertion of his dispirited troops, to extricate himself from his unhappy situation, resolved to break up his camp, and to consult his safety by flight. On the 24th and 25th of April, accompanied by his nephew, Mirán Muhammed Khan, prince of Kandesh, and afterwards for a short time King of Gujrát\*, Malu Khan, then governor, and afterwards King of Malwa, under the title of Káder Shah, and three or four other confidential friends, in the last watch of the night, making his way through a rent in the royal tent, he left the camp unnoticed; and, first taking the road to Agra, to elude observation, soon after turned round towards Mándú. Sadr Khan, and Imád-ul-mulk Khaseh-khail, with twenty thousand cavalry, set out at the same time for that place by the direct road, while Muhammed Zemán Mírza, with another body of men, took the road of Lahúr, to attempt to excite revolt in that quarter. The heavy artillery, having been loaded and crammed with powder, were burst.

Flight of the King and a portion of his followers.

Sunday,  
Sháwál 21.  
April 24-5.

Humáyun, who had intended early next morning to make his attack, hearing a continued noise, accompanied with an occasional discharge as of great guns in the enemy's lines during the night, and ignorant of the cause, thought it probable that a general attack upon his camp was intended. He stood, with a body

\* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 127, 128. The same author, vol. ii. p. 76., calls the ruler of Kandesh,

Mobárek Khan. (Did he afterwards assume that name?)



55.

Pillage of  
the camp.Pursuit of  
the fugi-  
tives.

A thirty thousand cavalry, mounted and in arms, ready for battle. All night long the alarm, confusion, shouting, and uproar in the Gujrāti camp, mixed with discharge of artillery, continued. When at length the departure of the King became known to his army, it immediately broke up and dispersed; but it was only in the course of the first morning watch that the Emperor learned the real state of things, accompanied with the information that Beháder Shah had disappeared. Upon this the imperial army burst into the deserted camp, and a general pillage ensued. Property of every description, baggage, horses, and elephants, fell into the hands of the soldiers. Many, of all ranks, were made prisoners. Humáyun, pursuing his advantage, not only dispatched a large force, under Yádgár Násir Mírza, to follow the flying enemy, but himself set out soon after with a body of horse, and hotly urged the pursuit. The Gujrāti cavalry, under Sadr Khan and Imád-ul-mulk, seem to have made good their retreat, bravely fighting and closely followed by the Emperor, with three or four thousand horse, all the way to the very gates of Mándu, which they succeeded in entering, though not without great loss. Beháder Shah, by taking bye-roads, and passing through a wild and unfrequented country, also reached Mándu.\*

\* Akbernáma, f. 38.; Tabak. Akb. ff. 146. 395, 396.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 76.; vol. iv. p. 127.; Kháfí Khan, &c. There are some differences among historians regarding the flight of Beháder. Ferishta, ii. 76. says, that Sadr Jehán Khan was one of the *five* who accompanied him. The Tabakáte Akberí also says, that he was attended by *five* Amirs of note. The Muntekhib-ul-Towárikh (ap. Briggs, iv. p. 128. note) says, that he was accompanied by a guard of an hundred officers. Kháfí Khan makes him attended,

in his retreat, by Sadr Khan and four thousand horse; and, after the surrender of Mándu, introduces Humáyun complimenting Sadr Khan upon the gallantry with which, in the flight, he had twice extricated his sovereign from his pursuers, by his personal exertions; on one of which occasions, Humáyun himself had nearly engaged the King hand to hand. Ferishta, too, alludes to the same circumstance, vol. ii. p. 77. This supposes that Beháder, after leaving the camp, joined Sadr Khan's force, which is probable. The Ak-



Investment of Mándu.  
Desertion of Rúmí Khan.

Description of that capital.

Overtures of Beháder.

The place was closely invested by the Emperor; who fixed his head-quarters at the adjoining village of Nálcha.\*

Among the numbers who entered the imperial service after the victory of Mándsúr, one of the first was Rúmí Khan, who, probably on no better grounds than the want of success that had attended his advice, was accused of having betrayed his master, in the late operations, by a secret understanding with the enemy. According to one account, Beháder, before setting out from Mándsúr, ordered one of his officers to put him to death; but the man, who had formerly received some favours from the Khan, gave him private notice of his danger, so that he escaped to the hostile camp, where he was well received, and immediately employed.†

Mándu, at that time the capital of Malwa, is a place of great strength. "The site of Mándu," says Sir John Malcolm, "was very inviting. The space chosen by Hosheng Shah for his future capital is thirty-seven miles in circumference. It extends along the crest of the Vindhya range about eight miles, and is parted from the table-land of Malwa, with which it is upon a level, by an abrupt and rugged valley of unequal depth, but nowhere less than two hundred feet, and generally from three to four hundred yards in breadth. On the brink of this valley"——"and on the summit of the ridge of the Vindhya mountains, which form the southern face of Mándu, a wall of considerable height was built, which, added to the natural strength of the ground, made it unassailable by any but a regular attack.‡

After Beháder Shah had been a few days in the place, he proposed a conference, offering, as the basis of a treaty, to give up Mándu, with all its depen-

bernáma and Tabakát are chiefly followed in the text.

\* Kháfí Khan, MS. A. f. 43.

† Lafitau, Hist. &c. vol. i. p. 212.

‡ Malcolm's Central India, vol. i.

p. 29.



## BOOK IV.

A. D. 1535.

Mádu  
escaladed.Beháder  
escapes to  
Gujrát.

dencies,—that is, the kingdom of Malwa,—reserving to himself Gujrát and Cheitúr. The proposal was accepted; and Sadr Khan, on the part of Beháder, and Moulána Muhammed Bergholi, on the part of Humáyun, accordingly met\*, and proceeded to arrange the definitive articles. Meanwhile, the garrison being thrown off their guard, relaxed in their watchfulness. Late at night, about two hundred of the imperial troops, taking advantage of the circumstance, applied scaling-ladders to a remote part of the walls, which they mounted. Having assisted their comrades by ropes to gain the top of the works, they next let themselves down into the town, and took possession of the nearest gate, which they opened to their countrymen, who rushed in in considerable numbers.

No sooner did the news of this irruption reach Milu Khan, who had charge of the works †, than, mounting the first horse he could find, he galloped off to give the alarm to Beháder Shah, then fast asleep. The King, starting up at the sound of Milu Khan's voice, between sleeping and waking, took to flight, with only two or three attendants. As he proceeded through the town, he was joined by Bhopat Rai, the son of the late Silhádi, and one of the leading chieftains of Malwa, who overtook him, with about twenty horse. They had reached the Esplanade gate ‡, which seems to have led into the citadel, when they met about two hundred of Humáyun's cavalry. Beháder Shah, without hesitation, bravely charged into the midst of them, and was followed by all his little party. He succeeded in breaking through; and, accompanied by Milu Khan and one other attendant, entered the fort of Sóngar, the citadel of

\* The conferences were held at a place called *Nili Sabil* (the blue road).

† It is not perfectly clear what character Milu Khan bore, in the court of Beháder. He is sometimes

called governor of Malwa; but there seems reason to believe that he was nominally prince or Wáli of Malwa, under the overbearing protection of Beháder.

‡ Derwazeh, Sire Meidán.





Mádu. He did not venture, however, to prolong his stay there. Having had his horses, with much difficulty, hoisted by ropes over the wall, during the night, and himself descending the precipice that surrounds it, he finally, with excessive toil and danger, gained the high road to Gujrát. An Uzbek, formerly in his service, who had deserted to the enemy, and was stationed near the fort, recognised him in his flight\*; and informed the officer in command that he had certainly seen the King; but this information was not believed, or acted upon; so that Beháder was not pursued; and, before he reached the fort of Champanír, about fifteen hundred men had joined him.

The escalade of Mádu by Humáyun's troops being wholly unexpected on both sides, no intelligence of it reached the Emperor at Nalcha that night, nor till near eight o'clock next morning. When informed of what was going forward, he flew to the Delhi gate†, by which he entered. Here he found the combat still maintained, in the streets; and Sadr Khan, though wounded, gallantly keeping his ground near the gate of his house. In this obstinate defence he persisted, till some of his officers, seeing the hopeless nature of his resistance, seized the reins of his horse and led him away to Sóngar, into which many of the troops that had escaped from Mádu also threw themselves. For three whole days, the victorious army was incessantly employed in plundering the houses of this fine town, before a stop was put to their rapacity.

Mádu  
plundered  
by the im-  
perialists.

The Emperor, eager to pursue his flying enemy, in-

Humáyun  
supreme in  
Malwa.

\* Jouher says, that he escaped through the trenches of Hindu Beg, by his connivance. But, as Hindu Beg afterwards quarrelled with Bírám Khan and his party, the occasional charges made against him, by their adherents, are to be received with caution. Abulfazl, with

more probability, affirms that the Uzbek made his report to his superior, Kásim Husein Khan, who who was himself an Uzbek, and who commanded in that quarter.

† The gate by which Beháder entered was the Choli-Mheisur gate.

vited the garrison of the citadel to surrender. Sadr Khan and Alim Khan\* of Kalpi were the principal officers in the place; and, from necessity, entered into a negotiation. After some delay, arising chiefly from apprehension of the Emperor's resentment, a capitulation was concluded, and the fort surrendered, on condition of quarter to the garrison. Sadr Khan was received with much courtesy, applauded for his fidelity to his sovereign in his reverse of fortune, and for his distinguished gallantry, and honoured with the Emperor's friendship; while Alim Khan was treated with great severity, being mutilated, by having his foot cut off, as a deserter from the imperial service. The reduction of Mándu put Humáyun in possession of the whole open country of Malwa, which he thus in some measure conquered, by a single blow.

\* There were two Alim Khans, Alim Khan Lodi, the brother of Sultan Sekander Lodi, and Alim Khan Jigat of Kalpi, apparently the son of Jilál Khan, the brother and rival of Sultan Ibráhím Lodi. The person taken in Mándu, I suppose to have been the latter. Yet there is considerable uncertainty. Abul-fazl, in Akbernáma, ff. 38, 39., and the Tabakáte Akberi, ff. 146. 396., call this person Sultan Alim Khan. The Táríkhe Bedáuni, f. 140., calls him Sultan Alim Khan Lodi. The Mirát-e Ahmedi says expressly, that he was the brother of Sultan Sekander Lodi, who had been driven

from Kalpi by Humáyun, and, accompanied by twelve thousand horse, sought an asylum with Sultan Beháder. The greatness of the jágir bestowed on him proves him to have been a man of no small note.

The expressions used in describing his punishment are *pai kirdeh riha* and *pai buridend*. Ferishta tells us, that he suffered capitally, vol. iv. p. 128.

We afterwards find a Sultan Alim Khan, commanding the Gujráti left, at the battle of Mahmúdábád; and in possession of the jágir of Dan-dúka.





## CHAPTER II.

## AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA.

## SECTION III.

## CONQUEST OF GUJRÁT BY HUMÁYUN.

HUMÁYUN ADVANCES TO GUJRÁT.—BEHÁDER FLIES TO DIU.—NIGHT ATTACK ON THE IMPERIAL CAMP.—HUMÁYUN GIVES OVER CAMBAY TO PILLAGE.—DESCRIPTION OF CHAMPANÍR.—IT IS CAPTURED BY ESCALADE.—THE GOVERNOR, EKHTIÁR KHAN.—MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON—AND IMMENSE BOOTY.—INDOLENCE AND REVELS OF HUMÁYUN—AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.—DEMONSTRATION IN HUMÁYUN'S FAVOUR FROM SIND.—SHAH HASAN ADVANCES TOWARDS PATAN AND MAHMÚDÁBÁD.—HE RETREATS.—BEHÁDER SHAH AT DIU.—NEGOTIATES WITH THE PORTUGUESE.—ANARCHY IN GUJRÁT.—BEHÁDER DEPUTES IMÁD-UL-MÚLK TO COLLECT THE REVENUES.—RAPID INCREASE OF IMÁD'S FORCE.—HUMÁYUN MARCHES AGAINST HIM.—HIS ADVANCED GUARD SURPRISED.—HE DEFEATS IMÁD.—HUMÁYUN AT AHMEDÁBÁD.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF GUJRÁT.—ADVICE OF HINDÚ BEG.—ALARMING INTELLIGENCE FROM AGRA—AND FROM MALWA.—HUMÁYUN RETURNS TO MÍNDU.—TRANQUILLIZATION OF MALWA.

THE destruction of the combined armies of Gujrát and Malwa, in the trenches of Mandsúr; the possession of Mándu; and the disappearance of every armed force that could oppose him in Malwa, encouraged Humáyun to pursue his success, and to follow Beháder Shah into his own country. Only three days after the fall of the citadel, the Emperor, with ten thousand cavalry, hastened by forced marches towards Gujrát, ordering the rest of his army to follow without delay.

CHAP. II.  
SECT. III.

A. D. 1535.  
Humáyun  
sets out for  
Gujrát.

A. D. 1535.

Arrives at  
Champanír.

Beháder  
flies to Diu.

When he arrived at Champanír, he encamped at Imád-ul-mulk's tank, opposite the Pipli gate. Beháder, who had put the fort in a condition to stand a long siege, and had sent away the crown and state jewels with a quantity of treasure to Diu, no sooner heard of his arrival, than, giving his final instructions for its defence, he left the town by another gate near the Leshker Taláo, and fled for Cambay.\* Before setting out, however, the large town of Muhammedábád-Champanír, situated under the hill on which the fort stands, was set on fire by his orders or with his connivance. Humáyun's troops entered in time to assist in extinguishing the flames. The Emperor, eager to have Beháder Shah in his power, leaving Mír Hindú Beg with the bulk of his force to invest the citadel, himself set out, attended only by a thousand horse, in pursuit of the flying prince. Beháder no sooner reached Cambay, where a hundred war-grabs, which he had built for the purpose of combating the Portuguese, were stationed, than, setting them all on fire to prevent their falling into the hands of his enemies, he renewed his flight, proceeding towards Diu. The same day on which he left Cambay, Humáyun arrived; and then, says his historian, for the first time, "encamped on the shore of the salt sea," which none of his ancestors had ever seen. He sent on a party to overtake the Sultan; who, however, made good his entrance into Diu. His pursuers returned back with a rich booty, collected in the neighbourhood of that city †; and thus, says Abulfazl, was the conquest of Mándu and Gujrát accomplished, in the course of this year.

A. H. 942,  
which be-  
gins 2nd  
July,  
A. D. 1535.

\* Kambáit.

† The Akbernáma, f. 39.; Tabakáte Akberi, f. 146.; Táríkhe Bedáuni, f. 140.; and Kháfí Khan, make Beháder fly, and Humáyun follow, to Ahmedábád; the Tabakát adds, that that city was entered and

plundered by the Emperor's troops. It is more probable that Beháder, as reported in the Tab. Akb. f. 396., and by Ferishta, fled directly to Cambay, where the Tabakát says, that he only staid long enough to get fresh horses, ff. 146. 396. v.





While Humáyun lay encamped near Cambay, with the diminutive force that he had brought along with him, Malek Ahmed Lád and Rakn Daúd,—chiefs subject to Beháder Shah, and who possessed the greatest influence in the adjoining districts of Kolwára,—seeing that the Emperor was attended by so inconsiderable a number of troops, and was not apprehensive of any attack, pointed out to the rude Kóli and Gowár chiefs in the neighbourhood, how favourable the moment was for surprising and plundering his camp; and easily induced them to concert measures for a night attack. This could hardly have failed of success, but for an unforeseen accident. An old woman of one of the tribes, who became acquainted with the plan, resolved to turn this knowledge to account. Repairing to the imperial tent, she told a servant of the household, that she had some information of most urgent importance, which she could communicate only to the Emperor's private ear. As the woman was steady in her asseverations, and seemed to be an honest and decent person, her apparently extravagant request was complied with; and, being brought before the Emperor, she gave a clear and detailed account of the plan of an attack, which was that night to be made upon him. Surprised, yet doubtful, he questioned her, what motive could have led her to make a disclosure so injurious to her tribesmen. The woman told him in reply, that her son had been seized, and was detained as a slave, by one of his servants; and that all she wished, in return for the service she was now doing his Majesty, was to be able to deliver her child from captivity; adding, that if her information was found false, he might inflict any punishment he pleased both on herself and her son. The lad was sought for and found, and both were placed in custody. The troops were ordered to be on the alert; and the Emperor withdrew to a rising ground at a little distance, to watch the event.

A. D. 1535.  
 It is de-  
 feated.

Humáyun  
 gives over  
 Cambay to  
 pillage.

Description  
 of Cham-  
 panír.

All was quiet during the night; but just before the day began to dawn, the Bhíls and Gowárs, to the number of five or six thousand, suddenly burst into the camp\*; and rushed towards the imperial tents, which they completely plundered; putting to death all whom they met. Having succeeded in this, their first object, they next spread themselves on every side, bearing down all before them. As soon as the light appeared, the Emperor led down the troops that were with him, against the disorderly assailants, whom they found dispersed and plundering in every quarter of the camp. They were soon routed, and pursued in their flight with much slaughter. Humáyun, enraged at this attack, in which many of his followers fell, issued orders for setting fire to the neighbouring, and probably innocent, town of Cambay, which he gave up to be pillaged by his followers.

From Cambay, Humáyun returned back to Champanír, which he found still blockaded. This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that rises towering out of the level plain, in the south-eastern portion of Gujrát; and is visible over a great part of

\* Akbernáma, f. 39.; Tabakáte Akberi, f. 147.

This surprise seems to have been more complete, and the loss sustained in it greater, than Abulfazl acknowledges; for, not only was the camp plundered, but several men of eminence fell. Jám Firózeh, the chief of Tatta, who, when driven from his dominions by the Arghúns, had joined Beháder Shah, at Baróda, in A. H. 935, (A. D. 1528), and whose daughter Beháder had married, (Firishta, iv. 110.) was in the Emperor's camp, having been made prisoner at the rout of Mandsúr. He was put to death, on this occasion, by the persons in whose custody he was, to prevent his being rescued. The

famous Sadr Khan Gujrátí, who had followed Humáyun, was also slain.—Akbernáma and Tabakát, as above. In the plunder of the Emperor's baggage, a number of books, which the Emperor always carried with him as the companions of his leisure, were destroyed or lost. Among these, Abulfazl particularly notices a splendid copy of the Taimúrnáma, or History of the great Taimúr, written by the pen of Múlla Sultan Ali, and illuminated by Ustád Behzád, a famous painter, "which," he adds, "having been recovered, is now in the imperial library." It was probably the Zefer-náma of Sherf-ed-dín Ali Yezdí.





that rich and populous country.\* The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly perpendicular rocks, which, among the natives of India, have gained it the reputation of being impregnable to active operations. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other; while the extensive, and at that time magnificent town of Muhammedábád-Champanír, extended on one side along its base. Humáyun, who had caused the place to be invested on his first arrival there, on his return from Cambay planted his battering cannon against it, and continued the siege and blockade; but without apparent effect. The fort was bravely defended by Ekhtiár Khan, the son of a Kázi of Neriád, one of the finest districts of the kingdom. The Khan, an officer of great resolution and intelligence, and faithful to his prince, vigorously defended the towers and works that were attacked, and nightly annoyed the besiegers by the fire from his wall-pieces, and by throwing showers of rockets into their batteries and camp. He had established a secret understanding with the wood-cutters and some of the villagers of the surrounding country, who, tempted by the high prices given for their supplies, penetrated through the ravines of the hill, which, being covered by jungle and thorny plants, were nearly inaccessible to persons on foot, and totally impervious to horsemen. These peasants, however, by their acquaintance with the by-paths of the hill, and by forcing themselves through the thickets, continued to carry quantities of grain and oil to the foot of the fort wall†; when the

\* See Lieut. (now Col.) Wm. Miles's account of this fort in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. i.

† Ferishta says (vol. ii. p. 78.) that this was a needless precaution on the part of the governor, as the fort was provisioned for a siege of some years. Kháfi Khan, the his-

torian, who afterwards, in the reign of Sultan Alim Beháder, was himself governor and collector of the fort and district of Champanír, and who consequently knew the place well, says, that the fort is by no means of such strength as to enable it to stand out against the attack of an imperial army; and he ascribes



## BOOK IV.

A.D. 1535-6.

Its capture  
by escalade.

garrison, letting down the price from above by means of ropes, drew up in exchange such provisions as were thus supplied.

After the blockade had been thus protracted for upwards of four months, Humáyun, who had become impatient of the delay, while making the circuit of the place, in order to discover some spot where it might be possible to attempt an escalade, in passing near the gardens of the Kábul suburb, observed a party of these peasants issue from the wood. Riding up, he began to question them about their employment in such a place. They affirmed that they were wood-cutters occupied with their trade; but as they could produce neither hatchets nor any other implements of that calling, reasonable suspicions were excited. The Emperor, according to the fashion of the country, instantly commanded them to be seized and beaten; assuring them that the punishment should not cease, till they had declared the whole truth. Seeing no remedy, they confessed everything; and, acting as guides, conducted the Emperor's party back through the paths by which they had gained the foot of the fortifications.

The rock, and wall by which it was surmounted, were found to be sixty or seventy cubits high, and so steep and smooth, that it was impossible to climb them. Humáyun, who saw that the garrison entertained no apprehension of an attack in this quarter, fixed upon it as a fit place for attempting an escalade. For this purpose, he ordered seventy or eighty iron spikes to be made; and, one moonlight night, repairing with a chosen band of followers to the ground, he caused the spikes to be driven in to right and left, at the distance of a cubit above each other, in the face of the hill wall. This being effected without observation, some of the

the merit of the long resistance which it made, to the skill and gallantry of Ekhtiár Khan. In the

time of Humáyun, however, the attack of fortified places was very imperfectly understood.

A. H. 943,  
A. D. 1536.





bravest of the warriors, eager to distinguish themselves under the eye of the Emperor, mounted, to the number of thirty-nine. The Emperor was next about to ascend, when Biram Khan besought him to wait till those who were mounting should be higher up, when the road would be clear. The Khan himself then began to ascend; the Emperor followed, and was the forty-first\* on the top of the wall. About three hundred men mounted by this iron ladder, in safety, before day-break.

While this was going forward, the troops which were stationed in the batteries before the place, had been ordered to open a cannonade, and to make assaults on the other side of the fort, so as to draw off the attention of the enemy. In this they succeeded; the garrison, ignorant of what was passing behind, were intent only upon repelling the open and visible attack in front; and, as the morning dawned, suddenly found themselves assailed in rear by a shower of arrows. While yet stunned by this unlooked-for occurrence, the sound of the kettle-drum and trumpet from behind, announced that the Emperor himself was among the assailants. Confounded by the advantage thus unexpectedly gained over them, and ignorant of the numbers of the enemy who had effected an entrance, they were struck with terror, and the escaladers succeeded in seizing a gate †, by which they admitted the rest of the besiegers. Ekhtiár Khan, with some of his troops, escaped to the upper fort, or Ark, where he was again invested; but the whole magazines of grain, oil, and other necessities being in the lower fort, which had been taken, he was next day compelled to surrender on promise of quarter. Besides being a brave soldier, Ekhtiár Khan was eminent for his acquirements in science, especially in geometry and astrology, and was also a poet, and a

Governor  
Ekhtiár  
Khan.

First week  
of Sefer,  
July 20-26.

\* According to some the fortieth. and Tabakát), Múlba (Ferishta).

† Called Mouliah, (Akbernáma

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Massacre of  
the garri-  
son.

Immense  
booty.

man of letters; qualities, we are told, which had favoured his rise at the court of Beháder, and afterwards recommended him to the special favour of the Emperor.\* The whole garrison, the governor and his family excepted, were barbarously put to the sword. The treasure and property found in Champanír are said to have been immense. Being, from its situation, regarded as impregnable, great quantities of jewels, precious stuffs, and bales of rich goods of every description, which had been laid up in it as a place of security, besides arms, armour, provisions, and warlike stores fell into the hands of the victors. Much gold and treasure of former kings of Gujrát were also dug out of the ground, where they had been hid. "Humáyun," says Ferishta, "gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, and jewels as could be heaped on their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit; and the merchandises and rich cloths of Rúm, Khita and Ferang †, which had been there collected to a vast amount, were at the same time plundered by the captors." ‡

\* Akbernáma, MS. f. 40, B. ff. 78, 79.; Tabakáte Akberi, ff. 147. 396. I know not whether "*Amín*" always means an offer of quarter. In its consequences, it is often a surrender at discretion.

† Turkey, China, and Europe.

‡ Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 80., copied, adding what regards the shields, from the Tabakáte Akberi, which Ferishta often follows, f. 146. See also, f. 386.

A lively idea of the manner in which valuable property was sometimes hid, in India, may be gained from the account given by Jouher in his Memoirs of Humáyun, chap. ii., of the discovery of part of the treasures of Champanír. A few days after the fall of the fort, one of Beháder Shah's officers, named Alem

Khan, came and made his submission to Humáyun. As he was supposed to be in the Sultan's confidence, several of the Emperor's advisers recommended that he should be seized and put to the torture, to make him discover where the treasures were concealed; but this the Emperor would not suffer, as Alem Khan had come in of his own accord; but he allowed him to be invited to a banquet, and there plied with wine, and interrogated on the subject. A banquet, accordingly, was prepared; and when the good cheer had produced its natural effects upon the Khan, he was asked about the treasure. Alem Khan, gratified by his reception, replied, that his Majesty had only to make the water of a certain large reservoir be drawn





After this event, Humáyun, instead of prosecuting the decisive advantages he had gained, and which placed the whole kingdom of Gujrát at his mercy, spent his time near Champanír, on the banks of the Douríah tank, in celebrating his successes by sumptuous entertainments, and enjoying the immense wealth that had fallen into his hands. The long succession of these festivities withdrew his attention, for a time, from the cares of state, and the discipline of his troops, which was gradually relaxed. Neglecting their military duties, they gave themselves up to those excesses in which rich and idle soldiers are wont to indulge. His affairs fell into confusion; the government of the provinces was neglected; and, even his own camp became a scene of uproar and insubordination.

A striking instance of this spirit soon appeared. A party composed principally of the secretaries, librarians, armour-bearers, clerks, and others, in the service of the Emperor and his chief nobles, imitating the example of their lords, were enjoying themselves in a grand banquet at the gardens of Halál, in the vicinity of the city. When heated with wine the story recorded of Taimúr in the Zefer-náma, but borrowed from a much more ancient fable, was read to them. The great conqueror, near the beginning of his career, and in his days of difficulty, is said to have taken, from each of his forty companions, two arrows; which, tying in a bundle, he offered to them to be broken. Each, in suc-

Injurious  
results.

cess, when treasure would be found enough to satisfy the whole army. This being reported to the Emperor, he caused a number of buckets and other vessels to be collected, to empty the tank. While the people were thus employed, the Khan remarked, that there was a much more expeditious mode of doing it. He made them dig under the tank, where an outlet or drain was found,

which, being opened, the water quickly ran off. An immense quantity of treasure was discovered, and immediately divided among the army. The Khan afterwards pointed out a well, that was found to be filled with gold and silver, which had been melted into bars. No part of this last treasure was given to the troops.

cession, tried in vain. He then presented their own two to each, who broke them with ease. Whereupon, with a voice of authority, he drew the moral, and told them, that, if they remained united, and assisted each other faithfully, making common cause, no enterprise was too arduous for them to achieve.

The revellers, as they listened, applied the incident to their own situation. They counted their party, which was found to consist, not of forty, but of four hundred. Flushed with the recent successes and with wine, they magnanimously resolved to imitate the great Taimúr,—to set up for themselves, and to attempt no less than the conquest of the Dekhan, at that moment the grand resort of adventurers. Hurried away by this heroic resolution, they instantly set out for the south. Nothing could be more wild than such an attempt, made by men in their circumstances, in a body, and by one effort; though many of them were probably persons who, individually, might have successfully aspired to high eminence. They lived in an age and country of revolutions; they seem to have been men of some education; and every day proved the wonderful superiority of the hardy and enterprising men of the north over the natives of India. Even in the Dekhan, the principal offices were filled by their countrymen, of a rank originally not much superior to their own. But such an enterprize as was in this instance attempted, was an act of madness, and should have been punished only as a drunken frolic.

Next morning, when the heroes who composed this chivalrous band were wanted in their various offices, not one of them was to be found. The cause and direction of their flight, however, became speedily known; a thousand men were sent in pursuit; they were overtaken, and brought back in bonds to the imperial presence.

The day of the week happened to be a Tuesday,





when the Emperor, according to the fantastic astrological fancies, on which at this period of his age he acted, clothed in red robes, the colour suited to Mars, the guardian planet of the day, was sitting in state on the throne of wrath and vengeance. He, too, though the judge, was probably still labouring under the effects of his previous excesses. The deserters were brought it, in small parties\*, and sentence pronounced on them with a capricious cruelty, embittered by the levity with which it was accompanied. Some were trampled to death by elephants, some were beheaded, some had their ears and noses cut off, some their fingers pared away. In the evening, the Inám, or leader of the religious service in the mosque, who was a man of no great understanding, read, according to custom, a portion of the Korán, after the first genuflexion. The chapter that he chose was that which alludes to the destruction, by the divine wrath, of the masters of the elephant, who impiously attempted to destroy the temple of Mekka. It displeased the Emperor, as if chosen with some allusion to his own recent employment†;

\* The details of this judgment, as given by Abulfazl (Akbernáma, f. 40.) are very disgusting; and exhibit the wretched punning propensity of our James I., but on an occasion when it is not ridiculous, but revolting. The sentences pronounced depend on idiomatic Persian phrases, hardly translatable. "Some of the culprits," says he, "*having stretched their head beyond the line of duty, had their bodies relieved altogether of the burden of the head; some, who, not knowing hand from foot, (i. e. foolishly) had struck their hand in rebellion, were deprived of both hand and foot; a band, who, from self-conceit (khúd-bíni), had not lent their ears to the imperial commands, could find neither ears nor nose (bíni) in their usual place.*"

Others, who had touched the limits of revolt with the tips of their fingers, were unable any longer to discover the figure of their fingers, on their fists," &c.

† This Chapter, CV., entitled "The Elephant," is a very short one, and does not seem to contain much matter of offence. Humáyun probably referred to himself the expression of "Master of the Elephant," and believed that allusion was made to such as had recently been trodden to death.

"In the name of the most merciful God!

"Hast thou not seen how the Lord dealt with the Masters of the Elephant? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error; and send

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and, when the service was over, he ordered the Imám to be trodden to death by an elephant, for charging him, by insinuation, with tyranny. Moulána Muhammed Bergholi, a learned and saintly personage, high in the Emperor's favour, interceded for the Imám, and pleaded that, being an ignorant man, he did not understand the Koran, and meant no ill. But this interference only further enraged the Emperor, who vented the passion, with which he was still inflamed, in reproaches directed against the intercessor himself; and the sentence was carried into effect. When, however, Humáyun's rage had somewhat evaporated, and when he had leisure for cool reflection, he was seized with the deepest sorrow and remorse, and spent the ensuing night in tears and lamentations.\*

Demonstration in Humáyun's favour from Sind.

Shah Hasan advances towards Patan.

It was, probably, about this time that a demonstration, for the purpose of favouring Humáyun's invasion of Beháder's territories, was made on the side of Sind. The Emperor, when he marched to attack Gujrát, wishing to create a diversion in his favour by a formidable inroad into that kingdom from the north and west, wrote to Shah Hasan, the ruler of Sind, inviting him to lead his army towards Patan, there to await farther orders. With this requisition Shah Hasan complied, and marched, with a considerable force, from Nasirpúr on the Indus, by way of Idphal, towards Patan in Gujrát. Khizer Khan, who was governor of Patan-Nehr-wála, for Beháder, on hearing of his approach, being resolved to make a vigorous defence, directed all the neighbouring cattle to be driven within the inclosure of the town. As soon as Sultan Mahmúd Khan Bhekeri, who commanded the advance of the Sind army, and plundered the country and the villages as he marched along, had arrived, with five hundred cavalry, within about seven kos of the town, he encamped. At the

against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay; and rendered them like the

leaves of corn, eaten by cattle? "

\* Akbernáma, f. 40.





same time, he sent a message to the governor, inviting him to surrender to Shah Hasan, who was on his route to attack him, with a large army; and offered to allow him and his family to leave the town unmolested, and to retire in safety, wherever they might wish to go. Khizr Khan returned for answer, that Beháder Shah was safe in Girnál; and that he, as a faithful subject, would defend to the last extremity the city entrusted to his care. The envoys, who were of the Jháreja tribe, desirous that their mission should not be altogether fruitless, then waited on the governor's mother, to whom they held out the policy of sending some propitiatory offering to the invaders; and prevailed upon her to present the sum of a lak of Firúzsháhís to Shah Hasan, and thirty thousand to Sultan Mahmúd, to induce and enable them to leave the Patan territory, and to march on.

Next morning, Shah Hasan arrived with the main body of his army, near Patan. Sultan Mahimúd, a man of impetuous courage, was eager to be allowed to push forward into Gujrát; but Shah Hasan halted, and sent on messengers to the Emperor to announce his arrival, and to ask farther orders. Meanwhile, Khizr Khan's people arrived with the presents, which seem to have secured the city of Patan from molestation. Sultan Mahmúd, however, extended his plundering excursions to the close vicinity of Mahmúdábád, in Gujrát; and his followers were enriched by the plunder of that wealthy and flourishing country.

His troops  
plunder on  
to Mah-  
múdábád.

Here, the diversion from Sind terminated; Shah Farakh, one of Sultan Hasan's principal generals, having represented to him, that, should Humáyun order the Sind army to join his own, the Arghúns and Terkháns of Sind, who were at present satisfied with their condition,—if they once witnessed the luxury in which the Chaghataís lived, and the wealth gained by the imperial army, in consequence of the division of the royal

He retreats.

Beháder  
Shah at  
Diu.

Negotiates  
with the  
Portuguese.

treasure, — would certainly become discontented; and that many of them would exchange his service for that of the Emperor. Shah Hasan acquiesced in the justice of this representation. He, therefore, dispatched messengers to report to Humáyun, that he had received information that the Kilmiti and Jitwi tribes, invited by the Zemindars of Sind, had entered that country, during his absence, and threatened to throw every thing into confusion; so that his immediate return was indispensable. Without waiting for an answer, he led back his army, by way of Radhanpúr; inflicting severe chastisement on the Jháreja and Sodha tribes, as he went along.\*

When Sultan Beháder fled from Champanír, he took refuge in the island of Diu, on which stood a rich and populous seaport town, as well as a royal palace. It was the great emporium of the coasting trade of that part of India; since it possessed a safe harbour, which saved the necessity of encountering the banks and shallows of the Gulph of Cambay; and Surat had not yet absorbed the commerce of Gujrát. The Portuguese, who, since the discovery of the route to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, aimed at a monopoly of the Indian trade, and had become the tyrants of the west coast, from Ceylon to the Red Sea, were eager to establish themselves at Diu; not only in order to have the command of the Gulph of Cambay,—and of the coast of Gujrát Proper, and of the Kókan on the one side, and of the peninsula of Gujrát and the coast of Kach and Sind on the other,—but to be enabled to intercept the trade of the Persian and Arabian Gulphs with India. Beháder had been, for some time, at war with the Portuguese; but, latterly, had entered into an accommodation with them. In his distress, he was now

\* *Taríkhe Sind*, ff. 149—151. Champanír, A. H. 942-3 (A. D. 1536). This incursion evidently occurred while the Emperor's army lay at





urged by those about him to apply to them for succour. To this he consented, as a measure of temporary relief; though, at the same time, he privately dispatched an embassy to Soliman the Magnificent, the Sultan of Constantinople, with rich presents for the Sultan, valued at six hundred thousand pieces of gold \*, besides large sums of money to pay the auxiliary force that might be sent. Nuño d'Acuña, the Portuguese viceroy, thus called upon, agreed to furnish assistance; but only on condition that he should be allowed to erect a fortification at Diu, for the protection of his fleet, and put in possession of the sea-tower which commanded the entrance of the harbour. These demands he represented as made solely for the necessary security of his troops and shipping; and undertook that his countrymen should levy no duties or customs on ships, whether entering or sailing from the port; and should exercise no act of sovereignty. The King, in his distress, acceded to these terms; and no sooner was his consent given, than the Portuguese, who had long sought in vain to settle at Diu, set to work, and in forty days erected a fortress, which was impregnable, at least to their enemies, and made them in reality masters of the island, and of the trade of the whole coast. The Portuguese affirm, that, in return for this concession, they afforded Beháder Shah the aid of five hundred Europeans, of whom fifty were men of note. †

After the fall of Champanír, the whole country of Gujrát, as far north as the river Myhi or Mehindri, had come into the Emperor's hands, and was occupied by his orders; but so much does he seem to have been engaged in discovering and enjoying the rich treasures of Champanír, that nobody was appointed to conduct the government, or to collect the revenues of the provinces beyond that river ‡, though, in the universal

Anarchy in  
Gujrát.

\* Lafitau, vol. i. p. 213.

‡ Tab. Akberi, f. 386.

† Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 134.

panic that prevailed, they had been altogether abandoned by the officers of Beháder, civil and military. The landholders and raiats in that quarter, left in this singular predicament, wrote to Sultan Beháder, to whom they were still attached, to represent, that the revenues of the country were now due; but that there were no collectors to receive them; and that, if his Majesty would appoint a proper person, they should be paid to him as usual.

Beháder  
 deposes  
 Imád-ul-  
 mulk to  
 collect the  
 revenues.

We are told that Beháder Shah, sitting in council, mentioned the tenor of these letters; and asked, who would repair to Ahmedábád, and undertake the management of this business. All were silent, till Imád-ul-mulk, a distinguished nobleman, who had been a slave of the King's\*, boldly offered himself for the enterprise; but required, as an indispensable condition, that, in consideration of the perturbed state of the country, and of the peculiar exigency of affairs, he should have the sole and absolute power to demand or remit the revenue, to make grants of land, or pay away money, as he judged expedient; without being liable to be called to account at any future time. This being assented to, he set out on his mission, with only two hundred horse; and marched for Ahmedábád. As he went along, he appointed officers to collect the revenues of the province; wrote and delivered grants of land or of pensions to different persons, in whom he could confide, and who had weight in the country; and was joined by them and their followers in such numbers, (especially by the zemindars of Sorath or Kattiwár,) that his force growing as he advanced, by the time he reached Ahmedábád, which he occupied, he found himself at the head of not less than ten thousand horse. He now expended, with open-handed liberality, the revenues which he collected; and, the cause being

Rapid in-  
 crease of  
 his force.

\* Ferishta (iv. p. 80.) calls him f. 148.  
 a Circassian; the Tabakát, a slave,





popular, his army speedily increased to thirty thousand men.\* Mujáhid Khan, the chief of Júnagar, joined him with ten thousand followers; and the army received a valuable reinforcement by the arrival of Beháder's European soldiers.†

When the news of these transactions reached Humáyun, they roused him from the trance of pleasure in which he had too long indulged. Leaving Terdi Beg in charge of Champanír, and having made a second division among his troops of the plunder that had been collected, he marched straight for Ahmedábád, and crossed the Mehindri; Askeri Mírza, with Yádgár Násir Mírza, and Hindú Beg, being ordered to keep one march in advance of the army. Imád-ul-mulk, emboldened by the success that had hitherto attended his exertions, set out from Ahmedábád with his army, now amounting to fifty thousand men; and prepared to meet him. By a forced march, he suddenly, about mid-day, when the heat was most oppressive, and no attack was apprehended, came by surprise upon Askeri Mírza, who was lying, with the advance of the imperial army, between the town of Neriád and Mahmúdábád,—now a heap of ruins, at that time a flourishing city. Yádgár Násir Mírza had taken his ground about a mile to the right; and Hindú Beg his, as much to the left. The Gujráti army came upon Askeri with such expedition, that he had not time to form his troops, which were scattered in all directions; but he retired, with such as were at hand, into a thicket of thorny milk-bush, that was hard by; and there took up a position. The Gujrátis, without following the Mírza or attempting to improve their victory, dispersed to plunder the

Humáyun marches against Imád.

Imád surprises his advanced guard.

\* The Tabakát, ff. 147. 397. says fifty thousand. He is said to have given all who joined him with two horse, one lak Gujráti, 2,500 rupees, according to price. Ma-

homedan Hist. vol. iii. p. 739.

† Akbernáma, f. 40.; Tabakáte Akberi, as above, Ferishta, ii. 80.; iv. 128.; Kháfí Khan.

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Is routed  
by the main  
army.

Humáyun  
at Ahmed-  
ábád.

camp. They gained, indeed, a rich booty; but fell into inextricable disorder. The two wings of the imperial army soon came in sight, marching in battle order. At their approach, the enemy at once abandoned the camp; and Askeri Mírza, at the same time, issuing again from the jungle, reared his standard, beat his kettle-drums, and pressed upon them in their retreat. The Gujrátis were broken and defeated; and were pursued, as far as Ahmedábád, leaving more than two thousand dead on the field. When the Emperor reached the scene of action, he is said to have inquired of Khodáwend Khan\*, who had been in the service of Beháder, and was well acquainted with the composition of his armies, if he should have another battle to fight, or if the business was over. The Khan answered, that, if Imád-ul-mulk was himself in the battle, the business was over; but, if not, that his Majesty might expect another bloody bout. Humáyun sought eagerly to discover how the fact stood; and, from two men, who were lying wounded, he ascertained, with pleasure, that that nobleman had himself commanded in the fight.†

Next day, the imperial army marched forward; Askeri Mírza commanding the advance, as before. When the army reached Kankaria‡ tank, close by Ahmedábád, where it encamped, the Mírza, to whom the Emperor had given the government of that city and the surrounding districts, preferred a request, that the troops should not be allowed indiscriminately to enter the town, as it would be the certain ruin of the place.

\* Khodáwend Khan was the title of Rúmi Khan, now in Humáyun's service.

† Tabakáte Akberi, f. 148.; Akbernáma, f. 40. The only intelligible account of the action is that of Nizám-ed-dín, the author of the Tabakáte Akberi, or Táríkhe Nizámí, who had it from his father,

Muhammed Mokím Hirvi (of Herát), who was then Mírza Askeri's vazír. Abulfazl estimates the loss of the Gujrátis at three or four thousand men. He mentions Alim Khan Lodi, as commanding the Gujrátí left. The accounts of Ferishta and Kháfí Khan are evidently incorrect.

‡ Or, Kúkaría.—Hamilton.





Orders were in consequence issued, to station guards at every gate of the city, and that none but Askeri Mirza and his people should be permitted to enter. The more effectually to preserve the inhabitants from injury, the Emperor led his army across the Sabramati, so as to interpose that river between his camp and the city; and took post at the beautiful village of Sirkích, still an object of interest, from the splendid tombs of the kings of Gujrát, which it contains. From his headquarters there, accompanied by his principal officers, he visited the magnificent palaces, mosques, and colleges of his new capital, which was then certainly one of the richest and noblest in the world.

The conquest of Gujrát being now nearly complete, the Emperor turned his thoughts to the settlement of the country and the preservation of what he had gained. Askeri Mirza retained Ahmedábád, and was raised to the dignity of viceroy. The veteran Hindú Beg, with a large force, was to act as minister and commander-in-chief, and to send or carry assistance wherever the exigencies of the service required. Terdi Beg retained Champanír; Yádgár Násir Mirza had the district of Patan-Nehrwála; Kásim Husein Sultan, Uzbek, had Barúch and Nousári, with the port of Surat; Dost Beg Ishekágha \* had Cambay and Baróda; and Mír Bochak Beháder, Mahmúdábád.†

His arrangements for the government of Gujrát.

It appears to have been at this crisis that the Emperor was urged by some of his counsellors, especially by Hindú Beg, to make some permanent settlement of the affairs of Gujrát, so as to enable him to march back, with the great body of his army, to the provinces of the Ganges, which, while he was overrunning Malwa and Gujrát, were already suffering deeply from the miseries of invasion and revolt. Their advice was, to

Advice of Hindú Beg.

\* Chamberlain.

giving Barúch to Hindú Beg, and Baróda to Kásim Husein Sultan.

† The Tabakát makes a different allotment of some of these places,

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set apart a sum equal to one or two years' pay of his troops, to reserve the rest for future exigencies, and to restore Sultan Beháder, nominally, to the throne of Gujrát. This, they affirmed, would not only add to his reputation for generosity, but would enable him to govern that country in the easiest and most peaceful way, and at the same time to provide for the safety of his other dominions. The Emperor, however, could not bear the idea of appearing to give up kingdoms, on the conquest of which he valued himself so much. The future history of his reign proves that the advice was a sound one. It was impossible, with the force that he possessed, to maintain kingdoms so extensive and so scattered as he now occupied, especially as the natives of Gujrát showed a decided partiality for the old dynasty of their kings. Situated as he then was, Beháder would probably have consented to become his vassal, and to have left in his hands the principal forts of the kingdom.

Alarming  
 intelligence  
 from Agra,

Humáyun, after having divided the country among his Amírs, pushed on towards Diu in pursuit of Beháder Shah, who had taken refuge there. Scarcely, however, had he reached Dandúka, about thirty kos from Ahmedábád, when he was overtaken by expresses from Agra, bringing him the most alarming intelligence. His long absence from his capital, and the great distance to which he had marched with the main body of his army, so as to be almost lost sight of, had encouraged the disaffected to rise in several quarters. The Afgháns in Behar and in the East were again active. Muhammed Sultan Mírza, assisted by his sons, Ulugh and Shah Mírzas, had made himself master of the country from Kanauj to Juánpúr, and caused the Khútba to be read in his own name. Symptoms of commotion and revolt had begun to show themselves even in the provinces on the Jamna, and close around Agra. Dispatches of similar import followed in rapid

and from  
 Malwa.





succession from different parts of Malwa, conveying information that Sekander Khan and Milu Khan, hereditary chieftains in that kingdom, recovering themselves from their discomfiture, had made an irruption into the territory of Hindia, on the Nerbáda, which they had plundered, and compelled Mehter Zambúr, his governor, to quit his capital for Ujein; that the imperial troops, who had been stationed in various parts of Malwa, unable to keep the field, had thrown themselves into Ujein, where they were besieged; and finally, that Derwísh Ali, the governor, having been killed by a musket shot, the garrison, in despair of not being able to hold out till they were relieved, had capitulated.

On receiving this unwelcome news, the Emperor determined to retrace his steps. His plan now was, to make Mándu, as being a central position, his permanent head-quarters, till he had cleared Malwa of invaders, reduced to order the kingdom of Gujrát, which he considered as substantially subdued, and suppressed the commotions and revolt in the vicinity of Agra. Setting out, on his return, therefore, he left Mirza Askeri, his brother, in the government of Gujrát, assisted by Hindú Beg and other experienced officers; and marched, by Cambay, Baróda, and Barúch, to the town of Surat. Thence, he proceeded to Malwa, taking a circuitous route by way of Búranpúr, where he staid eight days. The kings of Ahmednagar and Berár, on hearing of his march, sent him letters congratulating him on his successes. He proceeded on his route, passing close under the strong fort of Asír, and at length reached Mándu. The report of his approach had induced the invaders to hasten back to their former retreat; so that the country was soon restored to a

Humáyun  
returns to  
Mándu.

Tranquil-  
ization of  
Malwa.

\* "It was during this march that Khondemí, the author of the *Kabil-us-Seir*, died in his camp. The remains of this eminent person

were conveyed to Delhi, and interred in the same vault with Amír Khosrou and Sheikh Nizam-ed-dim Oulfa." Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 81.



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state of tranquillity. He was fond of the climate of Malwa, and lingered there with pleasure. He established several of his most confidential servants in the province, by bestowing on them estates and jágirs; and his affairs once more seemed to assume a promising aspect.





## CHAPTER II.

## AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA.

## SECTION IV.

## LOSS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA.

REACTION IN GUJRÁT, IN FAVOUR OF BEHÁDER. — SURAT OCCUPIED IN HIS NAME — AND BARÚCH — AND CAMBAY — AND PATAN. — INDECISION OF THE IMPERIAL GENERALS — GHÁZANFER DESERTS. — BEHÁDER ADVANCES TOWARDS AHMEDÁBÁD. — DANGER OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY. — DISAFFECTION OF MÍRZA ASKERI — AND THE CHIEFS. — PRECIPITATE RETREAT FROM AHMEDÁBÁD. — PURSUIT BY BEHÁDER. — THE MÍRZA AND HIS ARMY AT CHAMPANÍR. — TERDI BEG REFUSES TO ADMIT THEM. — THEY MARCH TOWARDS AGRA. — BEHÁDER TAKES CHAMPANÍR — AND RECOVERS ALL GUJRÁT. — HUMÁYUN INTERCEPTS ASKERI, IN RÁJPUTÁNA. — THEY RETURN TO AGRA. — STATE OF THE GANGETIC PROVINCES. — SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF HINDAL MÍRZA. — LOSS OF MALWA. — BEHÁDER SHAH AND THE PORTUGUESE. — DEATH OF BEHÁDER. — FATE OF DIU. — ALLEGED REAPPEARANCE OF BEHÁDER. — HIS ADHERENTS RETIRE TO AHMEDÁBÁD. — HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

BUT this was only a transient gleam of prosperity. Gujrát had been overrun, indeed, but it was far from being settled. The conquerors were still considered in the light of strangers and marauders. Hardly had Humáyun turned his back on the province, when revolt began to show itself. Beháder Shah had succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Portuguese, by which they agreed to furnish him an auxiliary force. He was also busy in raising a body of five or six thousand Habshi or

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Reaction in  
Gujrát in  
favour of  
Beháder.

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Surat occupied in his  
name ;

and Ba-  
rúch ;

Abyssinian slaves.\* His partizans, within the country, were not idle. Rúm Khan Sefer, the engineer who had conducted the building of Surat castle †, seems to have shut himself up in it ; and another officer established a fortified position near Nousári, at the mouth of the Tapti ‡ ; and they maintained themselves against the invaders, by the aid of the Gujráti fleet. These officers, being joined by Khan Jehán Shirázi, now ventured to act in concert, on the offensive ; drove Abdalla Khan, a relation of Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, the governor of the district, from the Nousári territory, after he had held it little more than three months ; and seized the city of Surat. Abdalla Khan retreated to Barúch, the seat of Kásim Husein's government ; while, following up their success, Khan Jehán marched his troops by land towards Barúch, at the same time that Rúmi Khan, with the ships §, in which were embarked the heavy baggage and artillery, sailed round the coast and ascended the Nerbáda to that town. Kásim Husein, not prepared for such an attack, abandoned the place, and retired towards Champanír, whence he proceeded to Ahmedábád, to solicit assistance from Askeri Mírza, the viceroy, and Hindú Beg, the commander-in-chief.

But these were not the only enemies whom the partizans of Humáyun had to encounter. Syed Ishák, who received from Beháder Shah the title of Shitáb

\* The Habshis are properly Abyssinians ; but negroes of all descriptions are often, in common speech, so called.

† General Briggs, Ferishta, (as well as Major Price, Retrospect of Mahomedan History, vol. iii. p. 726. note) supposes that Surat castle was built by Rúmi Khan Khodá-wend Khan, who was Beháder's engineer at the siege of Cheitúr, and who afterwards conducted the siege of Chunár for Humáyun. But Rúmi Khan was a common name for chief engineers, who were fre-

quently Rúmis or Osmanli Turks. The builder of Surat castle, buried near the Mírza Shámi mosque at Surat, is not Khodáwend Khan, (who died at Chunár, after the fall of that place, a deserter from the Gujrát service,) but Rúmi Khan Sefer (Akbernáma, f. 41.) who was with Beháder Shah at the time of his death, and who, as here mentioned in the text, retook Surat and Barúch.

‡ Or, Tápi.

§ Grabs.





Khan, had recovered Cambay; and all Gujrát was soon in arms and hostile. Askeri Mírza, seeing the danger approach so near, summoned Yádgár Násir Mírza, who held Patan-Nehrwála, to attend him at Ahmedábád. The Mírza obeyed the call; but, in the meanwhile, the troops\* which Beháder had left behind in the north and east, at Raisen, Rantambór, Ajmír, and Cheitúr, — at the time of his discomfiture and precipitate flight from Malwa, — and the followers of some native chiefs, who still adhered to his interest, having formed a junction, advanced in great force, by a circuitous route on the north, through the Rájpút country, to meet Beháder at Diu; and, hearing that the town of Patan was left without a garrison, took possession of it. They now sent to inform Beháder Shah of their approach, their numbers, and success; and offered to attack Yádgár Násir Mírza. The Sultan, however, ordered them to engage in no offensive operations till he joined them, which he did soon after.

and Cam-  
bay;

and Patan.

There appears, at this time, a great want of decision among those who conducted the Emperor's affairs in Gujrát; but as many of the generals were veterans of undoubted talent, and as the same want of success appears in other quarters, the blame probably lay on Humayún, and on the ministers who concerted the general plan of operations, by which the force of the Empire was frittered down, and dispersed over situations very remote from each other. Want of success was speedily followed by its inseparable attendant, want of union. The discontent at head-quarters, at Ahmedábád, came to a great height; it even reached the length of a partial defection. The immediate cause was trifling. Mírza Askeri, sitting late one night at a party of pleasure, and being heated with wine, happened boastfully to exclaim, "I am a king, and the shadow of

Indecision  
of the im-  
perial gene-  
rals.

\* The Miráte Ahmedi makes thousand. Bird's transl. p. 249.  
their numbers amount to forty

A. D. 1536.

Desertion  
of Gházan-  
fer.

Beháder  
advances  
towards  
Ahmedáb-  
bád.

Danger of  
the impe-  
rial army.

Disaffection  
of Mírza  
Askeri and  
the chiefs.

God." Gházanfer\*, a nobleman of rank, and his own foster-brother, whispered to one who sat by him, "That may well be, for he is not himself."† The person to whom the words were addressed, smiled; which the Mírza observing, insisted on knowing the cause; and, when told, was extremely incensed, and placed Gházanfer in confinement. In a few days that officer made his escape, or was released, and deserted, with three hundred horse, to Sultan Beháder, whom he strongly incited to march upon Ahmedábád, assuring him that he was well acquainted with the counsels of the enemy, who were all most anxious to retreat, and were only looking for a pretext. "If you have any doubts," said he, "put me in confinement; march against the Moghuls; and, if they meet you in the field, then punish me as you please." Many invitations coming to Beháder, at the same time, from his numerous adherents in the districts, all urging him to march to their relief, he was finally induced to move upon Ahmedábád. Everywhere he was received by the people with tumultuous acclamations of joy; his army swelled as he moved along; and he soon encamped at the town of Sirkech, nearly opposite to the capital.

The situation of the imperial army, at this time, was one of considerable danger. It was in the midst of a hostile, and probably incensed country. Humáyun's troops had been forced to abandon all the principal towns, except Champanír. They had now, however, been concentrated; and Mírza Askeri,—the viceroy, with Hindú Beg, Yádgár Násir Mírza, and Kasim Husein Sultan Uzbek, his principal officers,—encamped at Sirganj, near Asáwel, a suburb of Ahmedábád, on the left bank of the Sabramati, with nearly twenty thousand horse, facing Beháder Shah. It is alleged, that, at this momentous crisis, Hindú Beg strongly

\* He was the brother of Kásim Khan.

† Or, "but he is not an autocrat," (self-governed).





advised Askeri Mírza, as the only way of preserving Gujráť, to assume the ensigns of royalty, and to declare himself independent; arguing, that not only would this declaration encourage the inhabitants to join him, by the hope of more effectual protection, but that his own soldiers, having their king among them, would be elevated to much higher exertion and daring, and would more cheerfully devote themselves to his service. Askeri Mírza hesitated; but finally rejected the advice, at least in the form in which it was offered.

It does, however, appear that, at a council in which were met Askeri, Yádgár, Hindú Beg, and all the principal Amírs then in Gujráť, Terdi Beg excepted, it was the general opinion that, as Humáyun persisted in remaining at Mándu, and sent them no assistance, it was vain, as matters stood, to think of resisting Beháder Shah in the field; and, acting under the influence of the discontent and disaffection\* produced by existing circumstances, they resolved to march to Champanír; to seize upon the treasure; to proceed to Agra; and there declare Askeri Mírza Emperor, and Hindú Beg visír; assigning, at the same time, suitable appointments to all the other Mírzas and officers who joined them. A retreat was accordingly resolved upon, only three days after they had encamped at Sirganj, over against Beháder.

It happened, on the last of these days, that a shot from one of the Mírza's guns struck the audience-tent of the Sultan, and threw it down. Enraged at the occurrence he sent for Gházanfer, that he might deal with him in terms of his own agreement. Gházanfer entreated that the sentence might be deferred till the armies were fairly drawn out; adding, that he still maintained his former opinion, and had sure information that the Mírza was to retreat in the course of the night.

Precipitate  
retreat  
from Ah-  
medábád.

\* Tabakáte Akberi, f. 397.



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And, accordingly, the Mírza and his Amírs did retreat, without fighting, and with such precipitation and confusion that they left behind them, not only their stores and heavy baggage, but even their private baggage and wearing apparel ; and made a forced march of ten kos, on the road to Champanír. A retreat, under such circumstances, while it emboldened the enemy, disheartened their own adherents, and threatened irretrievable ruin to their affairs.

Pursuit by  
Beháder.

This sudden change roused the activity of Beháder Shah, who had entered upon the campaign with many uneasy forebodings. He now pursued the retreating foe. His advanced body, commanded by Syed Mobárek Bokhári, came up with the imperial rear, under Yádgár Násir Mírza. Yádgár halted his troops, wheeled round, and met the pursuers bravely. A severe action ensued. The Mírza's troops displayed great gallantry ; many of the advance were slain, and others fell wounded into the Mírza's hands. The enemy did not follow beyond Mahmúdábád ; and Yádgár, unmolested, rejoined the main body of his own army. Askeri Mírza continued his retreat in a state of discouragement and alarm, and with such confusion that many of his soldiery were drowned in crossing the Mehindri, which lay in his route. Beháder Shah advanced as far as that river, and halted.\*

The Mírza  
and his  
army at  
Champanír.

Terdi Beg  
refuses to  
admit  
them.

When the Mírza reached Champanír in his disastrous retreat, Terdi Beg, the governor, who had heard of the plans of defection that had been debated in his council, and had communicated them to the Emperor, received him with caution ; and, while he gave the troops all the assistance in his power, did not suffer them to enter the fort. The day after their arrival, the Mírzas sent to inform the Beg, that they and the army under their command were in a state of the most complete destitu-

\* For the preceding events, consult the Akbernáma, f. 41. ; Tabakát-e Akberi, f. 148. 397. ; Ferishta,

vol. ii, p. 81. ; Bird's Miráte Ahmedi, pp. 248—250. ; Jouher, c. 2.





tion; and, therefore, called upon him to supply them with some part of the public treasure preserved in the fort, that the troops might be put in a condition to take the field. When the governor declined to touch the treasure, without his Majesty's express commands, they insisted that, as an express sent to the Emperor at Mándu would reach him in six days, and as there could be no doubt of his Majesty's sanctioning an appropriation of such indispensable necessity for his affairs, he should in the meanwhile make the advance on his own authority. But Terdi Beg, who had no desire to put the Mírza's army into a condition that would have enabled it more effectually to injure the Emperor, refused to consent. In this extremity, Askeri's chief Amírs determined to seize Terdi Beg, to take possession of the fort and the whole treasure, and at once openly to raise the Mírza to the throne. Should their attempt upon Champanír fail, they agreed to push on nevertheless for Agra, which was left defenceless; and trusted that they could reach it before Humáyun. While these consultations were going on, Terdi Beg had been prevailed upon to come out of the fort, to meet the Mírzas; but, getting some accidental intimation of a plan to seize his person and the fort, he turned back and sent to announce to them, that he could no longer suffer the army to remain where it was, and summoned them to remove it beyond range of his guns. They promised to comply, but asked for a previous conference on the present urgent state of affairs. Aware of their intentions, he absolutely declined any interview; and, as they did not move their camp, he next morning did fire upon them, as he had threatened. The Mírzas, thus disappointed, made their troops defile by the Kerji Ghat, and took the road to Agra, — abandoning Gujrát, after it had been occupied little more than nine months.

They  
march to-  
wards Agra.  
A. H. 943;  
A. D. 1536.

As long as the imperial army halted at Champanír,

A.D. 1536-7.

Beháder  
takes  
Cham-  
panír ;

Beháder Shah did not venture to cross the Mahendri, which is only fifteen kos distant ; but no sooner did it march in the direction of Agra, than he moved forward and advanced to Champanír. In spite of the strength of the fort, and of its being, it is said, amply supplied with provisions and stores to support a siege, Terdi Beg abandoned the place, and withdrew on capitulation, taking along with him as much of the treasure as he had the means of transporting. He may in this have followed the orders of Humáyun ; and, indeed, in the present state of affairs, and with the prospect of retreating from Malwa, the only effect of resistance would be the inevitable destruction of the garrison, and the loss of the whole treasure. The town and fort were immediately occupied by Beháder Shah, who thus saw himself once more in possession of the whole kingdom of Gujrát.

and re-  
covers all  
Gujrát.

Terdi Beg, on leaving Champanír, repaired directly to Mándu, where he was received with distinction by the Emperor, to whom he had acted a faithful part. To prevent the conspirators from executing their new purpose, Humáyun pushed forward by forced marches for Agra, taking the route of Cheitúr. By a fortunate accident, the two armies met in the Cheitúr territory, while on their march. The Mírzas, taken by surprise, saw no remedy but to feign submission and obedience. The Emperor, being in many respects in equal difficulties with themselves, shut his eyes to the past, affected to be satisfied with their explanations, and bestowed upon them princely presents. The united army then marched towards Agra, where its presence was imperiously required.\*

Humáyun  
intercepts  
Askeri in  
Rájpútana.

They re-  
turn to  
Agra.

\* Akbernáma, f. 41. ; Tabakát-e Akberi, ff. 149. 397. ; Ferishta, v. ii. pp. 82, 83. ; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 140. ; Jouher, c. 2. Jouher, in the original, does not affirm that Yádgár went *privately* to the go-

vernor, or that he alleged *the King's orders*, as in transl. p. 7. His words are, "Násir Mírza comes into the fort of Champanír, and says to Terdi Beg, 'Give me the treasures.' Terdi Beg answers,





One of the chief reasons that had drawn Humáyūn from Gujrát was the state of Behár, and the eastern provinces. Since Muhammed Shah Loháni and Sultan Mahmúd Lodi had both been driven out of them, and disappeared from the theatre of public affairs, new candidates for royalty had started up, and collected the discontented Afgháns, who were still numerous and powerful. Shír Khan Súr, had gradually overrun all the countries on the southern or Behár side of the Ganges; and Muhammed Sultan Mírza, after his escape from prison, had raised the standard of revolt in the upper provinces. The long absence of the Emperor had latterly encouraged them to act with the greater boldness and security. Muhammed Sultan, having gained possession of a great portion of the countries on the left bank of the Ganges, had fixed the seat of his government at Belgrám, opposite to Kanauj, and had gained sufficient strength to send his son, Ulugh Mírza, with a large force to besiege Juánpúr; while Shah Mírza, another of his sons, reduced Karra-Mánikpúr. Kanauj too had fallen into his hands.

Hindal Mírza, whom the Emperor had left in command at Agra, marched to quell this revolt, and soon retook Kanauj. As soon as Muhammed Sultan Mírza heard of his approach, he called in all his detachments, and was joined by Shah Mírza, while Ulugh Mírza wrote to say, that he would hasten with all possible speed to meet him; at the same time urging him not to hazard a battle till his arrival. Muhammed Sultan and Shah Mírza, encamping on the left bank of the river, used every exertion to obstruct the passage of the imperial army. Hindál, however, eager to engage the enemy before Ulugh Mírza could join them, having discovered a ford ten miles\* above Kanauj, left his camp standing, and effected a passage, unobserved,

'Without the Emperor's orders I cannot give them,' and he sent off an express to His Majesty," &c.

\* Five kos.

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with all his troops. The two armies soon met face to face; but when they were on the point of engaging, a strong north-wester \* rising, blew such clouds of dust right in the eyes of the insurgents that they could not keep their position. The imperial troops, who had the wind on their backs, availing themselves of their advantage, pressed hard upon the enemy, whose retreat was soon converted into a flight. Hindal, after taking possession of Belgrám and the surrounding country, pursued the remainder of their army, as they marched to form a junction with Ulugh Mirza. He overtook them at Oud, where Muhammed Sultan and his sons, having concentrated all their force, halted to check his advance. The two armies lay opposed to each other for nearly two months, when news arrived, that Humáyun had left Mándu, and was on his way back to Agra. This decided Muhammed Sultan to bring on an action, as his only chance of safety. He marched out of his trenches; an engagement ensued, in which the imperial troops had the advantage. The insurgents, dispirited by their continued want of success, began to despair, and soon after dispersed. Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and three of his sons, fled to Kuch-Behár †; while Mirza Hindal, following up his advantage, went on to Juánpúr. Having soon after heard of Humáyun's arrival at the capital, he left the army and joined his brother there. ‡

Loss of  
Malwa.

Meanwhile, the Emperor was less fortunate on the side of Malwa. No sooner was it known in the surrounding countries that he was on his march back to Agra, than Bhopal Rai, the chief of Bijagar, a district that lies to the east of Malwa, finding that no garrison was left in Mándu, entered and occupied the place. There he was speedily joined by Milu Khan, who

\* Bád-e-kibla.

‡ Akbernáma, f. 41.; Jouher,

† Jouher has Koh-Khanda Behár c. 2.  
near Parnián (or, Parbatíán).





aspired to the throne, which he ascended under the title of Káder Shah; and by Mirán Muhammed Fárúki of Kandesh. As the Emperor's troops appear to have been entirely withdrawn, they met with no opposition anywhere, and soon took possession of the whole country; and thus the kingdom of Malwa, as well as that of Gujrát, slipped from the unsteady grasp of Humáyun.\*

But while the course of events was thus once more so favourable to Beháder Shah, that monarch was not doomed long to enjoy his prosperity. Fourteen days after the fall of Champanír, he hastened back to Diu. His negotiations with the Portuguese had become complicated. When his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, he had received some assistance from them, as has been mentioned; and, at the same time, had sent rich presents to the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, inviting him to come to his aid with a more powerful force. The Viceroy, Nuño d'Acuña, had accordingly obeyed his call, and set sail from Goa and Chewel, with a large fleet and army. But when he reached the coast of Gujrát, understanding that the Emperor of Delhi's troops had in the interval been driven out of the country, he began to apprehend, that, as his services were no longer necessary, he might not gain those advantages to himself and his followers, and that increase of territory to his country, which he had anticipated. Some quarrels had arisen before the King's arrival, between the Portuguese and his officers, in consequence of the insulting pretensions and encroaching spirit of the former. Beháder would gladly have seen his troublesome allies removed from Diu, where the building of the new fort was hurried on upon a plan infinitely more extensive than had been reckoned upon. Both parties, however, dissembled their feelings.

Transactions between Beháder Shah and the Portuguese.

A. H. 943,  
A. D. 1537.

\* Akbernáma, ut supra.

A. D. 1537.

Death of  
 Beháder.

Ramzán 3,  
 Feb. 13.

Beháder Shah, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Diu, attempted to restore confidence by acting with the utmost frankness, putting himself boldly in the power of the governor of the castle, and visiting him in his fort. The Viceroy, who arrived off Diu about this time, appears to have blamed the governor for not availing himself of the opportunity thus offered to seize the King, for the purpose of extorting from him the cession of some towns and sea-ports which he was anxious to possess. To repair this oversight, D'Acuña feigned sickness, and sent a message to inform Beháder, who had spent some days in the vicinity in hunting, that he was come, at his call, with powerful succours, and would wait upon him as soon as his health allowed. The Sultan, thrown off his guard, or perhaps suspecting no ill as intending none, laid ceremony aside, and towards the close of the day rowed off from the shore, with only a few attendants and went aboard the admiral's ship, to visit him, and to inquire after his health. No sooner, however, did he see the Viceroy, than he plainly perceived that his illness was a mere pretence, and felt vexed that he had gone. The Viceroy, on his part, had probably been taken unprepared by Beháder's sudden and unexpected appearance. During the conversation that ensued, a page came in and whispered something in his ear. In the state of mind in which the King then was, this little incident increased his uneasiness and excited his suspicion. He continued to sit, however, though the intercourse was forced and constrained; till the Viceroy, rising, requested to be excused for a few moments, as he wished to show his Majesty some presents that were intended for his acceptance, and left the cabin. This confirmed the suspicions of the King, who hurriedly intimating a desire that they might be sent after him, started up and hastened to his boat. He reached it and put off; when Emanuel de Souza, the governor of Diu castle,





coming up in his barge \*, invited him to visit the new fortifications. Rúmi Khan Sefer, who was in the boat with the King, advised him to decline the invitation, as treachery was probably intended; but the King desired de Souza to come into the boat. De Souza, in attempting to step from his own barge into the King's, fell into the sea, but was taken up by Beháder's attendants. This occasioned considerable bustle and confusion; the cause was unknown, but the act of dragging de Souza into the boat, was observed by the Portuguese in the numerous vessels that lay on every side. Hastily concluding that an attempt was made upon their countrymen's life, in their eagerness to succour him, they closed round the King's boat, into which some of them leaped. The instant consequence was uproar and menace; blows speedily succeeded. Beháder, totally unprepared for such an occurrence, and now confirmed in his suspicions of treachery, threw himself into the sea, and was followed by Rúmi Khan. After swimming for some time towards the shore, as he approached a Portuguese vessel, one of the officers held out an oar to assist him in getting in; when a soldier who stood by, struck him on the face with a halbert, and his example was imitated by others of his comrades, who repeated their blows, till Beháder sank dead in the water. Rúmi Khan was saved by a Portuguese to whom, on some former occasion, he had shown kindness. De Souza, the governor, was struck and fell overboard, during the scuffle in the King's boat. Neither his body nor that of the King could be found.†

This scene passed before the eyes of the inhabitants Fate of Diu.

\* Abulfazl's account is, that a Feringi magistrate, (Kazi Fering) by which, I suppose, the governor de Souza is meant, having stepped before him as he left the Viceroy, insisted on his remaining; upon which the Sultan, drawing his sabre, cut him down, and leapt into his

own boat; seeing this, the Portuguese boats that were around closed in, and Beháder and Rúmi leaped into the sea.

† Akbernáma, ff. 41, 42.; Tabakát-e Akberi, ff. 397, 398.; Feringishta, and General Briggs's note, vol. iv. pp. 130—141.

of Diu. They were filled with alarm at the sight; and, as they concluded that their town would be instantly plundered by the Portuguese, leaving their houses, and abandoning all their property, they rushed in such numbers to escape from the place, that many were crushed to death in the crowds that overflowed at the gates; while numbers were drowned in crossing the narrow channel that separates the island from the mainland. The Viceroy left no effort untried to quiet the fears of the survivors, and to bring back the rich traders and other inhabitants of the town; but at the same time he took possession of the King's palace, the arsenals, and all the public magazines. Only a small sum in money was said to have been found by the officers commissioned to take possession of the treasury\*; which gave rise to the belief, that they, as well as the Viceroy himself, were guilty of extensive embezzlement; but the jewels, furniture, artillery and stores certainly seized, are said to have been of immense value; besides an hundred and twenty ships, which also fell into their hands.† Each party charged the other with treachery

\* Lafitau, vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

† Beháder Shah was the most magnificent, and for some time the most fortunate, prince of his age. When first driven from Champanír, in his despair, he had resolved to abdicate the throne and pass the rest of his life at Mekka. The Turkish historian, Ferdi, according to Chevalier de Hammer, "relates," says General Briggs, "that when Beháder Shah was compelled to retreat to Diu, he sent his family and the royal jewels to Medina. They consisted of three hundred iron chests, the accumulated wealth acquired from the Hindu princes of Junagar, Champanír, Abugar, and Cheitúr, and also the property of the kings of Malwa. These gorgeous treasures never returned to India,

but fell into the hands of the Grand Signior of Constantinople, who, from their possession, became entitled to the appellation of Soliman the Magnificent. The celebrated waist-belt, valued at three millions of aspers, which had been three times taken and retaken in the wars of India, was sent to Soliman, by the ambassador whom Beháder Shah deputed to Constantinople to solicit the aid of the Grand Signior against Humáyun." Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 141.

The original accounts of the death of the Sultan, as given by the principal Indian and Portuguese authorities, have been extracted at considerable length by Gen. Briggs, (iv. pp. 131—141.) who concludes, that Beháder and the Viceroy "were





in this melancholy affair. That Beháder, if actuated by evil intentions, should have put himself unattended in the power of his enemy, seems hardly credible. The Viceroy, without desiring his death, would probably have willingly seen him his prisoner. The catastrophe was evidently brought on prematurely, by accidental circumstances. The conduct of the Portuguese after the event, may be held as the best proof of their disposition before it. The spirit which in that age regulated the proceedings of Europeans towards the princes of America or of Asia and their subjects, was that of the most unprincipled cruelty and rapacity; in no degree superior to that of the buccaneers of a later period. The Portuguese have kept possession of Diu, thus acquired, from that time to the present day.

Sultan Beháder was only about thirty years of age, and had reigned between eleven and twelve years, when he was cut off. The internal confusion and misery which followed made his subjects long look back with regret to the splendid, and, in general, tranquil period of his reign; while the deplorable circumstances attending his death, which deprived him of all funeral honours, produced a belief, in this as in several similar instances fondly indulged by the common people, that the King

Alleged re-  
appearance  
of Beháder.

resolved each to seize the other, that the followers of both knew the intentions of their respective masters, and suspected the opposite party; so that nothing was wanting to bring about bloodshed but such an affray as arose, originating entirely out of an accident, which blew the embers of suspicion and mistrust into a blaze, and produced the melancholy result which has been related." *Ibid.*

p. 141. I have taken rather a different view of the subject. I see no evidence that Beháder had formed any design against the person of the Viceroy. In case of need he probably would not have been very

scrupulous as to the means he employed to defeat the aims of the Portuguese; but, in fact, his whole conduct was conciliatory. He put himself unarmed and defenceless into the power of his enemy. He was passive in the whole affair. No overt act of treachery on his part appears. He had little to gain by seizing the Viceroy; it would only have transferred the command to the next in rank. The case was different had the Viceroy got the King into his power. The Portuguese, by their conduct after the event, threw light on their intentions before it.

was not really dead, and would one day return to govern his dominions with glory. Many pretended that he reached the shore; and there were various reports of his reappearance, on different occasions, both in Gujrát and the Dekkan. It was, in particular, currently reported and believed that a person appeared in Nizám-ul-múl's territory, whom that prince acknowledged as Beháder Shah, and as such played with him at chougán\*; that, a crowd gathering about him, the concourse of people was marked by the Nizam with some uneasiness; and the same night the stranger disappeared from his tent, having been put to death, as was conjectured, by that prince. It is added, that Múlla Kútbed-dín, of Shiráz, who had been Beháder's preceptor, was then in the Dekhan, and conversed with the stranger, and that he affirmed, with the most solemn asseverations, that it was Beháder, and that he reminded the Mírza of many incidents of which they alone were cognizant.†

His mother and nobles retire to Ahmedábád.

As soon as the death of Beháder was ascertained, the Portuguese viceroy sent to Makhdúma Jehan, the King's mother, at once to condole with her on the melancholy event, and to remove all blame from himself. He ascribed the whole unfortunate affair to unpremeditated and unforeseen accident, and offered to lend her any assistance which it might be in his power to afford at the present juncture. But she rejected his offers with indignation, considering him as the murderer of her son; and, accompanied by the Prince of Asír, and the principal nobles, set out for Ahmedábád.

His immediate successors,

While they were on the road, and while all Beháder's household and family were overwhelmed with sorrow, Múhammed Zemán Mírza, who had returned from the fruitless expedition against Lahúr, on which he had been sent by the late king after the dispersion at Mandsúr, fell in with them, and professing the deepest distress, joined the camp, under pretence of assisting in the usual rites

\* Horse-shinty.

† Akbernáma, f. 42.





of mourning. By his show of sympathy, and his soothing attentions, he so far insinuated himself into the queen-mother's favour, that she is said to have been prevailed upon to adopt him as her son. He succeeded in seizing a large portion of the public treasures of Gujrát from those who had charge of them; though, of the royal treasure and stores in Diu, part had been plundered during the confusion, and the rest had fallen into the hands of d'Acuña. He at first made a show of revenging the murder of Beháder on the Portuguese; but soon after, observing the extent of their power, he altered his plan, courted their support, and sought, by large sums of money, to induce them to proclaim him Sultan. In this he at last succeeded, the khutba being read in his name in the Sefa Mosque, at Diu, under their authority. He collected an army of twelve thousand men, Moghuls and Hindustánis, and for some time maintained the style of a sovereign prince. But Imád-ul-múlk, supported by the nobles of Gujrát, having proclaimed Mirán Muhammed Shah Farúki, of Khándesh, a sister's son of Beháder's, who was at that time driving the imperial troops from Malwa, to be King of Gujrát, marched against Muhammed Zemán, attacked and dispersed his forces, and compelled him to fly to Sind. Muhammed Zemán did not remain long there, as his presence was far from being agreeable to Shah Hasan, the ruler of that country; so that he, at last, found himself under the necessity of once more returning to Hindustán, and of throwing himself on the clemency of the offended Humáyun. The new king, Mirán Muhammed Shah, reigned only six weeks, and was succeeded by Mahmúd Khan, another nephew of Beháder Shah, who reigned several years under the name of Mahmúd Shah. He was a son of Beháder's brother, Latíf Khan, who was at that time a prisoner in Burhánpúr.\*

A. H. 944.  
A. D. 1538.

\* Akbernáma, f. 42.; Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 142—144.

## CHAPTER III.

### AFFAIRS OF KHORÁSÁN AND KANDAHÁR.

STATE OF KHORÁSÁN. — INROADS OF OBEID KHAN, AND THE UZBEKS. — THEY ARE EXPELLED FROM KHORÁSÁN. — AGAIN OVERRUN IT — AND BESIEGE HERÁT — WHICH IS RELIEVED BY SHAH TAHMASP. — THE UZBEKS ONCE MORE EXPELLED. — JÁM MÍRZA IN HERÁT AND KANDAHÁR. — SIEGE OF THE LATTER PLACE. — RAISED BY KÁMRÁN — WHO ROUTS THE INVADERS. — ATTEMPTS ON LÁHÚR, BY MUHAMMED ZEMÁN MÍRZA. — NEW INVASION OF KHORÁSÁN BY THE UZBEKS. — OBEID KHAN BESIEGES MESHHÍD — AND HERÁT — WHICH IS PILLAGED. — ADVANCE OF SHAH TAHMASP — AND RETREAT OF THE UZBEKS. — TAHMASP OCCUPIES KANDAHÁR — WHICH IS RETAKEN BY KÁMRÁN.

#### BOOK IV.

State of  
Khorásán,  
A. H. 935,  
A. D. 1529.

Inroads of  
Obeid Khan  
and the  
Uzbeks.

WHILE these events were passing in Malwa and Gujrat, Khorásán and the Persian frontier were the scene of important transactions. After the great defeat which the Uzbeks sustained at Jám, about nine years before this time, it was expected that Khorásán would, for a long period, have been delivered from their inroads and invasions. But they were an enemy not easily daunted. That same year, as soon as Shah Tahmasp had quitted the province, Obeid Khan again collected an army, crossed the Amu, and marched against Meshhíd, which he took possession of, after a blockade of two months. Thence he proceeded to Herát, besieged it for seven months, and took it by capitulation. His Sunni zeal is said, by the Persian writers, to have led him to retaliate the Shía persecutions of Shah Ismael and his successor, and even to put to death many of the opposite sect, as Shías and heretics.

They are  
expelled  
from Kho-  
rásán;

Next year, the victorious Uzbek advanced to Farra, which he beleaguered for some time, but without success, so that he was compelled to raise the seige; and, on



A. H. 936,  
A. D. 1530.

hearing of the march of Shah Tahmasp into Khorásán, at the head of seventy thousand men, he hastily abandoned Herát, and retreated to Merv. He summoned all the force of the Uzbeks to join him there; and the Sultans, from beyond the Amu, obeyed his call. But when met, their opinions differed. Kuchum Khan, of Samarkand, the Grand Khan, dying, was succeeded by his son Abusaíd, who set his face against the war, declaring his resolution not to join in it, and advising Obeid to desist. His views were supported by some other chiefs; and Obeid, seeing himself thus deserted, and hearing of the Shah's near approach, turned his back, with an indignant heart, upon Khorásán. Shah Tahmasp, having expelled the enemy, marched to Herát; and the fish-standard of Persia again gleamed over the whole province. Having established his brother Behráw Mírza as viceroy, with Gházi Khan, of the Taklu tribe, as his Protector and Amír-ul-omra, he returned to Irák.

Obeid Khan, though unsupported by the Uzbek confederacy, next year sent a detachment into Khorásán, who marched as far as Meshhíd, but were driven back by the local force. Nothing dismayed, however, by this repulse, he, the following season, again entered the country with a powerful host, having induced the other Uzbeks to join him, and marched straight for the capital, while divisions of his troops overran the provinces of Meshhíd, Asterábád, Sebzáwár and Bostám with various success. For a year and a half, the country was plundered in all directions, and Obeid continued to push on the siege of Herát. Shah Tahmasp, completely and painfully occupied by the rebellion of Aláma Taklu in Azerbáiján, who had called in the Osmanli Turks to his assistance, was unable to succour them. At length, famine began to rage in the besieged capital. The inhabitants were expelled, their provisions, money and property seized by the domineering Taklus, and the floors of their houses dug up to discover hidden trea-

Again over-  
run it :  
A. H. 937,  
A. D. 1531.A. H. 938,  
A. D. 1532.and besiege  
Herát ;

sure. Cats and dogs, and food deemed the most impure, were eagerly eaten. The strength of the troops, who suffered alike from want and fatigue, began to fail. An offer was made to give up the place, provided Obeid would withdraw his troops a march or two, so as to let the garrison quit the city unmolested. He, on the other hand, haughtily insisted that they should march out and defile under his tent-ropes.\* This condition Behráw Mírza and his Taklu allies rejected, and the operations of the siege were continued.

which is  
 relieved by  
 Shah Tah-  
 masp ;

Meanwhile, however, Tahmasp, having quelled the rebellion of Aláma, was proceeding by forced marches to the relief of Herát. A party that he sent out surprised the Uzbeks who were in Asterábád, one morning when most of them were in the bath, put them to death with little resistance, and sent him five hundred heads. The Uzbeks, who held Sebzáwár, were in like manner attacked, but retired fighting bravely, first to Nishapúr, and then to Meshhíd. Abdal-azíz, who was near that city, hurried to Herát with seven thousand horse, to support his father. Obeid did not venture to meet the Shah in the field, and retired to Bokhára, while Shah Tahmasp once more entered Herát, to the great joy of the inhabitants, and spent the winter in the neighbourhood.

and the  
 Uzbeks  
 once more  
 repelled.  
 Jemádi II.  
 2.  
 A.D. 1532,  
 Dec. 30.  
 A. H. 939,  
 A.D. 1533.

In the spring, he sent a division of his troops to reduce the adjoining province of Ghurjistán among the mountains, and was preparing to retaliate upon the Uzbeks by invading Máwer-al-neher, when the news that his grand enemy, Soliman the magnificent, was on his march to attack his dominions in the west, compelled him to relinquish his intention. As the Taklu Turks had been guilty of great oppression during the government of their chief, and were very unpopular, he named his brother, Sám Mírza, to be Viceroy; ap-

\* Tenáb-e-Khíma.





pointing Aghziwár Khan, of the Shamlu tribe, his Protector and Amír-al-omra of Khorásán; then entrusting the defence of the city to the townspeople\*, he set out for Irák.

For rather more than two years, Khorásán enjoyed quiet under Sám Mirza and Aghziwár Khan, as the Uzbeks did not renew their ravages. But, when news reached Herát, of the death of Husein Khan Shamlu, and the destruction of his tribe under the royal indignation, the Mirza, and still more Aghziwár Khan, himself a Shamlu, began to look to rebellion for safety. Collecting money, by extortion and violence in every shape, they raised an army, and resolved to attack Kandahár; proposing, according to the Persian authorities, to erect it, along with Herát, into an independent sovereignty.

We have seen that Humáyun, on the death of his father, had given up the countries from the Satlej to Khorásán, to his brother Kámran Mirza. Early in the summer of 1535, Sám Mirza and his protector Aghziwár Khan, being joined by Sultan Murád Afshár of Farra, advanced with a considerable army, crossed the Hel-mend, and laid siege to Kandahár. The place was bravely defended for eight months by Khwája Kilán, the governor, who had succeeded Askeri Mirza in the management of the province. Kámran Mirza, when apprised of the invasion, marched from Láhúr, and led an army of twenty thousand men to its relief. On his approach, the besiegers retired one march, and encamped. They were attacked, however, in their new position, on the 25th of January, 1536, and defeated with great slaughter, principally by the military skill and bravery of Khwája Kilán. Aghziwár Khan Shamlu, the young prince's Atálik, or Protector, having been thrown from his horse, was taken prisoner and put to

Sám Mirza  
in Herát  
and Kanda-  
hár.

A. H. 941,  
A. D. 1535.

Siege of the  
latter place;

raised by  
Kámran  
Mirza;

A. H. 942,  
Shábán 1,  
A. D. 1536,  
Jan. 25,  
who routs  
the in-  
vaders.

\* Shahr-zadegan. Alem-arái Abási, ff. 24—27.

death. The Mírza effected his escape to the Germshir, whence he soon after proceeded to Tabas. Having by this exploit secured the western part of his dominions, Kámrán returned back to Láhúr.

Unsuccessful attempt on Lahúr by Muhammed Zemán Mírza.

It was while he was absent on this expedition, that Muhammed Zemán Mírza, who, it will be recollected, after the rout of Beháder Shah at Mandsúr, had set out to try his fortune, or to make a diversion on the side of the Penjáb, reached the borders of Sind. Shah Husein, the son of Shah Shuja Beg Arghún, the sovereign of Sind, unwilling that an ambitious prince of such pretensions should enter his dominions, encouraged him to proceed to the conquest of Láhúr, which he represented as a tempting and practicable object, since Kámrán was absent with the army in Kandahár, so that that fertile and populous country was left comparatively defenceless. The Mírza accordingly went on to the Penjáb and laid siege to Láhúr. But unfortunately for his views, Kámrán Mírza returned victorious at that very crisis, and the invader saw himself forced to retire with precipitation, and to return to Gujráat, which he reached with a few followers in the utmost want and misery. We have seen that he there enjoyed a short-lived sovereignty, before he was compelled to flee once more to Sind, and finally to Hindustán.

New invasion of Khorásán by the Uzbeks ; A. H. 941, A. D. 1535.

The march of Sám Mírza to attack Kandahár, was a signal for the Uzbeks to renew their inroads. In the north, a body of five or six thousand entered and laid waste Khorásán. Sufián Khalífa, the governor of Mesh-híd, an undaunted but hot-headed soldier, was successful in coming up with, and defeating them. To the eastward, another inroad was made from Ghurjistán. Khalífa Sultan Shamlu, whom the Protector had left governor of Herát, having marched to repel them, with a motley and ill-assorted body of troops, collected in haste, in absence of the regular forces, was attacked, defeated and slain. The inhabitants of Herát, thus left





without a head, sent to invite Sufián to take charge of the capital, his success in desultory warfare having gained him great reputation all over the province. Leaving his son in Meshhíd, he obeyed their call.

Obeid Khan, finding that Khorásán continued without troops, and without a governor, once more crossed the Amu at the head of an immense army, and besieged Meshhíd. Despatches were sent to recal Sufián, who promised soon to be at the holy city, when he would slay Obeid, and send his skin to the King, stuffed with straw. Setting out from Herát with only three thousand horse, he, on the road, filled a bag with hay, and ostentatiously carried it along with him, lest the Uzbeks, by not leaving a blade of grass around Meshhíd, might defeat his boast. The first detachment that he met, he dispersed; but getting nearer the town in his insane career, he was hard pressed and compelled to take shelter in an old ruin, where he obstinately defended himself several days, subsisting his followers on the flesh of their horses; but was in the end taken and put to death.

Obeid Khan  
besieges  
Meshhíd;  
A. H. 942,  
A. D. 1536;

The unfortunate city of Herát was now again in imminent hazard. The lieutenant whom Sufián had left in charge of it, used his endeavours to make the people of the town and country join in its defence. But the severities that he exercised for that purpose disgusted and enraged them, so that they sent to call even the Uzbeks to their relief. Obeid, arriving, besieged the city for five months, while the inhabitants endured all the miseries of war and famine. At length, three hundred Uzbeks, having gained entrance by night into a bastion, it is said by treachery, the city was taken, the garrison flying into the citadel of Ekhtiár-ed-dín. All the horrors of a city taken by storm ensued. Obeid afterwards gained possession of the citadel by a treaty\*,

and Herát,  
which is  
taken and  
pillaged.

\* Alem-arái-Abási, f. 28.

in which it was stipulated that the garrison were to be allowed to march out with all their property. But, as they left the fort, they were all stripped naked and marched for Bokhára, the greater part of them perishing miserably by the way.

Advance of  
Shah  
Tahmasp ;  
A. H. 943,  
A. D. 1537 ;

and retreat  
of the Uz-  
beks.

During four months, Obeid held possession of Herát, and the Sunni persecution of the Shíás was renewed. At length, Shah Tahmasp, compassionating the sufferings of his subjects, seized an interval of comparative peace, and set out for Khorásán. As he approached, Obeid Khan, eager to keep permanent possession of that province, proposed to meet him in the field. The other Uzbek chiefs, however, preferred a retreat ; and, though it was then winter, the invading army set out to regain their own country by the route of Balkh. Tahmasp reached Herát unopposed, and sent to Tabas to bring Sám Mírza, who had shut himself up in that town after his flight from Kandahár. He was pardoned for his rebellious designs, and for the invasion he had made, as was pretended, without the royal authority ; and some of his servants were put to death, as being his evil advisers. Khorásán was now committed to Sultan Muhammed Mírza, another young prince ; and Muhammed Khan Sherf-ed-dín Ughli Taklu, was placed beside him in Herát, as Protector, and Amír-ul-omra.

Tahmasp  
occupies  
Kandahár ;

Having cleared Khorásán of enemies, and provided for its safety and the proper administration of affairs, Shah Tahmasp now turned his eyes to the side of Kandahár. That province had been dependent on Herát in the days of its prosperity ; and the Shah, though he had pretended to be ignorant, and to disapprove, of Sám Mírza's attack on it, now entered it himself with a powerful army. The capital does not seem to have been placed in a sufficiently defensible state, after the late siege. Khwája Kilán, from the want of provisions and scarcity of military stores, seeing no hopes of being able to stand a siege, resolved to shun an in-





effectual contest; put in order his palace, which was magnificently furnished; and arranged all its rich carpets and sumptuous gold and silver plate, to be ready for the reception of the Shah. He then left orders with his deputy, Kanji Khwája, that, on his Majesty's approach, he should present him with the keys of the fort and public offices, and deliver a message in his name; that, as the Khwája, from want of warlike stores, had not the means of either defending the place, or of meeting him in the field,—as, if able, he would have done,—he thought that the next most honourable course he could pursue, was to put his house in order, and, in that condition, leave it for the guest whom he could not entertain in person. He then withdrew, and retired, by way of Sind and Uch, to Láhúr. Mírza Kámrán was much offended at this conduct, and did not admit him to his presence for a whole month after his arrival; complaining, that the Khwája had not held out even for a short time so as to admit of his being relieved. The Khwája's valour, judgment and fidelity were indisputable; and this attempt to soften the asperity of war may, perhaps, be regarded not only as a proof of the refinement of the man, the friend of Báber, and of the politeness that originated in the liberal studies so successfully cultivated in the Court of that prince; but, perhaps, as a symptom of the growing civilisation of the age so rudely checked by the confusion and turmoil that followed.

Kámrán lost no time in preparing a force for another expedition against Kandahár. Leaving his cousin, Mírza Haider Dughlat, who had lately arrived from Káshghar by way of Badakhshán, to conduct the government of Láhúr in his absence, he sat out. But before Kámrán's arrival, Shah Tahmasp had quitted Kandahár, which he left under the charge of Bidágh\*

which is  
retaken by  
Kámrán.

\* Or, Budák.

A. H. 944,  
A. D. 1538.

Khan Kajar, a great noble of his Court, and of the tribe of the present royal family of Persia. The fort sustained a siege of some length, when Bidágh Khan capitulated and surrendered it, on condition of being allowed to return home with his troops. Kámrán, having put the place in a state of defence, marched back to Láhúr.

Though two or three inroads were made into Khorásán by the Uzbeks, during the life of Obeid Khan, who died A. H. 949, no great invasion was attempted, and that province remained in possession of the Persians during that period, and enjoyed comparative tranquillity.\*

\* For the events in Khorásán and Kandahár, see the *Alem-arái-Abási*, ff. 24—28.; *Akbernáma*,

MS. A. f. 39.; MS. B. f. 77.; *Tabakát-e Akberi*, ff. 146—149.; *Taríkh-e Bedáuni*, f. 140.





## CHAPTER IV.

## AFFAIRS OF BENGAL.

## SECTION I.

## STATE OF BENGAL.—HISTORY OF SHÍR KHAN.

STATE OF THE EMPIRE.—SHÍR KHAN IN BEHÁR AND BENGAL.—INDOLENCE OF THE EMPEROR AT AGRA.—SHÍR KHAN, HIS CHARACTER, FAMILY, AND HISTORY—REPAIRS TO THE COURT OF SULTAN IBRÁHÍM LODI.—SUCCEEDS TO HIS FATHER'S JÁGÍRS.—OVERTHROW OF THE AFGHÁN DYNASTY BY BÁBER.—SHÍR KHAN FAVOURED BY THE AFGHÁN KING OF BEHÁR—HIS ELEVATION.—INTRIGUES OF HIS ENÈMIES.—DIVISION OF HIS JÁGÍRS ORDERED.—HE REFUSES TO DIVIDE THEM—AND IS EXPELLED.—REINSTATED BY AID FROM ONE OF BÁBER'S GOVERNORS.—INCREASES HIS RESOURCES.—VISITS BÁBER AT AGRA.—MEDITATES A RESTORATION OF THE AFGHÁN EMPIRE.—WITHDRAWS SUDDENLY FROM THE COURT.—IS RECONCILED TO THE KING OF BEHÁR.—BECOMES PRIME MINISTER—AND REPELS AN INVASION.—A CONSPIRACY FORMED AGAINST HIM.—THE KING FLIES FROM BEHÁR—WHICH IS INVADDED FROM BENGAL.—THE INVASION DEFEATED BY SHÍR KHAN.—RIVAL CLAIMANTS OF THE CROWN.—SULTAN MAHMÚD LODI ACKNOWLEDGED.—EXPELLED BY BÁBER, WHO OCCUPIES BEHÁR.—SHÍR KHAN EXTENDS HIS JÁGÍRS AND POWER.—ACQUIRES CHUNÁR.—SULTAN MAHMÚD RENEWS HIS PRETENSIONS.—IS JOINED BY SHÍR KHAN.—ADVANCE OF HUMÁYUN.—TREACHERY OF SHÍR KHAN, AND DISPERSION OF THE AFGHÁN FORCES.—SHÍR KHAN RETAINS CHUNÁR AND HIS JÁGÍRS.—CONSOLIDATES HIS RESOURCES.—PLUNDERS TO THE NORTH OF THE GANGES.—TAKES POSSESSION OF SOUTHERN BEHÁR—AND INVADDES BENGAL.

WHEN Humáyun reached Agra, on his return from Gujrát and Malwa, he found the affairs of the empire in

CHAP. IV.  
SECT. I.

A. D. 1536.  
 State of the  
 Empire on  
 Humáyun's  
 return from  
 Malwa.  
 A. H. 943,  
 A. D. 1536.

great disorder. We have seen that, from the time of his accession, there were dangers to his government, which it required a strong and steady hand to avert. Even in his own court, the fidelity of several of his great Amírs, some of them the most distinguished among the Túrki and Chaghatái nobles who had accompanied Báber in his wars, was tottering and had failed. Muhammed Zemán Mírza, as well as Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, had broken out in open rebellion; and, though defeated, the latter of them were still in arms. The situation of the country itself favoured such attempts. It was but recently subdued, and the emperor's followers were strangers to the inhabitants. A great proportion of the kingdom of Delhi was composed of little states, more or less independent, and not easily reduced to order. Even in the Doáb, and in the vicinity of Agra itself, there had for ages been a set of refractory chieftains, who willingly seized every opportunity, when the power or attention of the government was relaxed, to indulge in plundering depredations; and while Humáyun was absent in Malwa and Gujrát, these freebooters had carried their inroads to the very gates of the capital. Such petty and unsettled states were ever ready to join a bold adventurer.

Shír Khan  
 in Behár  
 and Bengal.

But the most concentrated opposition to his arms was presented in the eastern provinces of Juánpúr and Behár. These countries had, at no distant time, been the seat of an independent kingdom, which, though it had been subdued by Sultan Sekander Lodi, had revived under a new dynasty, the Loháni, in the time of his son Sultan Ibráhím, and had only recently been again subdued by Báber. A bold attempt made by the Afgháns to renew, in that kingdom, the Lodi Dynasty of Delhi, under Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, Ibráhím's brother, had been defeated only by the energy of that illustrious prince. All the materials of revolt and resistance, however, were amply scattered over the





Eastern provinces. They had for many years been the theatre of war; the minds of the inhabitants were unsettled, had become familiarised to change, and were almost strangers to regular government. Though the old Sherki, and the more recent Loháni dynasty had disappeared, and though the attempts of Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, and of Muhammed Sultan Mírza, to revive the kingdom had failed, Shír Khan Súr, a new candidate for distinction and power, though as yet in an humbler form, had started up; was extending and consolidating his influence, gradually but with consummate skill, in Behár and on the side of Bengal; and by his valour in the field and the equity of his financial administration, was gaining the admiration and the affection of his subjects. The Afgháns, in every part of India, began to turn their eyes to him, as the leader, who, at some future time, might be destined to restore to them that proud ascendancy of their nation, the loss of which every man of them so deeply deplored.

As Humáyun, in his expedition to the westward, had necessarily been attended by a large proportion of his best troops, some of the provinces on the Jamna and Ganges were held by very scanty detachments. This circumstance, the long absence of the Emperor from his capital, and latterly his losses and want of success, had encouraged the discontented and turbulent; so that, though Hindal Mírza had been successful in quelling the revolt of Muhammed Sultan in Juánpúr, a great part of the country was in a very unquiet state.

Humáyun, for some time after his return, fixed his residence at Agra. The loss of the kingdoms which he had subdued with so much glory, and the generally unfavourable posture of his affairs, preyed upon his mind, and affected his spirits and his health. He sought relief in the habitual use of opium, which, if for a time it deadened his uneasy feelings, soon affected both his judgment and his temper. For about a year,

Indolence  
of the Em-  
peror at  
Agra.

A.D. 1536-7.

he passed most of his time in his private apartments, and rarely held any councils. He could not, however, overlook the disorders that disturbed the immediate neighbourhood of his capital. They were soon quelled, and heavy contributions raised on the offending zemíndárs, in punishment of their rebellious or predatory inroads.\* It had been his resolution that his first expedition, when he again took the field, should have for its object to wipe off the stain upon his glory, by once more conquering Malwa and Gujrát. But there were soon demands for his presence much nearer at hand.

Shír Khan,  
A. H. 944,  
A. D. 1537.

About the end of this period, Sultan Juneid Birlás died, a veteran of great eminence, who for some years had governed Juánpúr and the eastern provinces, and who, by his talents and the weight of his character, had restrained the ambitious attempts of Shír Khan, now decidedly at the head of the Afgháns in India, both in genius and reputation. No sooner, however, was that restraint removed by his death, than Shír Khan, who already possessed a great part of Behár, ventured to launch out into bolder enterprises, and to turn his undivided force against the province of Bengal; and his success in that quarter was such as speedily to break even the slumbers of Humáyun.

His character,

Shír Khan, who, afterwards became king of Delhi under the title of Shír Shah, was one of the most extraordinary men whose name appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Taimur, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partisans he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours. But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high praise and honourable distinction that,

\* Akbernáma, f. 42.; Ferishta, iv. 83.; Kháfí Khan, 45.





with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due.

His original name was Feríd; he was the son of Hasan and grandson of Ibráhím\*, an Afghán of the tribe of Súr, who dwelt near Pesháwer. The family claimed descent from the ancient kings of Ghúr, who reigned in the mountains that lie between Kábul and Herát; and Ferishta, on the supposition that the Súr family had established this claim, holds it to be the most illustrious of the Afgháns.† The marriages which they formed in that part of the Afghán country to which they removed ‡, prove them to have been of what was deemed an honourable race; though Abulfazl relates that Ibráhím was originally a horse-dealer. It is by no means improbable that even a well-born Afghán may have engaged in that occupation, or that, when leaving his own country for India, he may have invested his little fortune in a venture of horses, as is often done at this day. Ibráhím arrived in India in the reign of Sultan Behlúl Lodi, in search of military service, which he procured; served under some Amírs of distinction; and remained for a time, first at Hissár Firúza and after-

\* The Akbernáma, f. 41., calls Ibráhím the grandfather, Shiberkheil, or according to Col. Price's reading, Shirakhíl. The Nisáb-náma-e Afghánán, f. 81., makes Hasan Khan, the father, to be of the tribe (táifa) of Mati, and family or clan (gabíla) of Súr.

† Vol. ii. p. 99. The Tar. Bed. f. 145., describes him as being *az deh keh ibárat az Afghán est*, "the town that takes its name from the Afghán." Can this be Deh-Afghánán, a suburb of Kábul?

‡ When Sultan Behlúl was seated on the throne, he invited a number of his countrymen from Roh, a district inhabited by the Afgháns.

"Roh," continues the author of the Tabakát-e Akberi, "has the same meaning as Koh (a hill). The country comprehended under that name extends in length from Swát and Bajour to the township of Síwí, which is dependent on Bheker; and in breadth from Hasan-Abdal to Kábul and Kandahár. It is bounded by the Daman-koh." Tab. Akb. ff. 35. 169. A similar passage occurs in Ferishta. This extent of country includes nearly the whole of Afghánistán-Propér. Instead of the words following "Hasan Abdal to Kábul," the Tarikh-e Nizámí, f. 207. reads, "Kandahár lies on the confines of this hill-country."

wards at Shámli, or Simla, a district in the province of Agra.\*

Ibráhím's son, Hasan, who was born in Hissár, early in life entered the employment of Rái-mal, a Hindu (the grandfather of Rái-Sál, an officer of eminence in Akber's court), under whom he probably gained some insight into revenue concerns. He afterwards went to Juna, in the district of Sahsarám, in Behár, to Nasír Khan Loháni, one of Sekander Lodi's most powerful nobles, in whose employment he remained some time; and having, by his faithful service and intelligence, distinguished himself among his equals, was admitted into his master's confidence. On Nasír Khan's death, Hasan entered into the service of that nobleman's brother, Doulat Khan; and from his passed into that of Baban Khan Jilwáni, a distinguished Afghán chief, in which he advanced himself, was actively employed in much business of importance, and became his principal adviser. His reputation finally became such that when Jemál Khan was appointed to the government of Juánpúr, he was taken into his service, in which he spent the rest of his life; received from him in jágír the valuable districts of Sahsarám and Kháwáspúr-Tánda, places dependent on Rhotas in Behár, and was sent to take possession of them with five hundred horse.†

And his-  
tory.

Hasan's eldest son was Feríd, afterwards known with so much distinction as Shír Shah. Omens seldom fail to attend the birth of every eminent man, and they were not wanting to Feríd's. His mother, when with

\* The Akbernáma has Simla in the district of Narnúl. The Tab. Akb., f. 169.; Narnúl; the Tar. Bedáuni, f. 145., Narnul, in Hissár-Firúza; the Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 271.; and Nisábnáma, f. 81.; Nímila, in Narnúl.

† Akbernáma, f. 42.; Tabakát-e Akberi, f. 169.; Tar. Niz. f. 207.;

Tar. Bedáuni, f. 145.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 95. et seq.; Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 271.; Kháfi Khan, f. 50.; Nisábnáma-e Afghánán, f. 81. The Tabakát, Ferishta, and Nisábnáma, do not mention any circumstances of Hasan's life, till he entered the service of Jemál Khan, in Sultan Sekander Lodi's time.





child of him, dreamed that the moon, in its full brightness descending from heaven, entered her womb. Waking her husband, she communicated to him her dream; upon which he struck her several blows. Surprised, she angrily asked him what he meant; and was told, that the sages of former times had advised that one who had a fortunate dream ought not, by dreaming again the same night, to run the risk of counteracting its happy influence; and that his blows were intended to prevent her again falling asleep. In like manner, we are told of Feríd, that when he was about four years old, as he was one day childishly whining to his father to give him a dirhem, a wise and holy derwîsh who was near, exclaimed aloud, "Great God! the Emperor of Hindustán is crying for a dirhem."\* This expression filled his father with delight, as confirming his wife's dream, and inspired him with high hopes of his son's future eminence; hopes which the boy's opening talents seemed early to justify.

Hasan had eight sons; two of them, Feríd and Nizám, by his wife, a noble Afghán lady; the other six by different slaves or concubines, three of them, Sulcimán, Ahmed and Mádár being by one mother. It is hardly necessary to remark that while, by the Musulman law, the number of wives is limited to four, that of concubines is left unlimited; but that, as all of them live in the master's house like the wives, under the same superintendence, and liable to the same punishment for infidelity, and as consequently no more doubt exists in the one case than in the other as to paternity, the children of both classes are acknowledged by the law, and entitled to a share in the paternal succession; much as, for the same reasons, was customary among the patriarchs and Jews in ancient times. Hasan was not partial to his Afghán wife; and his fondness for

\* Khol. al-Tow. f. 271.

Suleimán's mother, who had acquired a great ascendancy over him, led him to show more favour to her sons than to his other children. Feríd, who, even when little more than a boy, evinced a proud and decided temper, unable to brook this preference, left his father's house, and repaired to Juánpúr, where he placed himself under the protection of Jemál Khan, his father's patron. Hasan wrote to his son to return, and to Jemál to send him back, that he might be instructed in learning, and trained up in the accomplishments suited to his station; but Feríd resisted every solicitation of the friendly Khan, saying that Juánpúr, which was a large city and abounded with learned men, was a much better place for instruction than such a village as Sahsarám. He, however, applied himself ardently to the pursuit of knowledge. He is said to have studied the Arabic and Persian languages, and the religious and civil code of the Musulman law, as contained in the Koran and the commentaries upon it; and such was his delight in the beautiful poets of Persia, that he was able to repeat by heart the whole poems of the celebrated moralist and poet Sádi.\* With such acquirements, it is not wonderful that he soon came to be considered as a great scholar among his countrymen, the Afgháns; who, though distinguished in arms, have always been noted for their dulness in letters and the arts. Besides this, he took pleasure in frequenting the monasteries and colleges of the Derwishes and other religious orders; and courted the society of the Ulema, or Muhammedan lawyers and

\* The author of the *Tabakát-e Akberi*, (ff. 169. 35.) himself a man of letters and versed in Persian literature, speaks doubtfully of Feríd's scholarship. He mentions his reading the *Káfía* (or, Arabic Grammar) with the commentaries and other books, "such," says he, "as the *Gulistán*, *Bostán*, and *Sekander-náma*, which were then generally

read by the people of Hind, and made himself acquainted with the principles of morals and with some books of history." This would suppose but a limited course of study, and such it probably was. The *Nisábnáma* mentions, as part of his reading, history and the *Akhláqi-Súri*, f. 81. *bis*.





doctors, as well as of the Sheikhs and men of saintly reputation, studied their manners and habits of thinking, and secured their favour, which he retained through life, and which was often of singular advantage to him in his plans of ambition. His father heard of the young man's reputation, when he visited Juánpúr a few years after. Their relations interfered to make up their quarrel, and to prevail upon the son to return home. As Hasan was himself about to attend the governor of Juánpúr with his troops, he offered Feríd the management of both his jágírs, during his absence; a burden which the youth consented to undertake, on the express understanding that, though many of the officers in the jágírs were his own near friends and relations, he was to have the absolute direction of all, so as to be able, he said, to govern the raiats with impartiality, by gentleness and justice, and to relieve them from the ignorant oppression which he saw exercised over them by his countrymen. ✓

Appointed  
to manage  
his father's  
jágírs.

Feríd accordingly repaired to the jágírs to act as Sheikhdár or military collector; and soon gained the confidence of the inhabitants, by the kindness with which he treated them, and his invariable regard to justice, from which neither the calls of interest nor the claims of relationship could divert him. Soon after his arrival, he also showed the bold decision of his character. The head men of some villages in the jágir, who had been refractory, refused to wait upon him, which was equivalent to withdrawing from his authority. These he determined to punish, and consulted the officers of the jágir as to the best means of effecting his object. He was told that, as all the troops had gone with his father, it was necessary to put off any operations till their return. But this dilatory conduct, and passive acquiescence in injury, were little suited to the energetic character of Feríd. He gave orders to make two hundred saddles, borrowed one horse from the head- ✓

His judi-  
cious and  
bold mea-  
sures.

man of every village in his Perganas, and selecting the most active of the men who had seen service and lived scattered about in the *jágir*, supplied them with money and clothes, animated their zeal by his example and promises, mounted them on the borrowed horses, and led them against the rebels. With unexpected speed he destroyed the houses and property of the refractory, and made some of them prisoners; at the same time seizing a number of their wives and children, whom he retained as hostages.

Having quelled all opposition in the interior of his little territory, he next proceeded to punish some turbulent neighbours, who, from the woods and hills on the limits of the *jágir*, trusting to their inaccessible fastnesses, made frequent inroads, plundering and harassing the cultivators. As they refused to meet him or to give suitable redress, he marched such a force as he could collect into their country, till he came near their chief town, which they had fortified as a castle or fastness. There he halted; drew a trench round his camp; and, cutting down, day after day, a portion of the jungle by which the enemy's fort was surrounded and defended, he at length reached their stronghold, which he regularly attacked and finally stormed, killing numbers of the defenders, and making the rest prisoners. These early acts of resolute determination inspired his rude neighbours on every side with such alarm, that they never after troubled him, but remained quiet and inoffensive, paying him regularly an annual tribute.

Prosperity  
of his dis-  
tricts.

The freedom from internal and external oppression enjoyed in his villages, soon drew to them an influx of cultivators from all the districts around, so that he was enabled to bring into cultivation nearly the whole of the waste lands within their limits. He relieved the inhabitants from many burdensome exactions, neither molesting them himself, nor suffering others to molest them; insomuch that the produce of the *jágir* was soon





amazingly increased; the villages flourished; the inhabitants pursued their industry in quiet, and he himself was extremely beloved. Hasan, who some time after paid a visit to his jágírs, was delighted with the order, populousness, and general prosperity which he everywhere witnessed.\*

But, says the native historian, as the love of gold and woman are the great disturbers of human society and of private families, so the mother of Suleimán, jealous of the reputation and importance which Feríd was daily acquiring, and anxious that her son should have the management of the jágírs, exerted the influence which she possessed over Hasan's mind, and had succeeded in extracting from him a promise to transfer to her sons, when they came of age, the management of the Perganas. Hasan was, however, well aware of the heart-burning in his family, and the injury to his estate, that such a change would occasion; and, having every reason to be satisfied with Feríd's conduct, put off from time to time the performance of his promise. But Feríd, whose observation the intrigues that were carrying on and the perplexity of his father could not escape, put an end to his difficulties by resigning, in disgust, the charge of the jágírs, to which his brothers Suleimán and Ahmed were immediately appointed.

Jealousy of  
his step-  
mother.

He resigns.

Though Hasan used every endeavour to soothe the injured feelings of Feríd, by representing the appointment of his brothers as made merely with a view to initiate them into business, while he was still to be the heir, the young man once more resolved to leave his father's house. Sultan Ibráhím Lodi had now become king at Agra, whither Feríd repaired, with his brother Nizám, and entered into the service of Doulat Khan Lodi, one of the great Amírs of the court. Feríd, by his talents and assiduity, gained the esteem and

Repairs to  
the camp  
of Sultan  
Ibráhím  
Lodi.

\* Tab. Akb. f. 170.; Tar. Níz. ff. 272, 273.; Ferishta, vol. ii. ff. 207, 208.; Khol. al-Towárikh, pp. 99, 100.

patronage of that chief, who, having on some occasion asked in what way he could serve him, Feríd seized the opportunity of informing him how he was situated; that, though the son of Hasan by a noble Afghán lady, his father, now in his dotage, bewitched by the arts of a favourite Hindu concubine, who had gained unlimited power over his mind, had set him aside from the management of his *jágír*, and had bestowed it on her sons; he represented both the revenue and military force of the districts as falling into decay, and the soldiers as discontented; but added that, if he and his brother were put in possession of the *jágírs*, he would undertake that, while one of the two brothers remained in the *pergas* to manage them and to take care of their aged father, the other should at all times attend the Sultan with a body of five hundred horse.

When Doulat Khan took an opportunity of representing these circumstances to Sultan Ibráhím, the king coldly remarked, that he must be a bad man who could depreciate and undermine his own father. Doulat informed Feríd of this repulse, but at the same time kept up his spirits by increasing his allowance, and by assuring him that he would neglect no opportunity of still effecting his object. Feríd, by his liberality and generous qualities, gained the heart of his patron, to whom he still continued attached, and whom he accompanied in his daily attendance at the *derbár*. A short time afterwards, Feríd's father having died, Doulat Khan, once more waiting on the king, renewed his application under more favourable circumstances, and secured for his follower a grant of the *jágírs* of Sahasráram and Kháwáspúr-Tánda; in consequence of which, Feríd returned to Sahasráram with a strong retinue, and took possession of the *jágírs*, which he again governed with his former moderation and justice.\*

Appointed  
to succeed  
his father  
in the  
*jágírs*.

\* *Tarikh-e-Nizámi*, f. 208. fol- 102.; and by Tar. Bedáuni, f. 145.  
lowed by Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 101,





Suleimán, unable to oppose his brother thus supported by the royal authority, repaired to Muhammed Khan Súr, a relation of the family, who then held the government of Junda and Baksár, with fifteen hundred horse. By this time the invasion of Báber had begun, and a decisive battle was daily expected. Suleimán's patron promised that, if the Sultan was successful, he would carry him to court and secure for him his jágirs. The impatience of Suleimán, however, who complained that, while he was waiting, his mother and family were without house and home, induced Muhammed Súr to send a confidential person to attempt to bring Feríd to an accommodation. The reply was that Feríd was perfectly willing to share with his brothers whatever belonged to the private inheritance and estate of his father, but would part with none of the military or political power entrusted to him by his prince; observing, in the words of a well-known saying, that one scabbard could not hold two swords, nor one city contain two rulers. To this arrangement Suleimán would not accede, insisting on having a share in the government of the jágirs; and Muhammed Khan was preparing to restore him by force, when news arrived of the defeat and death of Sultan Ibráhím.

Overthrow  
of the  
Afghán  
dynasty by  
Báber.  
A. H. 932,  
A. D. 1526.

In the disorders and wars that followed the overthrow of the Afghán kingdom of Delhi, Feríd was not inactive.\* He remained attached to the interests of his tribe, and joined Behár Khan, the son of Deria Khan Loháni, when, supported by the Afgháns of India, he occupied Behár,

Shír Khan  
favoured by  
the Afghán

\* It does not appear what part Hasan took in the Loháni rebellion; but, from his connection with Násir Khan Loháni and Baban Khan Jilwáni, who were so active in the revolt, we may conjecture that he sided with the insurgents. When Feríd went to Sultan Ibráhím, was it resorting to his father's enemies?

while Suleimán sided with the rebels.

It may perhaps be suspected that the whole of Hasan's service with Násir, Doulat, and Baban was in the reign of Ibráhím, and during their revolt, not in Sekander's time: the chronology is very confused.

king of  
Behár.

His prowess  
and eleva-  
tion.

Intrigues  
of his  
enemies.

and assumed the ensigns of royalty as king of the Eastern provinces of Behár and Juánpúr, under the name of Sultan Muhammed. Feríd's bravery, his knowledge of affairs, and his assiduity speedily gave him a high reputation in the council and camp of the Afgháns. He was much employed in business of importance, and became a personal favourite of the king.

An accidental occurrence raised him to still higher distinction. It happened that, the king being one day on a hunting party, a tiger unexpectedly made its appearance. Feríd, who was present, bravely pushed forward, and was fortunate enough to attack and slay the ferocious animal with his sabre. The King loaded him with praises, and honoured him with the title of Shír-Khan (lion lord). He rapidly rose from one office of trust to another, until he was at last appointed Atálik, or Governor, of Jilál Khan, the Sultan's son and heir, an office which implied the highest degree of rank and confidence.\*

This proud elevation could not be attained without exciting the envy of his compeers. Shír Khan, having some time after obtained leave of absence, went to visit his jágírs, where he seems to have remained beyond the prescribed period. The occasion of injuring him, thus offered, was not lost on his enemies. The King one day took notice of the circumstance, and spoke of it with some appearance of dissatisfaction. Muhammed Khan Súr, the governor of Junda, Suleimán's patron, who was present, seized the occasion to throw suspicions on the fidelity of Shír Khan, insinuating that his delay was owing to his desire to wait the arrival of Sultan Muhammed Lodi, a brother of the late Sultan Ibráhím, who was at this time a candidate for the throne of Behár as well as Delhi. The King, irritated at the moment, and moved by these insinuations, threw out

\* Tar. Nizámi, f. 209.; Khol. f. 145.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 103. al-Tow. f. 273.; Tar. Bedáuni,





Some angry expressions against Shír Khan; upon which Muhammed Khan suggested, that the most effectual way to keep him in order was to bestow his jágír on his half-brother and rival, Suleimán, who had managed it in their father's lifetime, and had been fixed on by him as his successor. Suleimán was at that time living under Muhammed Khan's protection. Though this was rejected, as being too strong a measure against one who had been guilty of no active or overt offence, yet the party hostile to Shír Khan succeeded in procuring from the Sultan an order for dividing the jágír among the brothers.

The division of his jágírs ordered.

But Shír Khan had become too strong to be removed at will, in such turbulent times. A firmán was indeed issued, that an account of Hasan's estate should be taken, for the purpose of making an equal division between his sons; and this duty was entrusted to Shír Khan's enemy, Muhammed Khan Súr. To a demand sent by that officer, that Shír Khan should divide with his brothers the jágír which he had so long unjustly withheld from them, a reply was returned, that they were not now in the Roh (or Afghán mountains), where all the sons shared in the father's lands; that here the land was the king's, granted for the support of troops, and followed his pleasure; that he held his land by a special grant of Sultan Ibráhím, and that his brothers had no concern whatever with it; but that he had already declared his readiness to grant his brothers their due share of their father's private property, which was all that in law they were entitled to demand.\*

He refuses to divide them.

On receiving this answer, the governor of Junda, glad of an opportunity to enforce his demand by arms,

Is expelled.

\* Tar. Niz. f. 209.; Nisábnáma, f. 83. The Roh is the Afghán Highlands. This argument of Feríd's is precisely that of the feudal system. It marks the difference be-

tween allodial and feudal lands. The tenure by military service affords the best explanation of the origin of primogeniture.



immediately despatched his slave, Shadi, with a large body of troops, to put Suleimán in possession of Kháwáspúr-Tánda; with orders, if Shír Khan made any resistance or opposition, to seize Sahasráram, and all the rest of the jágír also. Shír Khan, who did not anticipate such active measures, was taken by surprise. He wrote, however, to his deputy in Kháwáspúr,—who was Malek Saka, a slave, the father of the celebrated Khowás Khan,—to harass and delay the invading troops on their route by every means in his power, but on no account to engage in a general action \* till he himself arrived. Unfortunately Malek Saka, hurried on by his impetuosity, or by a desire of distinguishing himself, rashly met the invaders as they approached Kháwáspúr, was defeated, and slain.

This deranged all Shír Khan's plans, and deprived him of those means of resistance on which he had depended. The enemy, pursuing their advantage, advanced to Sahsaráram; and he was forced to abandon the jágír. Some of his friends now advised him to repair to the court of Sultan Muhammed; but, dreading the influence of Mohammed Khan Súr with that monarch, he preferred throwing off his allegiance to the king of Behár, and entered into a correspondence with Sultan Juneid Birlás †, who was then governor of the province of Karra-Manikpúr on the part of Báber, and who agreed to receive and protect him. He waited upon Juneid with rich offerings, submitted to him his claims and his means of enforcing them, and in the end obtained from him a body of troops to assist in recovering his country. With these he advanced, and Muhammed Khan Súr, unable to resist him, fled to the Rhotas hills. Shír Khan now, not only regained his

Reinstated  
by aid from  
one of  
Báber's go-  
vernors.

\* The Tar. Nizámi rather intimates that Saka had power to engage.

† Sultan Juneid Birlás, an amír

of an illustrious family, is said to have married a sister of Báber's. Khol. al-Tow. f. 273.





own jágirs, but seized Junda and several other adjoining districts that belonged to Muhammed Khan himself. Having liberally rewarded the auxiliary troops that had accompanied him, he sent them home, with suitable presents for Sultan Juncid.

Increases  
his terri-  
tory and  
forces.

His scattered family and clansmen now returned. He recruited his forces, took again into his service many inhabitants of the country who had fled to the hills, and speedily became very formidable. With the foresight and sound judgment which formed so remarkable a part of his character, he now wrote to his late enemy Muhammed Khan, begging him to pardon the steps which necessity alone had compelled him to take, that he might secure his own possessions, from the usurpation of his brothers; assured him that while he was determined to retain his own jágir, he had no desire to interfere with the possessions of one whom he honoured as an uncle; and invited him to return from the hills, and resume possession of Junda and his other districts. He, at the same time, sent him the whole amount of the revenue that had been collected from the pergunas during his occupation of them; besides a large sum of arrears, which the former managers had returned in their accounts as irrecoverable, but which Shír Khan, from his thorough knowledge of revenue concerns, had been able to realise. This act of generosity ever after attached Muhammed Khan to his interests.\*

His gener-  
ous policy.

As soon as the state of his affairs at Sahsarám permitted, Shír Khan, leaving his brother Nizám in charge of his jágirs, again visited Sultan Juncid Birlás at Karra, and accompanied him to Agra, where he was

He visits

\* The preceding narrative is from the *Tabakát-e Akberi*, ff. 171, 172.; *Tar. Nizámi*, ff. 207—209., which *Ferishta*, vol. ii. pp. 98—108.; and *Tar. Bed.* ff. 145, 146., have followed; and is modified by the Ak-

bernáma, f. 42.; the *Nisábnáma-e Afgh.* ff. 81—84.; the *Kholáset-al-Towárikh*, ff. 171—173.; *Kháfi Khan*, ff. 50—52.; and *Stewart's History of Bengal*.

Báber at  
 Agra.

A. H. 934,  
 A. D. 1528.

Meditates a  
 restoration  
 of the  
 Afghán  
 empire.

presented to the Emperor Báber, whom he attended in his expedition against Chandéri.

Shír Khan remained for some time in Báber's camp, where he had the best opportunity of observing the manners and policy of that prince, and of his ministers. His keen eye saw defects, even where to others all seemed to be sound. One day, in conversing with some of his Afghán friends, he happened to remark, that, from all the observations he had made, he thought it by no means an impracticable thing to drive these foreigners out of Hindustán. To their inquiries, on what he founded this opinion, he answered, that the Emperor, great as were his talents, applied but little to business, so that everything was left to his ministers, who, being selfish and corrupt, did not attend to the interest of the state; that the Afgháns unfortunately were divided, constantly at enmity with each other, and consequently powerless; but that, could they be brought to lay aside their mutual animosities and support him heartily, he did not doubt that he could himself accomplish the business. His friends laughed at the idea, and jeered him on his wild and impracticable fancies.

About the same time, he was one day invited to an entertainment at the Emperor's, where some solid dish\* was placed before him, and only a spoon with which to eat it. Having in vain asked for a knife, he at length drew his hanger, and, cutting up the meat into small pieces, proceeded to complete his meal with the spoon, perfectly indifferent to the smiles and remarks of those who were diverted with his Afghán rusticity. Báber, when the incident was pointed out to him, turning to Mír Khalifa, his prime minister, quietly remarked, "this Afghán is a man of sense and spirit;" and, being informed of his conduct towards Muhammed Khan, he did not hesitate to predict his rise to future greatness.

\* Máhcheh.





Shír Khan got notice of this conversation of the Emperor and his minister, and understanding that his own observations to his friends had been repeated to him, apprehensive that he was viewed with suspicion, fled from the camp the same night, and returned to his jágir. To excuse this step he wrote to his patron Sultan Juneid, that he must not regard this precipitate retreat as owing in the slightest degree to disaffection; that having learned that his old enemy Muhammed Khan had urged Sultan Muhammed to send an army to occupy his jágirs while he was absent in the Chaghatái camp, and knowing how much delay must necessarily occur, before he could in the regular way obtain permission to leave the camp, being hard pressed, he had ventured to depart at once without loss of time; and begged Juneid to assure his Majesty how faithfully he continued to be attached to his service. Sultan Juneid saw plainly that these were mere professions, and was much offended. But, while Shír Khan thus attempted to excuse his flight, seeing no prospect of succeeding at the Emperor's court, he sought to be reconciled to Sultan Muhammed. This he easily effected; and soon after, accompanied by his brother Nizám, repaired to the court at Patna, where he was joyfully welcomed by the king and restored to the office of Atálik, or protector, to his son Jilál Khan.\*

CHAP. IV.  
SECT. I.Withdraws  
suddenly  
from the  
Court.Is recon-  
ciled to the  
king of  
Behár.

It was not long after his return to the court of Sultan Muhammed Loháni that that prince died, and was succeeded by Jilál Khan, his son, still a minor, who was proclaimed king under the name of Sultan Jilál-ed-dín. Affairs were for some time conducted by the young king's mother, Bibí Dúdú, in conjunction with Shír Khan, who became prime minister. His usual ability did not forsake him upon this elevation. He strenuously exerted himself to maintain the prosperity and

Becomes  
prime  
minister.

\* Tar. Niz. ff. 210, 211.; Tab. Ferishta, v. ii. pp. 106, 107.; Kháfí Akb. f. 172.; Tar. Bed. f. 146.; Khan, f. 53.

BOOK IV.

Repels an invasion.

A conspiracy is formed against him.

reputation of the kingdom, which was still in its infancy. Makhdúm Alim Khan was the governor of Hájípur, an important province on the north of the Ganges, at that time belonging to Bengal. He had for some time cultivated Shír Khan's friendship, and having quarrelled with his master, Nasret Shah, now entered into a close alliance with the Khan. Enraged at this injury, Nasret sent Kutb Khan, the governor of Mongeir, with a large force to invade Behár, to punish the regent, and to seize the country; and afterwards to root out his own rebellious subject from Hájípur. Shír Khan, who was able to bring only a very inferior army to meet the invaders, tried every art to effect an accommodation, but in vain. He therefore resolved to hazard the issue of a battle, marched against the enemy, whom he boldly attacked, and, by his superior skill and hardihood, totally defeated, with the loss of their leader, — the whole elephants and camp equipage, as well as the military chest of the army of Bengal, falling into his hands.\*

His success on this occasion, added to the high reputation he had already obtained, only increased the envy and dislike with which he had previously been regarded by the Loháni Afgháns, the young king's relations, who now formed a conspiracy for the purpose of cutting him off, and engaged the king himself in it. They alleged, probably not without foundation, that his ambition extended beyond the mere office of regent, and did not stop short of the crown itself. Though his vigilance, and some quarrels among themselves, enabled him to discover and to defeat the schemes of the conspirators, he failed in the attempts which he made to cut them off. But he waited on the young King, Sultan Jilál-ed-dín, to whom he represented the implacable hostility of the conspirators, and the guilty

\* Tar. Akb. f. 172.; Tar. Niz. f. 311.; Tar. Bed. f. 146. The Lohánis are also called Nuhánis.





plans they had formed; he added, that if his Majesty did not actively second his views, he himself must of necessity retire from his service, which he was prepared to do at a single word; that his Majesty must choose between his regent and those who were combined for his ruin. The King, confused, overawed, and quite unprepared for such an offer, protested his ignorance of the plot, and put himself into his minister's hands. Shír Khan, thus invested with absolute power, took means to separate and divide the confederated lords. One portion of them he sent to collect the revenues of the pergunas; another, to face the King of Bengal, who was again in arms. Though the conspirators were thus thwarted for the time, yet, as they consisted of the king's nearest relations, and of the officers immediately about his person, they continued to fill his mind with suspicion and distrust; and as Shír Khan, who was at this time engaged in facing the Emperor's troops, persisted in carrying everything with a high hand, the King was at length prevailed upon to make his escape by night, accompanied by a few officers, and to take refuge in the territory of Nasret Shah, of Bengal; imploring his assistance to remove an overbearing minister, who had now in reality usurped all the powers of the government; and offering to hold his kingdom of Behár as dependent on Nasret Shah.

The king  
flies from  
Behár.

Nasret Shah, happy to find an opportunity of revenging at once his own wrongs and those of the King of Behár, ordered Ibráhim Khan, the son of the Kutb Khan, of Mongeir, whom Shír Khan had defeated and slain, to accompany Jilál-ed-dín into Behár, at the head of a large army, for the purpose of revenging his father's death, and of replacing him on the throne. Shír Khan avoided meeting so superior a force in the field, and retired into an entrenched camp which he had formerly

Invasion  
from  
Bengal.

\* Kháfi Khan intimates that he tering the camp, f. 53.  
had met with a defeat before en-

Is entirely  
defeated by  
Shír Khan.

Rival  
claimants  
of the  
crown.

fortified, and in which he was soon besieged. Here the two armies lay for some time opposed to each other, and had daily skirmishes. In these affairs, and from the constrained situation in which he was, in a hostile country, Ibráhím Khan suffered so much, that he was at last obliged to send to his master to solicit reinforcements. Shír Khan, discovering this, and finding his army in high spirits, led them out to offer battle to the enemy. It was joyfully accepted. Ibráhím drew out his army, which was strong in artillery and elephants, and marched to meet them. Shír Khan added stratagem to bravery. The battle began with great ardour on both sides; but while Ibráhím was engaged in front, in keen pursuit of a party of the retreating enemy, he was attacked in the rear by a body of chosen troops, who had been posted in ambush behind an eminence, under the personal command of Shír Khan. Ibráhím was defeated and slain, with the flower of his troops. All his artillery, elephants and baggage, fell into the hands of Shír Khan; and the young King, Sultan Jilál-ed-dín, escaping with difficulty from the field of slaughter, sought refuge in Bengal.\* This decisive success freed the dominions of Behár from foreign enemies.†

But these were not the only rivals who contended for the possession of the eastern provinces, so miserably distracted by war and faction. There were three rival princes who aspired to Behár. Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Sherki, the representative of the older Sherki dynasty of Juánpúr, which for a long time had nearly disappeared from the stage, but still possessed Benáres and other districts, and who had placed himself under the

\* Tab. Akb. ff. 172, 173.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 211.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 146.; Nisábnáma-e Afg. ff. 184—186.; Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 98—109.; Kháfí Khan, ff. 52, 53.; Khol. al-Towár. ff. 273, 274.

† The acquisition of Chunár is

placed at this time by most historians. Tab. Akb.; Akbernáma; Nisábnáma, &c. But Báber's Memoirs prove that Táji Khan was still alive, and in possession of the place, at the close of the ensuing campaign, pp. 431, 432.





protection of Báber, to whom he submitted: Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Loháni, the son of Behár Khan, who, when driven from his kingdom of Behár, had fled to the territory of Bengal, where he now was; and a third competitor, Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, the brother of the late Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, also appeared in the field.\*

Sultan  
Mahmúd  
Lodi.

After the ruin of his hopes on the side of Delhi, by the defeat of Rána Sánga and the death of Hasan Khan of Mewát, he had remained for some time in the territories of Cheitúr, but being at this time invited by several powerful Lodi chiefs and some zemíndárs of the country, who had assembled at Pana, he now joined them. His pretensions were favoured by various classes, as well as by the numerous friends of the Lodi family. Indeed, he had with him the good wishes of the Afgháns in general, who, whatever party feuds existed among them, would gladly have seen the race of Lodi restored to the throne of Delhi. The recent destruction of the Loháni dynasty of Behár, by the flight of the King to Bengal, had made it clear to the inhabitants of the eastern provinces, even of such as had formerly revolted from the Lodis and opposed them, that, unless the Afgháns of every tribe united under some new chief, their reign was over, and that no individual was so likely to unite the whole Afghán population of India in a steady union as a member of the royal race of Lodi. This feeling produced a temporary union. Sultan Mahmúd was universally acknowledged. He entered

Is univer-  
sally ac-  
know-  
ledged.

\* There seems to be considerable confusion, in many instances, in the native historians, or their transcribers, between Patna, Panah, Pateh, and Tehia, which differ only by the points. Sultan Mahmúd is made by Ferishta to come down from Patna, upon Shír Khan. The Tar. Nizámi, f. 212. has Tirhateh. The Tar. Bed. f. 147. has Patna, but immediately after mentions his

going into Behár. The Nisábnáma-e Afgh. f. 87. has *viláet-e Pateh*; Mahmúd is invited to that country, and thence enters Behár. It seems to have been the district of Panah (or Pateh or Tehia) in Bundélkand, where the Afgháns assembled before marching into Behár. It is often, probably by the fault of the copyists, confounded with Patna, which is better known.

A. H. 935,  
 A. D. 1529.  
 End of  
 February.

Behár at the head of a few troops, rapidly made himself master of the town of that name, and of the greater part of the province, and was proclaimed King. He soon found himself at the head of a large army, amounting, according to the reports brought to Báber, of no less than a hundred thousand men. Shír Khan, who saw the tide strongly running in Mahmúd's favour, however willing he might have been to maintain his own pretensions, saw that he did not possess the means of stemming the torrent, waited upon Sultan Mahmúd and acknowledged him. The territories of Behár were parcelled out by the Sultan among the leaders of the insurrection, little probably beyond his own jágír being left to Shír Khan; but, at the same time, the Sultan granted him a written agreement, by which he stipulated that, as soon as he was in possession of Juánpúr, he would resign Behár to Shír Khan, in full dominion.\*

Is expelled  
 by Báber;

Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, having sent Baban and Bayezíd across the Ganges to the province of Sirwar, with a strong army, himself advanced up the river and laid siege to Chunár; while Shír Khan crossed over and occupied Benáres. The advance of Báber, from Agra, soon put an end to the hopes of Mahmúd. On his approach, Benáres was hastily abandoned, and the siege of Chunár raised. Sultan Mahmúd retreated in confusion towards the Són, his army broke up, and he was soon after obliged to pass to the left bank of the Ganges, where he too, like his rival Jilál-ed-dín Loháni, sought refuge with the army of Bengal. Upon this dispersion, Shír Khan sent to Báber his submission, which was accepted; and Jelál-ed-dín Loháni, making his escape from the Bengal army, where he felt himself a prisoner, also submitted. Báber, as we have seen, defeated the army of Bengal, as well as that of Baban and Bayezíd, who were pursued across the Ganges and Jamna, into

\* Báber's Mem. p. 405.





the territory of Bandelkand, whence, at a future time, they once more entered Behár. Báber assigned a jágír to Jilál-ed-dín Loháni, the late sovereign of Behár, and made provision for several thousands of the Loháni troops, who had followed that prince's fortune.

At the conclusion of the campaign, the Emperor returned to Agra, leaving Muhammed Zemán Mírza governor of Juánpúr, and entrusting the government of Chunár and other districts of Behár to Sultan Juneid Birlás, the governor of Karra-Mánikpúr, under whom Táj Khan Sarangkhani had the immediate command in that fortress. Báber did not visit the eastern provinces for the two last years of his life. Shír Khan, being now a dependent on the empire, seems to have been left in full possession of his jágír. The country, after so many wars and revolutions, was in a very distracted state.\*

This interval, and the confusion that prevailed over all the eastern provinces, afforded Shír Khan a favourable opportunity of extending his influence, his reputation with his tribe, and even his territories.† Nor did he neglect it. Among other important acquisitions, he became master of Chunár, about the end of Báber's reign, or the beginning of that of Humáyun.‡ That celebrated fort lies on the banks of the Ganges, above Benáres; and, from its strength and position, commands the country around, and especially the course of the river. It had been held under the late Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, by Táj Khan§, who afterwards continued to hold it in Báber's name. Táj Khan was much under the influence of his wife, Lád Malek, a high-spirited lady,

Shír Khan extends his jágírs and power;

acquires Chunár.

\* Báber's Memoirs, pp. 405—432.

† Ibid. p. 407.

‡ Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, p. 120., makes the event take place A. H. 943; but this date is much

too late. From many authorities it appears that it was in Shír Khan's possession as early as A. H. 937.

§ Táj-Khan was the son of Jilál-Khan Sarangkhani, one of Sultan Ibráhím Lodi's great Amírs.

of Túrkomán extraction, of great beauty and accomplishments, who, though childless, entirely possessed his affection. This inevitably excited the jealousy and hatred of his other wives, whose sons resolved to put her to death. One of them, the eldest, assaulted her one night with a sword; but the wounds which he inflicted were not mortal, though the cry spread over the harem that they were murdering Lád Malek. On hearing the alarm, Táj Khan, with a naked sword in his hand, hastened to attack the assassin, who, seeing that he could not escape from his father, turned upon him, and laid him dead upon the spot. As all Táj Khan's sons, except the murderer, were too young to be able to conduct the government, Lád Malek, who had the affection of the garrison, became mistress of the fort; and by her address induced the chiefs and zemindars of the districts subject to Chunár to acquiesce in her assuming the management of the whole jágír. Shír Khan, who was not far off, finding how matters stood, entered into an understanding with Mír Ahmed Túrkomán, Lád Malek's uncle, seized and confined the delinquent, who had fled into his territory, and, after some negotiation, it was arranged that he should marry Lád Malek, which he did; and by that means gained possession of the valuable country of Chunár, with the fort, which is the key of that part of the province, with all the treasures that had been accumulated in it, as a place of safety.\*

Sultan  
 Mahmúd  
 renews his  
 pretensions.  
 A. H. 937.  
 A. D. 1531.

In spite of his late discomfiture, Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, soon after the death of Báber, had found means to collect another army of Afgháns, and resolved to march against Juánpúr. He summoned Shír Khan, who still in secret professed attachment to his cause,

\* Akbernáma, f. 35.; Tabak. Akb. f. 173., followed by Ferishta, ii. p. 110.; Tar. Niz. f. 212.; Nisábnáma-e Afgh. f. 86.; Kholáset-

al-Tow. f. 274.; Kháfi Khan, ff. 33, 34. A statement of the treasures found in Chunár is given in the Nisábnáma, f. 87.





to join his army. Shír Khan was in reality little disposed to render him any active assistance, and made so many delays that Sultan Mahmúd, by the advice of his Amírs, who were not unaware of his character and views, contrived, in marching for Juánpúr, to take his route through Shír Khan's jágír of Sahsarám. This quickened the lukewarm diligence of the crafty Afghán, who, as the Sultan approached, came out to receive him with every mark of honour, gave him a splendid reception, and joined him in prosecuting the campaign. On the approach of the Afghán army, the troops of Humáyun, under Sultan Juneid Birlás, abandoned Juánpúr\*; and Sultan Mahmúd was soon master of the country, as far as Karra-Mánikpúr and Laknau.

Is joined by  
Shír Khan.

Humáyun was at that time, as we have seen, occupied with the siege of Kalinjer, which, on hearing of the irruption of the army of Behár into his territory, he raised, and marched straight to meet them. On hearing of his approach, Sultan Mahmúd concentrated his force. When the two armies were encamped, facing each other, and ready to engage, Shír Khan, offended that Baban Khan Jilwání†, and Bayezíd Khan Fermuli, two old and distinguished leaders of the Afgháns, had been preferred to him in the command of the army, to which he aspired, sent a secret message to Mír Hindu Beg Kochín, a veteran Moghul chief, who was at this time Humáyun's Amír-ul-omra and commander-in-chief, to assure him that he continued a hearty friend to the house of his patron, Báber, which he would prove by his deeds; and proposed that, when the two armies were engaged, he should draw off his own division and retreat, so that the defeat of the pretender would be certain. Accordingly, in the battle that ensued, while the two armies were engaged, he retreated with all his troops. A general panic

Advance of  
Humáyun.

Treachery  
of Shír  
Khan, and  
dispersion  
of the  
Afghán  
force.

\* Tab. Akb. ff. 173—174.; Tar. Niz. f. 212.; Ferishta; Nisáb-náma, f. 87.

† The Nisáb-náma calls Baban, "valad Ata Lodi," f. 88.

Shír Khan  
retains  
Chunár and  
his jágirs.

ensued. Sultan Mahmúd was entirely defeated, with the loss of his whole camp and of the symbols of sovereignty. He fled to Patna,\* disgusted with the world, and believing that he was persecuted by fate, renounced public life, gave himself up to devotion, and some years after†, died in Orissa.

Humáyun, after this victory, having replaced his governors, hastened back to Agra. Hindu Beg was sent to receive possession of Chunár, and to garrison the castle with imperial troops. But Shír Khan's purpose had been served, and he delayed from time to time, under various pretexts, to surrender the place; so that, in the end, Hindu Beg returned to court, without having effected his object.

A. H. 938,  
A. D. 1532.

We have already seen that, in the following year, the Emperor, determined to break the power of Shír Khan and of the Afgháns in Behár, laid siege to Chunár; but that, being called away by the rapid progress of Beháder Shah in the west, he found himself obliged to enter into an agreement with Shír Khan, by which he allowed him to retain Chunár and his other territories.‡

And conso-  
lidates his  
resources.

For nearly five years after this period, the disturbed state of the provinces on the Ganges, and the Emperor's absence from his dominions, while engaged in the conquest of Malwa and Gujrát, left Shír Khan an invaluable opportunity, which he did not neglect, for extending his dominions and his power. It is said that when Beháder Shah, the king of Gujrát, found himself hard pressed by the powerful invasion of the Emperor, anxious to create a diversion that might draw off the whole or a part of his troops, he sent envoys to Shír Khan with large sums of money, to induce him to

\* The Tar. Niz. f. 213. calls it *Batch*; Tar. Bed. f. 147. *Tehiat*.

† According to Ferishta, he died that same year; the Tar. Niz. f. 213. places his death in A. H. 949; so does the Tar. Bedáuni, f. 147. The Kholás. al-Tow. f. 275. places it in

A. H. 945. The Nisábnáma in A. H. 944.

‡ Tabak. Akb. ff. 173, 174.; Akbernáma, f. 42.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 110—113.; Nisábnáma Afgh. ff. 88, 89.; Kháfí Khan, f. 35.





march to his assistance. Shír Khan, it is said, having got the treasure into his hands, pretending that his difficulties at home prevented his marching to a distance, proceeded to accomplish his own plans of aggrandisement, and left Beháder to his fate.

Shír Khan's success was much assisted by the revolt of Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, on the side of Laknau and Juánpúr, which threw that portion of the eastern provinces into confusion. He profited by this occurrence to make excursions into the provinces north of the river, and to seize immense booty, not probably paying any very scrupulous attention to the rights or interests of either of the contending parties. While returning from one of these predatory inroads to the north of the Ganges, he found means to come unexpectedly on Ulugh Mírza, Muhammed Sultan's son, who was then lying on the Siru or Gogra, defeated him by a stratagem, and, turning round, plundered Benáres.

Plunders to the north of the Ganges.  
A. H. 941.  
A. D. 1535.

A. H. 942.

Enriched and emboldened by this success, he soon after turned his arms against the Sultan of Bengal. Having marched across Behár with a large force, he reduced Patna\* and the neighbouring territory, which

Takes possession of Southern Behár.

\* At this period, when going with some friends through the bazaar of Patna, a religious mendicant, who was sitting in a corner silent and buried in meditation, suddenly burst out, as if inspired, exclaiming, "Behold the king of Delhi walking on foot." Shír Khan accepted the omen, which was the stronger, as the man was regarded as a simpleton; took his handkerchief, tied a knot in the corner of it to hold firm the response, and resolved to follow his fortune up to the throne itself. Nisábn. f. 89. This anecdote might have been published to influence his followers, but one recorded by Abulfazl in the Akbernáma, and which occurred soon after, serves to illus-

trate not only the habits of thinking of the time, but of the individual. When Shír Khan entered Bengal, being desirous of knowing what was to be the event of his enterprise, he invited to his court a famous astrologer, who was then with the Raja of Orissa, informing him that, as he had strange notions and unusual plans in his head, he wished for his presence that he might have the benefit of his skill. The Raja, who, like some European princes not long before, kept his astrologer shut up as a kind of state-prisoner, refused to let him go. The astrologer, however, wrote to Shír Khan, that for a year to come he would not be completely master of Bengal, but

A. D. 1537.

A. H. 943.  
 And in-  
 vades Ben-  
 gal.

had for some time been occupied by that potentate. Not content with this, he proceeded downwards to the farthest limits of Southern Behár, and at Surajpúr, above Mongeir, engaged and defeated the Bengal army, and improving this advantage, took possession of the whole country. His ambition and his success did not stop short here; he entered the kingdom of Bengal itself. That country had not been free from the convulsions that had afflicted the kingdoms around. On the death of Nasret Shah, which happened some time before this invasion, he was succeeded by his son Firúz Shah, who, after a short reign of three months, was murdered by his uncle Sultan Mahmúd Shah. Against this prince, Shír Khan now carried on a successful warfare, defeated him in several actions, driving him before him, and at last shut him up in his magnificent capital of Gour, to which he laid siege. An insurrection of some zemindars of Behár called off Shír Khan for a time, but the siege was conducted in his absence by Jilál Khan, his son, under the guidance of Khowás Khan, the ablest of his generals.\*

that he would become so on a date which he mentioned; and that, moreover, on that very day the river Ganges would be fordable for one hour; and, says Abulfazl, himself an adept in astrology, as he predicted, so it happened.

\* Akbernáma, ff. 42, 43.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 109—113.; vol. iv. p. 350. Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, p. 118. The exact time of the death of Nasret (or Nasíb) Shah is uncertain. Ferishta, in the Hist. of Bengal, vol. iv. p. 352., tells us that he never could ascertain whether Nasíb died a natural death, or was murdered; but that he died A. H. 945, after a reign of eighteen years. In this there is some mistake. His predecessor, Alá-ed-dín, is stated to have died A. H. 930 (vol. iv. p. 350.),

so that, if Nasíb died in A. H. 945, his reign was only of fifteen years. In Ferishta, General History, vol. ii. pp. 108, 109—113., the actions elsewhere ascribed to Nasíb in the last part of his reign, are given to Mahmúd in the early part of his. Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, p. 117., says that Nasret was murdered A. H. 940, after a reign of thirteen years, though some historians, he thinks inaccurately, make him die A. H. 943, after a reign of sixteen years. Abulfazl (Akber-náma, f. 43. v.) calls the king of Bengal defeated by Shír Khan, Nasíb Shah. The second siege of Chunár occurred in A. H. 945. It is possible that Nasíb may have died during the siege of Gour, which was in the same year; though not





## LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

CSL 137

CHAP. IV.  
SECT. I.

The report of these rapid successes had alarmed Humáyun, during his residence in Gujráat and Malwa; and now, after his return to Agra, made him march with his grand army to re-establish his authority in Behár. The events that followed, it is now time to detail.

A. H. 944,  
A. D. 1537.

probable, as Stewart makes Mahmúd die in A. H. 945, the same year, which would allow only a few months

for his reign. I should be inclined to fix upon the early part of A. H. 943 as the time of his death.



## CHAPTER IV.

## AFFAIRS OF BENGAL.

## SECTION II.

## CONQUEST AND LOSS OF BENGAL BY HUMÁYUN.

HUMÁYUN AT AGRA.—PREPARES TO ATTACK SHÍR KHAN.—LAYS SIEGE TO CHUNÁR; WHICH SURRENDERS, AFTER SIX MONTHS.—SHÍR KHAN IN BENGAL.—HUMÁYUN ADVANCES TO BENÁRES.—CAPTURE OF GOUR, AND REDUCTION OF BENGAL AND BEHÁR, BY SHÍR KHAN.—HUMÁYUN SUMMONS HIM TO SUBMIT; HE REFUSES.—HUMÁYUN TRAVERSES BEHÁR, AND APPROACHES THE TERIA-GARHI PASS.—PLANS OF SHÍR KHAN.—SURPRISE AND ROUT OF THE IMPERIAL ADVANCED GUARD.—RETREAT OF THE ENEMY.—SHÍR KHAN GAINS RHOTAS BY TREACHERY.—HUMÁYUN ENTERS BENGAL, OCCUPIES GOUR, AND SUBDUES THE WHOLE PROVINCE.—INDOLENCE OF THE EMPEROR, AND COURT.—SHÍR KHAN RE-OCCUPIES BEHÁR, AND THE PASSES.—LAYS SIEGE TO JUÁN PÚR AND CHUNÁR.—REVOLT OF HINDAL MÍRZA, AT AGRA.—HUMÁYUN RETREATS FROM BENGAL; HIS DANGEROUS SITUATION.—MÍRZA ASKERI FORCES THE PASSES INTO BEHÁR.—SHÍR KHAN PROCLAIMED KING.—THE TWO ARMIES APPROACH.—SHÍR SHAH'S TACTICS; OPERATIONS AT CHONSA.—DISTRESS OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY.—REBELLIONS IN HINDUSTAN.—TREASONABLE CONDUCT AND VACILLATIONS OF HINDAL MÍRZA.—HE ATTACKS DELHI.—KÁMRÁN MÍRZA CALLED IN TO RELIEVE IT.—HINDAL RETREATS TO AGRA.—KÁMRÁN ALSO REVOLTS.—PURSUES HINDAL, AND RECEIVES HIS SUBMISSION.—MARCHES AGAINST SHÍR SHAH; BUT RETURNS WITHOUT FIGHTING.—CONTINUED DISTRESS OF HUMÁYUN AT CHONSA.—HE SENDS AN ENVOY TO SHÍR SHAH; NEGOTIATIONS AND ARMISTICE.—NEGLIGENCE OF HUMÁYUN.—ATTACK BY SHÍR SHAH.—SLAUGHTER OF THE IMPERIALISTS.—DANGER AND WOUND OF HUMÁYUN.—HIS ARMY ANNIHILATED.—PROCEEDINGS OF SHÍR SHAH.—HUMÁYUN MAKES HIS WAY TO AGRA.—SHÍR SHAH SUPREME ON THE LOWER GANGES.

BOOK IV. THOUGH Humáyun's return to Agra had been hurried





on by the reports that had reached him of the alarming progress of Shír Khan in Bengal, and by the recent death of Sultan Juneíd Birlás, which had added still farther to the disturbed state of the eastern provinces; he, however, wasted a twelvemonth, after his arrival in the capital, in pleasure and inactivity, before he seriously resolved on taking the field. The first wish of his heart was to have again marched into Málwa and Gujrát, and to have retrieved his affairs in these provinces. Burhán Nizám Shah, of Ahmednagar, who was assailed by his neighbours in the Dekkan, as well as from Gujrát, sent an embassy, offering to assist Humáyun in a new invasion of that country.\* But the danger from Shír Khan's unexpected progress drew off the Emperor in another direction. Sensible, at last, of the danger of any farther delay in seeking out and combating his indefatigable enemy, he made every preparation for an active campaign. He despatched his Amírs to their different jágírs to expedite the march of their contingents, while he committed the government of the principal provinces of the crown to his most eminent nobles. Delhi, he entrusted to Mír Fakr Ali; Agra, to Mír Muhammed Bakhshi; Kalpi, to Yádgár Násir Mírza, his cousin and brother-in-law; and Kanáuj, and the adjoining country, to Núr-ed-dín Muhammed Mírza, who also had married a daughter of Báber. Having concentrated the whole moveable force that he could command, the Emperor set out, and proceeded down the Jamna, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, accompanied by his brothers, Askeri and Hindal, and taking with him a part of his harem. On the way, Muhammed Zemán Mírza, whose pardon had been negotiated by his wife, a sister of Humáyun's, met him, with a body of troops, who still accompanied him, after all his elevations and misfortunes, and was honourably

\* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iii. pp. 228, 229.

received. Chunár was the first object of the campaign. Shír Khan, being still absent in Bengal, the moment was regarded as favourable for an attack. Before the army reached Chunár, Kutb Khan, his second son, whom he had left in charge of it, retired\* to the neighbouring hills of Bharkanda, to observe and harass the besiegers from without, leaving Gházi Khan Súr†, the father of the future king, Ibráhím Shah Súr, to conduct the defence within.

Lays siege  
to Chunár.

The place was strong, well provided with stores and ammunition, and defended by a brave and numerous garrison. In spite of every effort on the part of the assailants, little progress was made. Rúmi Khan, Beháder Shah's celebrated engineer, who had left him after the disastrous discomfiture of Mandsúr, was now Humáyun's Mir-Atesh, or Grand-Master of Ordnance, and directed the operations of the siege. When it had lasted several months‡, seeing that his battering guns

\* According to Jouher, this was on the Sheb-e-Berát, 16 Shábán, which would be the 18 Jan. A. D. 1538. Six months, between Agra and Chunár, is a long time.

† Bedáuni, f. 141., says that it was Jilál-Khan, and that he retired in a boat during the siege.

‡ Rúmi Khan, when he found that his batteries did not produce the desired effect, and desirous to ascertain on what part of the fortifications an impression could most successfully be made, is said by Jouher to have resorted to an artifice not altogether singular in barbarous warfare. Having caused a faithful and intelligent Abyssinian slave, with whom he had a perfect understanding, to be severely flogged, the slave made his escape by night, and found admittance into the fort. There, with imprecations against the injustice and cruelty of his master, he exhibited his limbs still flagrant

from the scourge, explained with truth in whose service he had been; spoke of the skill, as an engineer, that he had gained under so able a teacher; and professed his readiness, in revenge of the injurious treatment he had received, to point out the spots, from which the camp of the besiegers could be most effectually annoyed. To evince at once his skill and his sincerity, he showed some defects in the fortifications that required to be remedied. The officers who had charge of the defences, the better to avail themselves of his remarks, carried him to the most important parts of the works, on which he silently made his observations; and, having gained his object, in the course of a few days he found means to escape and return to the camp, where he communicated his remarks to his master, who acted upon them in his future operations. Jouher, c. 3.





did not make the impression which he expected, he made a more scrutinising survey; and, having discovered that the defences were weakest on the side of the river, besides running some works to cut off the communication of the garrison with the country, and a mine or two on the land side, in furtherance of his previous operations, Rúmi Khan constructed a battery near the Ganges, in which he placed a huge piece of cannon, to bear on the walls by the river side. But soon, finding that, from its distance and position, it did not produce the desired effect, he resolved to attack the river face directly, where the works were weakest. For this purpose he constructed a large platform upon boats in the river, on which he raised a battery, surmounted by a high tower that overtopped the fortifications. This floating battery he moved across the river by night, and anchored close to the fort. This movement was supported by a general attack on every side. A furious cannonade ensued, and soon threw down a portion of the wall, by which the besiegers attempted to enter\*; but so well did the garrison defend themselves, that seven hundred of the assailants were killed, and the floating battery was half-destroyed by the shot. Next morning, artificers were set to work to repair the battery for a fresh attack, when such of the garrison as had not already escaped, seeing that the Emperor was resolved to take the place at any expense, and that there was no prospect of relief, capitulated on condition that their lives should be spared. After the surrender, Moveiid Beg Duldi, a favourite of Humáyun's, under pretence of an order from the Emperor, caused the hands of three hundred artillerymen to be struck off; a breach of faith for which, on the indignant complaint of Rúmi Khan, he was sharply rebuked by Humáyun. The command of the place was conferred

Which surrenders after six months.

\* Jouher says that no breach was made.

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on Rúmi Khan, who held it but a few days, when he died, it was strongly suspected of poison administered by some of the nobles with whom he was unpopular. He was succeeded in the government of Chunár by Beg Mírak, whom he had pointed out as most fit for the office.\*

Shír Khan  
in Bengal.

Humáyun  
advances to  
Benáres.

The six months during which Humáyun was detained by the siege of Chunár afforded a most valuable breathing time for Shír Khan, who employed it in the reduction of Bengal, and especially in pushing on the siege of Gour, where his troops were directed, sometimes by himself, and sometimes by his son, Jilál Khan, and his great general, Khowás Khan, the son of the late Malek Saka. After the fall of Chunár, the Emperor moved down to Benáres, where he learned that Shír Khan was actively occupied in the siege of Gour, and had the prospect of being soon master of the whole kingdom. On this, he resolved to prosecute his march into Bengal, that he might check his progress, and had reached the river Són, when news arrived that Gour had fallen.

Capture of  
Gour, and  
reduction  
of Bengal  
and Behár  
by Shír  
Khan.

It appears that after a siege of many months, a scarcity of food began to prevail in the city, upon which the king, Syed Mahmúd Shah, seeing no hopes of successful resistance, and that the place must soon fall, effected his escape in a swift rowing boat, and reached Hájipúr. He was afterwards pursued and attacked by a party of Shír Khan's troops, his followers dispersed,

\* Jouher's Mem. c. 3.; Akber-náma, f. 43.; Tabakát-e Akberi, ff. 149, 150, 175.; Tar. Niz. f. 213.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 83, 84, 113.; Nisábnáma, f. 89.; Kháfí Khan, f. 45. The Tabakát, f. 150., says that the artillerymen were mutilated *bahukm* (q. *bihukm*) *Ashraf*, and that their left hand was cut off. Abul-fazl seems to extend this to all the garrison of two thousand. The Tab. Akberi, f. 175.; Tar. Niz.

f. 213. call Rúmi's successor, Dost Beg, as does the Nisábnáma. Ferishta, following the Tabakát, makes the siege last six months (vol. ii. p. 114.) as does the Nisábnáma. Jouher allows six months for the construction of the floating battery and tower. There is a good deal of diversity in the various accounts of the siege, which it is needless to attempt to reconcile.





and himself wounded; so that he was soon after compelled entirely to abandon his kingdom, and to seek refuge in the camp of the Emperor.\* Shír Khan, after his victory, hastened back to Gour, which fell into his hands; and the greater part of the dependent provinces of Bengal and Behár followed the fate of the capital.

This intelligence induced Humáyun to follow a more vigorous plan of operations. He saw the necessity of preventing the Afghán from having time to confirm his power in the wealthy and populous kingdom of Bengal. He therefore despatched an envoy to Shír Khan, commanding him, without delay, to resign to him the throne, the umbrella, and other ensigns of royalty, with the royal treasures which had fallen into his hands; and, at the same time, to surrender all the territory that he had recently seized; offering to assign to him, in jágír, the fort of Chunár, the city of Juánpúr, or any other place that he might choose. Shír Khan received the message with every mark of deference, but declined the offer, saying that the conquest of Bengal had been achieved by years of toil, and the lives of many of his bravest followers, and that he was therefore by no means disposed to part with what had cost him so much. The envoy, who was detained some time in Shír Khan's camp, on his return, besides reporting as to his mission, informed the Emperor that the Khan had already set out on his way from Ghour to Rhotas and the hill country, carrying with him the immense treasure that he had taken, and which he intended to secure in the fastnesses among the hills.

Meanwhile Humáyun, leaving Mír Hindu Beg Kochín, his Amír-al-omra, as governor of Juánpúr, with directions for the general management of affairs in that

Humáyun  
calls upon  
him to  
submit,

which he  
declines.

Humáyun  
traverses  
Behár.

\* Mahmúd, in his distress, made application for assistance to Nuño d'Acuña, the Portuguese Governor-General of India, who sent nine

ships, but they did not arrive till the town was taken. Hist. Faria de Souza, quoted by Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, p. 121.

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A. H. 945.

quarter, marched forward for Bengal. At Moniah, a small town between Arra and Dinapúr, near the confluence of the Són with the Ganges, he was met by Syed Mahmúd Shah\*, the expelled king of Bengal, who was still suffering severely from his wounds. As the rainy season had now commenced, many of the Emperor's officers were of opinion that it would be better to suspend operations till its close, since the movement of troops, especially of cavalry, must be attended with extreme difficulty during that season in the low country of Bengal. But Mahmúd Shah contended, that the earliest moment was the best; that Shír Khan was still unconfirmed in the possession of the country, and, if attacked without delay, could easily be expelled. He added, that there was no danger of suffering from want of supplies, as was apprehended by some, since there were granaries in Bengal adequate to the support of many armies. Humáyun, persuaded by these reasons, in which there was great weight, and dazzled with the prospect of conquering another kingdom to make up for those he had lost, willingly adopted the views of the exiled monarch.

Approaches  
the Teria-  
garhi pass.

The army continued its march, and before it had quitted the territory of Mongeir, information arrived that Jilál Khan, Shír Khan's second son, and Khowás Khan, his ablest general, had occupied the narrow defile near the village of Teria-garhi†,—the grand pass that leads from Behár to Bengal,—and fortified a strong position in the heart of it, for the purpose of checking the advance of the imperial army. On reaching Bhágilpúr, between the town of Mongeir and the pass, Mirza Hindal was detached across the river‡, with a

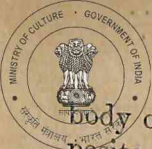
\* The Akbernáma and Tar. Bed. f. 141. call him Nasib Shah, which must be erroneous.

† Tiliagulley. Rennell.

‡ Jouher, c. 4., speaks of Hindal, and Yádgár Násir Mírza's being sent

back from the Són, to look after Agra and Delhi. The Tabakát-e Akberi and Tar. Bedáuni say that Hindal Mírza was sent from Mongeir to Agra, to check and chastise Muhammed Sultan Mírza, and his sons,





body of five or six thousand men, to act on the opposite bank; and, soon after, Jehángír-Kuli Beg and Biram Khan, with a detachment of about the same strength, were sent forward to clear the road by the Teria-garhi and Sikria-garhi pass.

The defile which Shír Khan had ordered his son to occupy, is the long and narrow passage lying between the Ganges and the termination of the Rájamahl hills, where, on the east-side, the narrow space is, for some distance, washed by that river. The ground on the west rises abruptly into the Rájamahl hills\*, here precipitous, and rendered impassable by jungle and thorny shrubs. It is the great natural highway through the hills from Behár into Bengal. Shír Khan, seeing no probability of defending Bengal against the formidable army commanded by the Emperor, by resistance in the open field, had given his son a body of about fifteen thousand men, with instructions to defend the upper, or Teria-garhi, pass as long as he safely could, but charging him on no account to involve himself in offensive operations, and, as soon as the main body of the enemy's army approached, and it was known that he, Shír Khan, had reached Shírpúr, to abandon his ground, and hasten by forced marches to join him.

Shír Khan's plan of operations was to allow Humáyun's army to take possession of Bengal; to move by the road of the hill-country of Jharkend†, towards Rhotas, and secure his treasure and spoil in the difficult recesses of the hills, or in that fort, if he could have access to it; and then to operate on the Emperor's rear

Plans of  
Shír Khan.

Ulugh and Shah Mírza, who had fled at Humáyun's approach, and were still exciting commotions. Ferishta, v. ii. p. 85., agrees that Hindal was sent to suppress the revolt of Muhammed Sultan Mírza, at Kanáuj. Abulfazl, Akbernáma,

f. 43. v., merely makes him sent across the Ganges with five or six thousand men, to co-operate with the grand army.

\* See Rennell's Atlas of Bengal, Plate, No. 15.

† Jharkend and Bharkend.

Surprise  
and route  
of the Im-  
perial ad-  
vanced  
guard.

and communications as he advanced into Bengal, seizing upon Behár behind him, and cutting off all intercourse with his dominions, both in the north and west.

When the imperial detachment, under Jehángir-Kuli, approached the defile, they found it strongly fortified. This forced them to halt, in order to examine if the enemy could be dislodged by an attack, or if any other practicable pass could be found, by which their position could be turned, and they taken in the rear. Jilál Khan, seeing the imperial troops encamped so near, and learning that they lay carelessly on their ground, less occupied with securing their own camp than with devising means for assailing their opponents, seized the favourable opportunity for cutting them off, fell upon them by surprise with great fury, wounded Jehángir-Kuli himself, and put numbers to the sword. The detachment was saved chiefly by the valour and conduct of Biram Khan, who had a command in it. Collecting some of his troops, he attempted by his gallant resistance to give the imperialists time to rally. But, though he made several desperate charges, and even broke through the enemy, yet, as Jehángir's force had been pushed greatly too much in advance, and was consequently left unsupported\*, they were overborne by superior numbers; and, unable to recover their ground, were compelled to fall back on the grand army at Kohlgám, between Bhágilpúr† and the pass. Many officers of rank fell in this affair. A violent storm which sank the Emperor's barge at the moorings, attended by a heavy fall of rain,

\* Jouher, c. 3., makes no mention of any sally, but represents them as being overpowered, while on their march in the narrow defile, by Jilál Khan's men, who were placed in ambush in the overhanging heights.

† The Colgong and Bogilpoor of Rennell. Jouher calls it Kahl-

gram. One account makes the Emperor here allow his brother Hindal to proceed to the provinces of Tírhut and Purnía, which were given him in jágir, with directions to settle them, and return with stores and necessities for the expedition.



Retreat of  
the enemy.

which flooded the surrounding country, prevented the Emperor from moving on for several days after. When he was able, however, to send forward reconnoitring parties to examine the passes, it was found that the Afgháns, who had received notice that Shír Khan with his whole plunder and artillery had reached Rhotas, having thus attained their object, had already abandoned their works and retreated.\*

It was at this moment of danger that Shír Khan succeeded in gaining possession of the hill-fort of Rhotas. Having lost Chunár, to which he had formerly trusted as a secure retreat for his family and his treasures, he had now no commanding fortress in which he could deposit them in the moment of need. His own country was overrun, and he found it necessary to withdraw his troops from the open country of Bengal. In such circumstances, the possession of Rhotas would be of unspeakable advantage to him. It lies high up, in a strong country, on the upper course of the Són; was reckoned impregnable; and had never submitted to the Kings of Delhi. It would not only be a place of security for his family and treasure, but a most important military post in the warfare he anticipated. With caution and secrecy he proposed to the Raja, Hari Kishen Birkís†, to be allowed, in this pressing exigency, to send his harem and family, with his treasure and a few attendants, into the fort, as a place in which they might be safe from all the accidents of war. This was at first refused. But Shír Khan employed an able agent, who gained the Raja's favourite wife and his minister by rich presents, and who represented to the Raja, that,

Shír Khan  
gains  
Rhotas by  
treachery.

\* Akbernáma, f. 43.; Tabakát-e Akberi, f. 150.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 141.

† Abulfazl calls the Raja, Chintáman. Akbern., f. 43.; the Kholá-

set-ul-Towárikh, f. 275., describes him as Raja Chintáman, a Brahman. The Nisábnáma, apparently on good authority, makes Chintáman a Brahman and the Raja's minister.

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in the doubtful enterprises in which Shír Khan was engaged, it would be an unspeakable relief to his mind to know, that, even should he be deprived of life, his harem and his honour would be safe; and that his wealth, such as it was, the treasures and the plunder of Bengal, instead of falling into the hands of his inveterate enemies, would enrich a friend who had ever been faithful to him. And the Raja, thus strongly urged, whatever were his motives, whether friendship or avarice, was finally persuaded to comply with Shír Khan's request.

The plan said to have been adopted by him was not altogether novel, and was founded on the severe and jealous delicacy with which, in the East, women of rank are treated. A thousand dolis\*, or covered litters, were provided, in each of which was placed a chosen Afghán warrior, in armour, and sent up to the fort. In some of the first, ladies were seated, to cover the deceit; in others were arms. When the persons in charge of the gates stopped the dolies at the head of the procession, and began examining them, Shír Khan despatched a messenger to the Raja, to remonstrate with him on the unspeakable disgrace he would incur, were his females exposed to view; and the Raja sent orders to let them pass without examination. As soon as all the dolies were within the fort, the armed men issued from them; the bearers and attendants supplied themselves with arms from the dolies; one party advanced to seize the palace, another took possession of the gates, and admitted Shír Khan and his troops. Hari Kishen effected his escape by a private passage. "Thus," says Ferishta, "fell one of the strongest fortresses in the world into the hands of Shír Khan, together with much treasure, that had been accumulated for ages. Although the author, Muhammed Kásim Ferishta, has

\* The authorities differ as to the number of the dolies, as well as in many other particulars, making them 300, 1000, and 1200.





seen many hill-forts in India, he has seen none to compare with that of Rhotas. It is situated on a table-land, on the top of a mountain more than five kos (seven miles) square. It has only one entrance, by a very narrow road, along a steep ascent of two miles from the foot of the hill to the gates; and water is found everywhere in abundance, by digging a few feet below the surface."\*

As soon as Humáyun found that the passes were clear, he left Kohlgám, and continued his march into Bengal. At the same time he allowed his brother Hindal, at his own request, to proceed to the provinces of Tírhut and Purnía, which he had given him in jágir, enjoining him to bring from thence to Bengal such stores and necessities as might assist the invasion. In the course of a few days, Humáyun took possession of Gour, the capital of Bengal, which, as well as the neighbouring country, he found wasted and ruined by the ravages of war, and the inhabitants in extreme misery and wretchedness. In Gour†, dead bodies were still lying everywhere in the streets and bazars, which were covered with rubbish. These marks of war and desolation were soon removed. Humáyun met with little opposition in completing the conquest of the whole province, which submitted to him in the course of the year, and, with the restoration of order, it was speedily restored to comparative prosperity.

Humáyun enters Bengal, and occupies Gour;

and subdues the whole province.

\* Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115. See *Tabak. Akb.* f. 175.; *Tar. Niz.* ff. 213, 214.; *Abulfazl Akbern.*, f. 48.; *Tar. Bedáuni*, f. 141.; *Nisábn. Afgh.* f. 89.; *Kholáset-ul-Tow.* p. 275.; *Jouher's Mem.* c. 3.; *Kháfi Khan*, ff. 55, 56. There is some discrepancy as to the date of the taking of Rhotas. Jouher, who accompanied Humáyun on his expedition to Bengal, mentions his hearing of Shír Shah's being in Rhotas before he left Agra, and even

makes the Emperor march against it, while Shír Shah was employed in Bengal. But his *Memoirs* were written from memory, at the distance of many years after the events, and, in this, as in several other instances, are probably erroneous.

† The old name of Gour was Laknouti; Humáyun, who was very partial to it, called it Jinnetábád (Paradise). After residing in it three months, he was forced to leave it, the troops finding it unhealthy.

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Indolence  
 of the Em-  
 peror and  
 Court.

Humáyun, thus far successful, was fully alive to all the enjoyments of his new situation. He soon portioned out the whole country into *jágírs*, which he divided among his principal officers. He was delighted with the fertility, and with all the novelties and luxuries of that rich province. Giving way to the habitual improvidence of his temper, he shut himself up in his private apartments, and resigned himself wholly to frivolous indulgences, and to idle pleasures. He was faithfully imitated by his court and his officers, who, in like manner, devoted themselves to jollity and sensual pursuits. Nothing was done to conciliate the inhabitants, to improve their condition, to strengthen the government, or to secure the possession of the new conquest.

Some time elapsed in this manner, while Humáyun and his court enjoyed themselves\*, without thoughts of the past, and with little care about the future. By degrees, the intelligence from the north became less frequent. Hindal Mirza did not forward the expected convoys. On the contrary, news full of suspicion were brought; first, that without leave, and in spite of the rains which then prevailed, he had marched straight for Agra; and next, that he was comporting himself in a manner not consistent with his fidelity to his brother. Humáyun immediately despatched Sheikh Bhúl, to bring back the Mirza to his duty. Meanwhile, no reinforcements or supplies arrived from any quarter. The little news that did arrive became daily less; and gradually all routes of communication were completely blocked up. This state of things might have roused the most unthinking. But the inconveniences experienced were only negative; there was no positive and active annoyance pressing close at hand; and the victors thought

Unsatisfac-  
 tory state  
 of his af-  
 fairs.

\* The length of Humáyun's residence in Bengal is not well defined. The Tar. Nizámi, f. 214., Tar. Akb. f. 175., Nisábname-e Afgh. f. 90., make him spend three months in

Gour, in pleasure; as does the Tar. Bedauni, f. 141. The Tab. Akb. allows six months for his residence in Bengal, in all; the original of Jouher, nine months.





lessly pursued their career of enjoyment. Such rumours of what was going on at a distance as reached Gour, being seldom of a favourable description, were carefully concealed from the Emperor by those about his person, as of too disagreeable a nature for royal ears ; so that he was on the brink of a precipice, before he suspected that there was any danger.

At length news the most alarming, and which could no longer be concealed from the Emperor, arrived in rapid succession. It was discovered, that not only was Shír Khan in possession of the passes, but that the country through which they had recently marched was rapidly falling into his power. As long as Humáyun pursued his route through Behár, the Khan had shunned meeting him. He, for a moment, stopped his progress on the confines of Bengal, to gain time to remove his booty, from Gour and the conquered country, to the mountains of Jharkend, and to Rhotas, where he deposited it in safety. While the Emperor, having fairly passed the defiles, entered Bengal to the south of the hills on the one side, the Afghán descended from his mountain recesses into Behár on the other, and spread his forces once more to the north of the hills, where his own strength lay. He was speedily master of the whole province, and had occupied every road by which troops or couriers could pass down to Bengal, so that the Emperor was totally excluded from all co-operation, or even communication, with the rest of his dominions. Availing himself of the absence of the imperial army, he passed the Ganges, took the city of Benáres after a short siege, and slew the governor Mír Fazli, and seven hundred Chaghatáis. Thence he proceeded to Juánpúr, which he prepared to besiege. It was defended by Bába Beg Jiláir, who had succeeded to that command by the recent death of Hindu Beg. The governor had just been joined by Yúsef Beg from Oud, who had got so far with a body of five thousand men, that he was

Shír Khan  
re-occupies  
Behár and  
the passes.

Lays siege  
to Juánpúr,

attempting to carry to Bengal, to reinforce the Emperor. Yúsef Beg\* joined the governor to assist in defending the place, and indulged his fondness for action in constant sallies and skirmishes. Jilál Khan, Shír Khan's eldest son, taking with him a few thousand men, succeeded in coming up with him while on one of these excursions near Juánpúr. Yúsef's officers advised an instant retreat, his numbers being far inferior to the Khan's. But, hurried on by the ardour of his courage, he engaged, was defeated and slain, and his troops dispersed. Next day, Jilál laid siege to Juánpúr. Shír Khan's joy at this victory, the first considerable one gained by his troops in the open field against the Emperor's, was very great. He regarded it as a happy omen and pledge of future success; observing in homely phrase, that a cock, when once soundly beaten, is not easily brought again to the scratch. Bába Beg made a brave and skilful defence of Juánpúr; and despatched expresses to the Emperor and the neighbouring governors of provinces, to ask assistance. Meanwhile, Shír Khan blockaded Chunár also. He seized the families of the principal zemíndárs of Behár and Juánpúr, as hostages, and sent them in custody to Rhotas. His army was now very strong, and his operations, planned and conducted with consummate sagacity, had in all quarters been crowned with success. No less alarming were the reports received, at the same time, from Agra, where Hindal Mírza had put to death Sheikh Bhúl, soon after his arrival; had thrown off his allegiance; had assumed all the ensigns of sovereignty; and caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor.†

and Chunár.

Revolt of Hindal Mírza at Agra.

\* The Nisábname (f. 91.) asserts that Biram Khan, who had not then attained the rank he afterwards did, held a command in Yúsef Beg's army.

† Akbername, ff. 43, 44.; Ta-

bakát Akb. f. 175.; Tar. Niz. f. 214.; Ferishta, v. ii, pp. 83, 84.; Jouher, c. 4.; Kháfí Khan, ff. 45—47.; Nisábname-e Afgh. ff. 89—91.; Taríkhe Reshídi, ff. 365, 366.; Tar. Bedáuni, ff. 141, 142.

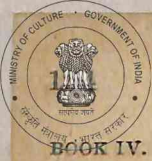




For some time, Humáyun affected to treat the news as unfounded and impossible; but he soon found that it was no time to linger where he was. He summoned a council, to make arrangements, both for his return, and for leaving an adequate force to preserve his conquest. Some difficulty arising, as to a proper person to be entrusted with the future command of the province, Humáyun proposed to appoint Záhid Beg to be governor of Bengal; and to leave him behind, with a competent number of officers and troops, for the protection of the province. That nobleman had married the sister of Baiké Begum, one of the Emperor's favourite ladies, who had often importuned his Majesty to confer some appointment on him. The Beg, being present when the nomination was made, asked the Emperor, with some petulance, if his Majesty could find no place but Bengal, in which to make away with him. Humáyun, enraged at this unseasonable and insolent speech, vowed that he should put him to death. Záhid Beg, however, escaped from the Council, and sent a message to the Begum, entreating her to intercede for his pardon. This she did, but in vain. He was, therefore, obliged to fly privately from the camp, and, along with Háji Muhammed Koka and Zíndár Beg, two officers of distinction, succeeded in reaching the upper provinces. The government of Bengal was committed to Jehángir-Kuli Beg, a gallant veteran, who was left behind with a body of five thousand horse.

Humáyun, when about to retrace his steps, sent forward Khan Khánán Lodi with the advanced guard of the army, ordering him to occupy Mongeir in Behár, and to hold it till his arrival. He himself followed; but from the heavy rains, which rendered the roads deep and nearly impassable with mud\*,

\* This of the rains and mud see Tar. Niz. p. 214.  
deserves attention. For the months,



## BOOK IV.

A. D. 1538.

His dangerous situation.

much of the baggage of the army was soon lost, many horses perished, and the troops began to endure great hardship. To add to their distress, before the Emperor had quitted Bengal, he learned that a strong body of Shír Khan's troops, under Khowás Khan, had destroyed the gates of Mongeir by fire, entered the town, and carried off Khan Khánán.\*

The danger was now more urgent than ever. The difficult straits that separate Bengal from Behár were still to be passed; the troops were worn out and dispirited, and numbers of them suffering from sickness. Humáyun, sending for Askeri Mírza, whose division was reckoned the most efficient in the army, offered to reward him to any extent, or, as he expressed himself, to grant any four demands he should make, provided he could extricate him from his present situation. Askeri called a meeting of his principal officers, and explained what had passed. They asked him, what boon he thought of requiring. His answer is a melancholy symptom of the degradation of the court and times of Humáyun. "It is my intention," said he, "to ask a round sum of money, a supply of the most costly manufactures of Bengal, some handsome slaves, and a few eunuchs." His officers, filled with surprise and indignation at his short-sighted selfishness, told him without hesitation, that the crisis was one of great difficulty and danger, from which nothing but their strenuous exertions could relieve him or the Emperor; that they would expect, therefore, to share in some reward proportioned to the extent of the benefit conferred; and proposed, that all of them should be raised to a higher military rank, should receive an increase of pay for their followers, and a large dona-

\* Akbernáma, ff. 43, 44.; Tabakát-e Akberi, f. 175.; Tar. Niz. f. 214.; Jouher, c. 4. This Khan-Khánán was Diláwer-Khan, son of

Doulat Khan. He had been made Khan-Khánán by Báber. He died in prison in Shír Shah's reign.





tion in ready money for themselves. On these conditions they hoped to be able to extricate the army from its present distress. The Emperor complied with their demands, paid down the money, and added rich presents to gratify his mercenary warriors. Having received a reinforcement of the best troops in the camp, the Mírza advanced, made his way through the passes, and reached Kohlgám, where he halted. From that place he sent back to inform the Emperor of his success, and to communicate intelligence, the truth of which he had been able to ascertain. His report was, that Shír Khan was busy besieging both Chunár and Juánpúr; was in possession of Behár and the country as far as Kanáuj; had been encouraged by his success to declare his independence, by assuming the title of Shah, or King \*; and was now collecting a large force at Rhotas.

Mírza Askeri forces the passes into Behár.

Shír Khan proclaimed King.

This intelligence seems to have induced the Emperor to march up the left bank of the Ganges, till he came opposite to Mongeir, where he found Askeri and the advance. Here Muhammed Zemán Mírza communicated undoubted information which he had procured, that Shír Khan was not far off, and was secretly, but carefully, watching every motion of the army. Instead of proceeding onwards by the same bank to Juánpúr, by which route he would have been less liable to meet with interruption, and could have collected reinforcements from various quarters, the Emperor,—from some false point of honour, as is alleged, lest Shír Shah should boast that he had given up the ordinary high road, which lay to the south of the river, and taken that on the north, to avoid facing him,—was induced to recross to the right bank. This movement he is said to have made by the advice of his favourite, Moveíd Beg, in opposition to the remonstrances of his ablest officers,

The two armies approach.

\* He probably at this time assumed the style of King of Behár.

who represented the miserably unprepared state of the army for active service, worn out, as they were, by a long and difficult march through heavy roads, and nearly destitute of baggage and warlike stores. Having crossed over to the right bank, Humáyun resumed his march upwards, past Patna, till he reached Moníah, at the confluence of the Són with the Ganges.\*

At Moníah, the enemy, who, though hovering at no great distance, had hitherto hardly shown themselves, were discovered to be at hand in great force. Orders were issued to the troops to arm and prepare for action; and, next day, a body of the Afgháns appeared in sight.

The day following, just as the army was about to march, news arrived that the Afgháns had seized the boat which carried a huge piece of ordnance† that had been used at the siege of Chunár. The army, however, crossed the Són; and, on the fourth day, with some skirmishing, reached Chonsa‡, near which the Karamnassa flows into the Ganges.

On hearing of the Emperor's march from Gour, Shír Khan had raised the siege of Juánpúr, and concentrated his force. His plan of campaign was laid with great coolness and skill. If the enemy pushed forward, for the purpose of bringing on a pitched battle, he resolved not to face them in the open field, nor to hazard the fate of the war on a single great action, in which the imperialists, from the quality of their force, were likely to have the advantage. On the contrary, in that case, he proposed to give them the slip, and to re-enter Bengal, as he had formerly left it, by the Jharkend

\* Abulfazl makes Muhammed Zemán Mírza join the army before the siege of Chunár (Akbernáma, f. 43.). Jouher makes him and Muhammed Sultan Mírza join during the siege, c. 3.; the Tabakát makes him arrive at this time with

a considerable party, f. 150.; and Ferishta, v. ii. p. 85. follows that authority.

† Díg Koh-shikan, the hill-breaker.

‡ Chonsar. Rennell.





hills. If, on the other hand, the Emperor, instead of marching to attack him, pushed on straight for Agra, then he was to hang on his flanks and rear, cut off his supplies, and harass him on the line of march; and even, if occasion offered, to attempt a surprise. The accounts which soon reached him, of the broken and disabled state of the imperial army, induced him, however, to deviate from this plan; and, adopting a bolder system of operations, to march down and meet his enemy face to face.\*

Operations  
at Chonsa.  
End of  
A. H. 945,  
April 1539.

Accordingly, when the Emperor's army reached Chonsa, about nine in the morning, before they had dismounted, an immense cloud of dust was seen in the east. The Emperor gave orders to ascertain whence it proceeded, and soon learned that it was Shír Khan, whose army had arrived by a forced march. A consultation was held. Kásim Husein Sultan proposed an instant attack, observing that Shír Khan must have come that day eighteen or nineteen kos, and that his horses must be worn out and fatigued, while theirs were comparatively fresh. The Emperor was inclined to fall into his opinion, but was induced by Moveíd Khan to defer the attack till next day. A bridge was thrown across the Karamnassa, and the army passed and encamped without fighting, which disheartened both Amírs and soldiers. Shír Khan, who had placed himself in the direct line of his march, fortified his camp on every side with strong entrenchments.

Distress of  
the Imperial  
army.

Humáyun's further advance was now checked. The army, brought into this trying situation, was already much weakened by sickness and disease, as well as by the casualties of a long march through bad roads. The greater proportion of the draught cattle had perished on the march, the rest were worn out and emaciated; numbers of the cavalry, having lost their horses, were

\* Akbernáma, f. 43.

dismounted, and forced to accompany the army on foot. Even the cavalry horses left were in a wretched condition. The troops were dispirited. These evils were not likely to be remedied by their present position, cooped up in their camp under the eye of a vigilant enemy. The Emperor had lost the power of moving. Daily skirmishes ensued, bravely contested, and generally terminating in favour of Humáyun's troops, but in which many lives were lost on both sides. Any onward movement must be through the enemy's lines; yet, such was now the reduced and disheartened condition of the imperial army, that it would have been imprudent to hazard such an attack; and without an action of some kind, it was impossible even to change their ground. In this situation the two armies remained, facing each other for about two months.\* During this

\* The *Tabakát-e Akberi*; the *Tar. Bed.*, and *Ferishta*, say three months. The chronology of Humáyun's expedition to Bengal is not very distinctly marked by historians, but some of the leading points may be ascertained. He left Agra, A. H. 944, Sefer 8. (A. D. 1537, July 17.). According to Jouher, the army reached Chunár on the Sheb-e-Berát, Shábán 16.<sup>1</sup> (A. D. 1538, Jan. 18.) Six months between Agra and Chunár is a long time; and, as it is agreed that the siege lasted six months, we may suppose that the blockade had begun before the arrival of Humáyun. The rains had begun before the Emperor reached Moniah. At Patna, he was advised to halt, because the rains had come on. Shír Khan is said to have taken Gour on the 12th of Fer-

verdin (Zikádeh, A. H. 944, A. D. 1538, April); Humáyun remained three months at Gour; and, according to different accounts, from six to nine months in Bengal altogether; the *Tabakát*, f. 150., and *Bedáuni*, f. 141., allow six; Jouher, who was on the expedition, nine.<sup>2</sup> All Bengal, we are told, was conquered in the course of A. H. 945, which ends May 29, A. D. 1539. The month, in which Humáyun commenced his return from Bengal, is not specified; but he remained two months at Chonsa, probably, April and May, 1539, before the rains set in, and his final discomfiture occurred A. H. 946, Sefer 5. (A. D. 1539, June 23.) when he had been nearly three months at Chonsa. On these data, I have attempted to arrange the chronology of the events.

<sup>1</sup> Major Stewart, in his translation of Jouher, p. 9., makes this occur A. H. 945; but there is no date of any year in the original, and it is clear that it is A. H. 944.

The Sheb-e-Berát of A. H. 945 would bring it down to A. H. 1539, Jan. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Stewart's Jouher, p. 13., has several months, but the original has nine.





time some of those who had lost their horses or their health in the Bengal expedition, and found their way to Juánpúr and Chunár, contrived to rejoin the Emperor, whose situation, cooped up as he was, grew daily worse. Messenger after messenger was despatched to Hindal, and afterwards to Kámrán, whose arrival at Agra became known, beseeching them to turn their arms against Shír Khan, and to march to the relief of the Emperor and his army; but not a symptom of succour appeared.

Indeed, it was not on the side of Bengal and Behár alone that the affairs of Humáyun were in a dangerous state. Revolt and rebellion were raging in his capital, and in his own family. Situated as he now was, Humáyun, in ordinary circumstances, might have looked for assistance from his brothers, and the provinces around his capital. But no consolatory ray of hope gleamed upon him from that quarter. Instead of ready succour, all there was procrastination, intrigue, and treason. When Humáyun entered Bengal and proceeded to Gour, Hindal Mírza, instead of remaining to keep the rebels in check, and maintain the communications with the grand army, taking advantage of the season, abandoned his post, and set out for Agra, without leave. His absence, and the death of Hindu Beg, had encouraged and enabled Shír Khan to pass the Ganges, and, as we have seen, to take Benáres, defeat Yúsef Beg, and lay siege to Juánpúr; besides cutting off all the communications of Humáyun's army. Hindal, who was now in his twentieth year, misled by the evil counsellors who so often surround an aspiring prince, and incite him to sacrifice every duty at the shrine of ambition, on his arrival at Agra, entered the city, took possession of the Emperor's palace, issued his orders as if vested with absolute power, and seemed to direct his views to the throne itself.\*

Rebellions  
in Hindus-  
tan.

A. H. 945,  
A. D. 1538.

Treason-  
able con-  
duct and  
vacillation  
of Hindal  
Mírza.

\* Akbernáma, f. 43.; Tabak. Akb. f. 150.; Jouher, c. iv.; Ferishta.

A. D. 1538.

The great officers, whom Humáyun had left in situations of trust, could not witness such proceedings with unconcern. The man who, at this moment of danger and turmoil, seems to have exerted himself above all others, was Mír Fakhr Ali\*, an old and distinguished officer of Báber's, whom Humáyun had left as military governor of Delhi, under Yádgár Násir Mírza. Alarmed at the course which Hindal was pursuing, he hastened down to Agra to meet the young prince; and represented to him, in the strongest terms, the danger to which he was exposing the power and the very existence of the Chaghatai race in India; he pointed out, that it was a moment when, instead of destroying everything by discord and disunion, it was most necessary that every friend of the family of Taimur should exert himself, to break the rapidly increasing power of Shír Khan and the Afgháns. By such remonstrances, he prevailed upon Hindal to leave the city, to cross over the Jamna into the Doáb, and there collect whatever forces could be brought together, to march and raise the siege of Juánpúr. Muhammed Bakhshi, Humáyun's military governor of Agra, readily furnished every assistance in his power from the arsenal and magazines, to equip the troops, and enable them to take the field. Mír Fakhr Ali, thus far successful, next hastened to Kalpi, to induce Yádgár Násir Mírza, the Emperor's cousin and brother-in-law, who commanded there, and whose jágir Kalpi was, to put his troops in motion, so as to form a junction with those of Hindal in the territory of Karra, that they might thence proceed in concert to Juánpúr.

It happened, unfortunately, that at this time Záhíd Beg, Khosrou Beg Kokiltash, Háji Muhammed Bába Kushke, and other discontented and turbulent nobles, who had fled from Bengal, arrived, and had secret

\* Or, Mír Fakr Ali.





communications with Núr-ed-dín Muhammed Mírza, the governor of Kanáuj, who had married Gulreng Begum, Humáyun's sister, and who seems to have been privy to Hindal's designs. Núr-ed-dín wrote to Hindal Mírza, announcing the arrival of these noblemen, and at the same time forwarded to him a petition from them, asking his favour and protection, and proffering their own duty and services. To this address the Mírza, who, in spite of his change of conduct, had still a strong leaning to his treasonable purposes, returned a gracious answer, which he gave to Muhammed Gházi Taghái, one of his trusty adherents, by whom he at the same time wrote to inform Yádgár Násir Mírza, and Mír Fakhr Ali, of the arrival of the Amírs. The Amírs did not wait at Kanáuj for his answer, but proceeded to Kol, a jágír of Záhíd Beg's. Hindal's envoy, hearing of this movement, instead of going first to Yádgár, went straight to meet them. The conspirators, finding that Hindal was irresolute or insincere, and being themselves desperate, told the envoy, explicitly, that their mind was made up; that they had for ever shaken off their allegiance to the Emperor; that, if Hindal would assume the imperial dignity, and read the Khutba in his own name, they were ready to be his most faithful subjects; but if not, that they would straightway repair to Kámrán Mírza, and make him the same offer, which would not be refused. The envoy, returning to Hindal, reported what had passed, and added his own opinion; that the Mírza was so far committed as to have only one of two measures to adopt; he must either at once call in the Amírs, accede to their advice, and declare himself Emperor; or get them into his power, cast them into prison, and treat them as rebels. Hindal, whose mind was misled by high and dazzling projects, was not long of coming to a decision on this

alternative.\* He agreed to accept the proposal of the fugitive nobles, and to raise the standard of rebellion.

It was at this very juncture that Sheikh Bhúl or Behlúl, who had been sent by Humáyun from Gour, on a mission to the Mírza, arrived near Agra. He was the elder brother of Sheikh Muhammed Ghous, who had gained Guáliár for Báber, and who was one of the most eminent saintly men then in India. The possession of the mysterious names of God, by the secret use of which it was devoutly believed that the most wonderful and miraculous effects could be produced, added awe to his character. He was revered by Humáyun as his religious teacher and spiritual guide, and had acted as a councillor to Hindal himself, in his campaign against Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, beyond the Ganges. Hindal, on hearing of his approach, went out and received him with every mark of honour. He had been sent from Bengal, as we have seen, by the Emperor, when he first heard of the Mírza's defection, to reason with him on the folly of his proceedings, that could only serve to elevate the Afgháns on the ruins of the imperial family and race. He brought with him assurances from Humáyun, not only of forgiveness for his past misconduct, but of every favour and exaltation for the future, that the affection and generosity of a prince and a brother could bestow. The weak and wavering mind of Hindal was shaken by these remonstrances of duty and wisdom. He had not yet made any irrevocable manifestation of his rebellious intentions, and was once more persuaded to return to his allegiance, and to join in an active effort to drive the common enemy out of the field, and free his sovereign from his distress and peril. The very next day, he sent to make fresh requisitions from Muhammed Bakhshi, the governor, of such a quantity of

\* Akbernáma, ff. 43—45.; Tab. Nisábnáma-e Afgh. ff. 90, 91.; Akb. 150, 151.; Jouher, c. 4.; Tar. Bed. f. 142.





warlike stores and equipments, arms, cattle and money, as would enable him to put his army instantly in motion, and to proceed to the relief of Juánpúr. With all his demands, the governor, influenced by the Sheikh, professed his readiness instantly to comply, except as to money; all that was in the treasury having already, he affirmed, been disbursed among the troops.

Only four or five days had gone on, in this course of vigorous preparation, when Núr-ed-dín Mírza, who had entered entirely into the views of the fugitive lords, arrived from Kanáuj. He came, intending to carry into effect the plan that had so lately been concerted and settled between them and Hindal. Finding the course things had taken, he, by the weight of his authority, once more produced a change in the vacillating mind of the Mírza. Muhammed Gházi was again sent to renew the agreement with them. To this they consented, but only on condition that Sheikh Bhúl, who was the acknowledged agent of the Emperor in Hindal's camp, and had been the means of breaking the first agreement, should be publicly put to death; an act, they said, necessary to prove at once the sincerity of the Mírza's return to their views, and his fixed determination to enter into no terms with his brother. These conditions were acceded to by the prince; and Sheikh Bhúl, who suspected no change of policy, and every moment of whose time was actively employed in superintending the despatch of arms and stores to the camp, and in removing any impediments to the immediate march of the troops, was seized in his own house by Núr-ed-dín Muhammed Mírza, carried across the Jamna, and beheaded on a sandy down\* near the gardens of Báber's palace, under the shallow pretence that he carried on a secret correspondence with the Afgháns.

\* Registán.



## BOOK IV.

A. D. 1538.

The compact of the confederates being thus sealed in holy blood, the rebellious Amírs now moved to Agra, and waited on Hindal, who was proclaimed Emperor; and the public prayers were read, and money coined in his name. The troops were immediately put in motion, but it was towards Delhi, not Juánpúr. Muhammed Bakhshi, deeply shocked at the murder of the Sheikh, waited on the Mírza: "You have slain the Sheikh," said he, "why am I spared?" But blood enough had been shed. He tried to pacify the faithful Amír, and sent him to the camp. The most earnest remonstrances on his cruel proceedings, came from the ladies of his father's Harem. When Hindal went to the palace of his mother, Dildár Aghácheh, he found her attired in deep mourning. On his reproaching her for assuming the garb of sorrow, at a moment when his accession to the throne called only for joy and festivity, that lady, whose affections made her far-sighted, with tears assured her son, that, far from participating in his delight, she saw, in all that was passing around her, matter only of profound regret and condolence; that she seemed already to be mourning over his bier; that, young and inexperienced as he was, he had given himself up to the guidance of evil counsellors, who had engaged him in a course that could lead only to ruin. "And," continued she, "to your other guilt, you have added the stain of innocent blood. You have murdered the holy Sheikh. Away! and do not defile my palace with your presence."\* The prince used every means he could devise to soothe her resentment and sorrow, and insisted on carrying her along with him in his march to Delhi.

The news of these proceedings at Agra soon reached Yádgár Násir Mírza and Mir Fakhr Ali, who were still at Kalpi, preparing to join Hindal on his march to

\* Akbernáma, ff. 43, 44.; Tabak. c. 4.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 142.; Kháfí Akb.; Ferishta, ii, 85, 86.; Jouher, Khan, f. 47.





the eastward. Perceiving at once that nothing could be done to prevent the intended revolt, they instantly resolved to strain every nerve to secure Delhi; and accordingly, proceeding by forced marches, and by a circuitous route, that they might escape observation, they succeeded in throwing themselves into that ancient capital. Hindal Mírza, on leaving Agra, had marched straight for Delhi, expecting to get possession of it with little resistance, in the absence of the governor. When he arrived at Hamídpúr, near Firúzábád, he got notice of their rapid march; and, seeing himself anticipated, hesitated whether or not to go on. Finally, however, he resolved to push forward, and besiege the town. On his march, he was joined by many of the smaller zemíndárs of the neighbourhood.

He attacks  
Delhi.

The faithful noblemen, who had thrown themselves into Delhi, used every exertion to strengthen the works and the garrison; and did all that activity and valour could effect to repulse the besiegers. They despatched messenger after messenger to Kámrán Mírza, to call him to their aid. That prince was then at the height of his reputation. He had made two successful expeditions from Láhúr to Kandahár, in the first of which he had relieved, and in the second, ré-taken that important town. His dominions stretched from Hissár-Firúza to Zemín-dáwer on the one side, and to Badakhshán on the other. On hearing of the distracted state of the empire, the danger of Humáyun in Bengal, the increasing power of Shír Khan, and the rebellion of Hindal, Kámrán Mírza had determined to advance into Hindustán, and had set out at the head of ten thousand horse. He met the messengers on the road, received their despatches, and moved forward with increased speed; so that ere long news arrived in the camp of the besiegers that he was near at hand, and had reached Sonpat, which lies between Pánipat and Delhi. Upon

Kámrán  
Mírza is  
called in to  
relieve it.

BOOK IV.

A. D. 1539.  
Hindal re-  
tires to  
Agra.

Kámran  
also in re-  
volt.

A. H. 946,  
A. H. 1539.

this, Hindal, seeing all hope gone of gaining the town, abandoned the siege, and hastened back to Agra.

The part that Kámran Mírza was to act, in the present state of affairs, was a matter of the deepest importance. In his hand was placed the fate of the house of Báber. It soon appeared that he pursued a short-sighted policy; and that, while he professed to serve his brother Humáyun, he in reality looked only to his own supposed advantage. As he approached Delhi, the governor came out to meet him. Mír Fakhr Ali, having easily penetrated the prince's designs, ventured to offer him his advice. He told him that Yádgár Násir Mírza was in the place, determined to hold it for Humáyun, which he certainly would do, if attacked at that moment; that it was Kámran's best policy, whatever were his ultimate views, to follow Hindal to Agra, so as to prevent his gaining a decided influence there; that, if Agra, the capital, fell, Yádgár Násir would no longer have the same inducement to hold out, and Delhi would then submit without a struggle. In the end, he had sufficient address to persuade Kámran to march on to Agra; and Yádgár, thus left undisturbed, employed the leisure afforded him in strengthening the defences, and adding to the garrison.

Pursues  
Hindal;

As Kámran approached Agra, Hindal, who had been joined by none of the jágírdárs of note, finding himself unequal to maintain a contest with his brother, fled with five thousand horse to Alwar, the capital of Mewát, his government. His mother remained behind; and, influenced by the representations of Kámran Mírza, who became responsible for his safety, soon after prevailed upon him to make his submission to that prince, and to return to Agra. In this submission he was joined by the refractory Amírs, who had espoused his cause; and the whole confederates, now apparently united in a common cause, met; and, having crossed the Jamna, formed an army on its left bank for the

receives his  
submission;





professed purpose of marching against Shír Khan. Kámrán Mírza held the chief command. The army moved slowly forward a few marches. The general confidence began to revive, insomuch that traders ventured to carry stores and other supplies, which they attempted to introduce into the Emperor's camp at Chonsa. But Kámrán was the slave of a guilty ambition, and swayed by bad advisers, among whom appear to have been the fugitive Amírs, who sought to widen the breach between the brothers. They sought to convince him that to destroy the enemy, and so release the Emperor, was only laying a snare for his own destruction. Influenced by such counsellors, the advance, slow at first, afterwards ceased; and by and by he was persuaded that the season for doing any thing was past; that it was better to return, preserve the stores and munitions of war, and husband his resources, that the troops might be allowed to return home, and make every thing ready for a new campaign; that, meanwhile, should Shír Khan defeat the Emperor, they would be prepared to face him; and should Humáyun destroy Shír Khan, they would possess the means of making terms with arms in their hands. Lending a ready ear to such false and shallow reasoning, Kámrán led his army back to Agra about the beginning of the rains, abandoning his brother to his fate.\*

But returns  
without en-  
gaging him.

Humáyun had now been for two months cooped up in his camp at Chonsa, and suffering many privations. He could not bring his wary antagonist, whose camp was deeply entrenched and defended by artillery, to leave it and engage in the open plain; nor was he able,

Continued  
distress of  
Humáyun  
at Chonsa.

\* Akbernáma, ff. 43, 44.; Tar. Akb.; Jouher, c. 4.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 85—87.; Kháfi Khan, f. 47.; Tar. Reshídi, ff. 365, 366. Several historians, Nizám-ed-dín Ahmed, the author of the Tabakat-e Akberi, Ferishta, and Kháfi Khan,

make Kámrán assume the title of Emperor. From the narrative of Abulfazl and of Jouher, c. 5., and still more from that of Haider Mírza, I think it probable that he assumed the authority, but not the name.

A. D. 1539.

in face of the enemy, to effect the passage of the Ganges, though he lay close to that river. The superiority which his troops maintained in partial skirmishes was of no avail. He lay in an enemy's country; and the opposite bank, as far as Kanáuj, was overrun by the Afgháns. His only hope of relief was from his brothers, who possessed the means of collecting an army, and marching to succour him; but the news which reached him from Agra, first of the treason of Hindal, and afterwards of the arrival and unworthy conduct of Kámrán, at length convinced him that, while his danger was daily increasing, he had nothing to expect from them. To add to his misfortunes, the periodical rains, which set in with great violence, increased the difficulty of moving, or of receiving supplies or reinforcements. Part of the camp of Shír Shah was laid under water, which forced him to move, with the greatest part of his troops, to the higher ground, two or three kos off, leaving his cannon and fortified position under the guard of a portion of his army. But the skirmishing continued, and no prospect of relief appeared.

A. D. 946,  
Moharrem.  
A. D. 1539,  
June.

He sends an  
envoy to  
Shír Shah.

At length Humáyun, compelled by the necessity of his situation, sent one Múlla Muhammed Barghíz, who was known to Shír Shah, to treat of a pacification. He found the new king busy with his spade, in the heat of the day, among his soldiers, who were employed in digging a trench. On seeing the ambassador, the King washed his hands, a temporary awning was spread, and he sat down under it on the ground, without ceremony, and received the envoy. To the observations which the Múlla made, when he communicated the Emperor's message, the King only replied, "Go, and tell your Emperor this from me: he is desirous of war, his troops are not; I do not wish for war, my troops do." He, however, gave instructions to Sheikh Khalil, whom he called his Murshid, or spiritual father, an eminent and





pious divine, descended from the famous saint, Sheikh Feríd Shakerganj; and, having sent him to Humáyun, a negotiation was entered into.

CHAP. IV.  
SECT. II.

An intercourse of messengers between the camps now took place; the conditions of the treaty were discussed, and were supposed to be nearly arranged. An armistice seems to have followed; the men of the two armies met on friendly terms, and even amused themselves by making pleasure parties to visit the opposite camps. Shír Shah took advantage of this calm to despatch Khowás Khan, with some thousand horse, to chastise Raja Mharta, who had assisted Humáyun, not only with his troops, both horse and foot, but by cutting off the supplies of Shír Shah's army; and who had resisted every offer of reward and threat of vengeance that had been made to secure his neutrality. The Khan prevailed, after an obstinate encounter, defeated and slew the Raja, and brought back his head, which he laid at the feet of his sovereign.

Negotiations and armistice.

The treaty was meanwhile in progress\*, and the conditions at last settled between the envoys were, that all Bengal, and his old jágir in Behár, should be ceded to Shír Shah, who was to acknowledge Humáyun as his lord paramount, and to read the Khutba in his name. But Shír Shah insisted that, in addition to this, Chunár should be restored to him; and, after some

Proposed terms of treaty.

\* As to the supposed treaty of peace, Abulfazl says little, but de-claims against the cunning and treachery of Shír Khan, Akbern. f. 45. The Tar. Nizámi, f. 214.; Tabak. Akb. f. 150., and Tar. Bed. f. 142., make peace concluded, on condition that Humáyun was to be allowed to return home in safety, Shír Khan retaining Bengal as far as Garhi, the khutba to be read in the Emperor's name. Jouher makes him insist on Chunár being given

up, to which Humáyun was compelled to assent. The Nisábname makes Bengal given up as far as Garhi. Ferishta makes Bengal and Behár be ceded to Shír Khan for the payment of a trifling tribute, and adds that the treaty was signed and ratified by mutual oaths. Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 87. The Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 276., also supposes a peace to have been concluded.



## BOOK IV.

A.D. 1539.

Negligence  
of Hu-  
máyun.Attack by  
Shír Shah.

delay, Humáyun, though reluctantly, was obliged to consent.

Some affirm that this treaty was mutually agreed to, and confirmed by oath; but perhaps no definitive treaty was signed. Preparations were made for breaking up both camps. Shír Shah, having constructed a bridge over the Karamnása, had sent his best men two or three days' march to Behár, on their way to Bengal. The Emperor seems to have withdrawn his outposts. His troops dispersed carelessly about the camp, and all were busy in packing up their baggage and the public stores, and in finishing a bridge of boats, which they were constructing over the Ganges for their return home. The camp was a scene of bustle and rejoicing.

Shír Shah, seeing that Humáyun and his generals were thrown off their guard, believed that the wished-for moment was at hand for striking a blow, which should at once avenge the wrongs of the Afgháns, and destroy the Emperor, his army, and the House of Báber. The most atrocious breach of faith cost his mind nothing; it was the very basis of his policy. He directed the troops that had marched, to countermarch secretly and with speed. He divided the force intended for the enterprise into three columns; taking one himself\*, giving another to his son, Jilál Khan, and the third to his general, Khowás Khan. He ordered Khowás Khan to take a circuit with his division, and as the day dawned, to surprise the enemy by the river side, to seize the boats and other craft in the river, and to put to the sword all who came in his way. The other two columns were to co-operate by attacking on different quarters. It is asserted that Sheikh Khalíl, who was in Shír Shah's camp, sent to desire the Emperor to be on his guard against a surprise, as Khowás Khan had marched, about afternoon prayers†, with a

\* "Having his back to the as if he had come from the west.  
Kibleh," says Jouher, which looks † Namáz-diger. Jouher.





strong body of men; but that no attention was paid to the intimation.

The watch, which that night was under Muhammed Zemán Mírza, was but negligently kept. Before the morning twilight appeared, an uproar was heard in the rear toward the river. Soon after was seen a crowd of women and camp-followers, flying in confusion over the whole camp. The Afgháns were found to have entered, and were slaying all they met, without mercy or distinction. The surprise was complete. To numbers their sleep became the sleep of death. The troops in general had not time to arm, to saddle their horses, or to form in order, before the Afgháns poured in on every side. Humáyun started from sleep \* on the first alarm. The imperial kettle-drums were beaten, and about three hundred horse soon gathered around him. Just as he was mounting his horse, Bába Jeláir and Terdi Beg Kuch Beg joined him. He besought them to spare no exertion to bring off the empress, Háji Begum. These devoted servants, while zealously attempting to execute his orders, were slain fighting at the entrance of the private tents. Mír Pehlewan Badakhshi, another officer of distinction, and a considerable number of men, shared the same fate, in attempting the same achievement. They failed in their purpose, and the princess fell into the hands of the Afgháns. At this crisis, Shír Shah himself happened to arrive. He ordered his eunuchs and most trusty servants, with a party of armed men, to keep watch round the harem, and to suffer none to be injured. The wives and families of the officers and men of the vanquished army fled, and took refuge in this asylum, where they were safe. While Humáyun was attempting to collect his troops, a party of the enemy, with an elephant, came down upon him. He made a sign to some of his household, who were by, to

Slaughter  
of the Im-  
perialists.

Danger of  
Humáyun.

\* The Nisábnáma says that he was reading the Koran.

A. D. 1539.

He is  
wounded;

swims the  
river.

His army  
annihilated.

attack it. As they hesitated, he snatched his spear from the officer who carried it, spurred on his horse, and struck the animal on the head with such force, that he was unable to draw the spear out again. Meanwhile, an archer who sat on the howdah, wounded him on the arm with an arrow. This compelled the Emperor to retire, leaving his spear in the wound. He now called out to those who were near him to join him in a charge, but was not seconded. All was disorder. One of his followers, seizing his reins, exclaimed, in Oriental phrase, "This is no time for dallying: the feast is over, why linger near the food?" and led him towards the river. On reaching the bank, he found the bridge broken down. At once he spurred his horse, and plunged into the stream, but was soon dismounted.\* At this moment of danger, a water-carrier swam up to him, presented him with his water-bag, which he had filled with air, and made a sign to the sinking monarch to lay hold of it. He did so, and made his way across, the water-carrier swimming by him and assisting him. On reaching the opposite bank, the Emperor asked his deliverer what was his name. He said it was Nizám. "To me," said the Emperor, in the exuberance of his gratitude, "thou art as Nizám Aulía, and thou shalt be placed on my throne."†

The defeat was complete. Shír Shah had left nothing to accident. The camp had been attacked on every side, as soon as it was entered on the rear. On the river, the bridge was broken down, and boats were in

\* "The Emperor came to the banks of the river," says Jouher, c. v. "An elephant, Girdbáz by name, accompanied him. He ordered the driver to break down the bridge, which he did. His Majesty drove his horse into the river, but lost his seat," &c. The Akbernáma, f. 45. and Nisábnáma, ff. 91, 92., represent the bridge as being broken

down by the Afgháns.

† Nizám-ed-dín Aulía is a celebrated saint. Some writers make the promise to Nizám to be, that he should occupy the throne for half a day; others, till noon. The Tabakát calls Nizám, Muhammed Sakka, Muhammed the water-carrier. See Akbernáma, f. 45.; Jouher, c. 5.; Tar. Bed. ff. 142, 143.





readiness, which sailed up and down, filled with men armed with matchlocks and spears, who killed all they could reach in the water. The whole tents, camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, stores, and what remained of the treasure, fell into the hands of the conqueror. Muhammed Zemán Mírza, Moulána Muhammed Ali, Moulána Kásim Ali, the Sadr, or Head of the Law, many other officers of distinction, and eight thousand of the Emperor's best Tartar troops, perished on this disastrous day, besides numbers of inferior note and camp followers. This memorable event occurred at the Chúpah Ghat, on the banks of the Ganges, on the 27th day of June, A. D. 1539.\*

A. H. 946,  
A. D. 1539.Sefer 9,  
June 27.Proceed-  
ings of  
Shír Shah.

When Shír Shah, after the final discomfiture and dispersion of the enemy, returned to the imperial tents, he dismounted in the Hall of Audience, and humbly prostrated himself in prayer to the Giver of all victory. He did not now hesitate to declare a dream which he had on the preceding night. He thought that he and Humáyun were both carried into the presence of the prophet of God, who was sitting in state on a throne, and who, addressing the Emperor, told him, that the Almighty had bestowed his kingdom on Shír Shah; and at the same time, taking the crown and cap of authority from his head, placed them on that of his rival, commanding him to rule with justice. This dream, he said, he had not published before the battle, lest it should be regarded as a device to inspire courage into the Afgháns. He sent a courteous message to the captive Empress, condoling with her on the deceitfulness of fortune; but adding that, in former

\* In this account of the campaign of Bengal and Behár, and its disastrous close, the authorities chiefly followed have been, Akber. ff. 44, 45.; Tab. Akb. ff. 150, 175.; Tar. Nizámi, ff. 213, 214.; Jouher's Mem. c. 4, 5.; Nisábname-e Afgh.

ff. 90—92.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 142.; Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 84—88.; Kháfi Khan, f. 47. The Tarikh-e Bedáuni gives some lines which Shír Shah wrote on the memorable victory which closed the campaign.

days he had been protected and cherished by the imperial house, and regarded himself as a child of the family, and he promised to send her back, with all the Harem, to Agra, as soon as the Emperor was known to have reached it,—a promise which he faithfully performed. He ordered the same allowances to be issued to all who were in the Harem, that they had previously been accustomed to receive; and commanded that all the other women and children of the vanquished army, who had been made prisoners, should be protected, and allowed to return home, at their own pleasure.\*

The Emperor remained but a short time on the left bank of the Ganges, to collect such of his troops as, by the strength of their horses, or in any other manner, had been able to get across the river. Having been joined by his brother Askeri and some other chiefs, they soon after rode off for Agra. He had not advanced far, when he found that he had not yet escaped all danger; as it appeared that Mír Ferid Gúr, an Afghán officer, was following him in the rear; while Shah Muhammed Afghán had taken post in front, to arrest his farther progress. This news so much disheartened the troops, already worn out with fatigue, that fears were entertained lest they should desert their standards. In this emergency, Raja Prabhan, a Rájput chief, volunteered with his followers to check the advance of Mír Ferid, so as to allow his Majesty to bend the whole force of his arms against the enemy, who shut up the road by which they were to advance. The offer was accepted, and the Emperor with his followers marched straight against the Afgháns in front, who, intimidated by their determined appearance, abandoned their ground and left the road open. The

Humáyun  
makes his  
way to  
Agra.

\* Nisábnáma-e Afgh. f. 92.





Emperor proceeded by way of Kalpi; and, after a rapid and laborious march, reached Agra.\*

Meanwhile Shír Shah lost no time in improving his victory. Besides the force which he despatched in pursuit of the fugitives, he hastened back into Bengal with a strong body of troops, accompanied by his son Jilál Khan; and attacked Jehángír-kuli, the Emperor's general, whom he defeated in several successive actions. That brave officer, unable to keep the field, was compelled to retreat into the territory of some native zemíndárs, where he maintained an obstinate struggle for some time; but, in the end, he and most of his troops were overtaken and slain by the overpowering superiority of the Afgháns; so that, of his whole army, Derwísh Maksúd Bengáli† was the only man of note who ever re-joined the Emperor. Shír Shah was now proclaimed King, without opposition, in Bengal also; and, though he was soon obliged to leave the country‡, to attend in person to his affairs in the north, he directed his attention unremittingly, for the next two years, to complete the reduction of that kingdom, and to place its revenue and internal affairs on a satisfactory footing.

The effects of the great victory at Chonsa were not confined to Bengal; they extended in every direction.

\* Jouher, c. 5. The Raja, who behaved with so much spirit, is said to be of Aríl or Aráíl. There are two Aráíls. One opposite Allah-ábád, across the Jamna; and one eleven miles S. by E. from Kanáuj. (See Hamilton's Hindustan, vol. i. pp. 301. 374.).

† He was of the Zíáret-gáh near Herát, and consequently of a religious family. Akbérn. f. 61. Ferishta states, vol. ii. p. 88., that Jehángír Beg was expelled from Bengal, and re-joined Humáyun; which is certainly a mistake, as he

himself mentions, vol. ii. p. 117., that he was defeated and slain in Bengal.

‡ Tar. Nizám-i. f. 214.; Tab. Akh. f. 160.; Akbérnáma, f. 45.; Taríkh. Bedáuni, f. 143.; Nisáb-náma, ff. 91—93. The Nizáb-náma says that, after many actions, Jehángír was besieged and slain in Garohi. Is this the Garrows? Abulfazl makes Shír Shah halt on the borders of Behár, and send his son, Jilál Khan, to complete the destruction of Jehángír-Kuli's force.

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Shír Shah was soon undisputed master of Behár. He crossed the Ganges to renew the siege of Juánpúr, which, with the whole territory dependent on it, surrendered with little resistance. In like manner he overran the rest of the country, east of the Ganges, as far as Kanáj. Not content with this success, he sent his son Kutb Khan across that river, and through the Doáb, with a large detachment, for the purpose of reducing the important towns of Kalpi and Etáwa on the Jamna. The wide dominions of Humáyun seemed now to have shrunk into the narrow space circumscribed by the walls of Agra and Delhi; and his tenure, even of these cities, was far from being secure.





## CHAPTER V.

## HUMÁYUN'S EXPULSION FROM HINDUSTÁN.

HUMÁYUN JOINS KÁMRÁN AT AGRA.—HUMILIATION OF HINDAL.—HUMÁYUN PREPARES AGAIN TO ATTACK SHÍR SHAH.—ILLNESS AND RETREAT OF KÁMRÁN.—DEFEAT OF SHÍR SHAH'S ADVANCED ARMY. HAIDER MÍRZA DOGHLAT IN HUMÁYUN'S CAMP.—HIS CHARACTER OF THE EMPEROR—AND ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN—AND OF THE BATTLE OF KANÁUJ.—OTHER ACCOUNTS OF THAT DISASTER.—FLIGHT OF HUMÁYUN.—HE ARRIVES AT AGRA.—PROCEEDS TOWARDS DELHI—AND ONWARDS TO THE PENJÁB.—SHÍR SHAH AT DELHI.—HIS PARTIES PURSUE HUMÁYUN ACROSS THE SATLEJ.—SELFISH CONDUCT OF KÁMRÁN.—TREATY AMONG THE IMPERIAL BROTHERS.—THEIR WANT OF UNION.—TREACHERY OF KÁMRÁN.—SHÍR SHAH RECEIVES HIS OVERTURES.—ENTERS THE PENJÁB.—THE IMPERIAL FAMILY QUIT LÁHÚR.—KÁMRÁN DEPARTS FOR KÁBUL.—HINDAL FOR SIND AND GUJRÁT.—HUMÁYUN MEDITATES AN EXPEDITION TO KASHMÍR.—RECENT EVENTS THERE.—KÁMRÁN THWARTS THE PLANS OF HUMÁYUN—WHO PROCEEDS TOWARDS SIND.—HINDAL REJOINS HIM AT GUL-BALÚCH.—THEY PASS THE TERRITORIES OF BAKHSHUI LANGA—AND REACH SIND.—RECENT STATE, AND PAST CAREER OF HUMÁYUN.—THE AFGHÁN SUPREMACY RESTORED IN INDIA, UNDER SHÍR SHAH.

HUMÁYUN, on his arrival near Agra after his disastrous expedition, found his brother Kámrán, who, about a month after his impolitic and inglorious retreat, was encamped at the Zirefshán gardens. When the Mírzas, Kámrán and Hindal, received intelligence of the Emperor's discomfiture, followed by certain information that Shír Shah was taking possession of the country on every side, they perceived, too late, that, circumstanced as things were, it was in vain to think of dethroning the Emperor, with any hope of establishing themselves in his stead; and that the only safety of the brothers lay in their union. Nor would it have been politic, on the

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A. H. 946.

A. D. 1539.

Humáyun joins Kámrán at Agra.

Emperor's part, with the small force that he had been able to save from the wreck of his army, to attempt to punish them for their late defection. As he came near Agra, he galloped forward and entered Kámrán's tent, before the Mírza was aware of his coming.\* The brothers embraced each other affectionately, and with many tears. They afterwards went and sat down together, in a friendly manner, in the porch of the pavilion. Mutual explanations followed. The veil of silence was probably thrown over the offences of Kámrán, still chiefly secret and in embryo. Hindal's desertion and his open assumption of royalty were pardoned, at the intercession of his excellent mother, and of Kámrán; and he soon after arrived from Alwar, his jágír, and joined his brothers.

Humilia-  
tion of  
Hindal.

But as his offence was public, so was his humiliation. Humáyun, soon after his return, gave a grand feast in the palace of Báber's garden, to which all the Mírzas and the chief officers and Amírs were invited. In the midst of the entertainment, and in presence of the whole assembly, the Emperor, addressing Kámrán, asked him why Hindal Mírza had rebelled. Kámrán, turning to Hindal, who was present, inquired, what had induced him, instead of assisting his Majesty in his difficulties, to break out into revolt. The Mírza, covered with confusion, replied, that he was young and inexperienced, and that some Amírs, such as Záhíd Beg, Khusrou Kokiltash, Háji Muhammed, and others, had misled him by bad advice, but entreated forgiveness of his offences, — an answer fatal to a man of ambition. "Well," said Humáyun, "at Kámrán Mírza's entreaty, I do forgive you and them; but correct your views, and amend your conduct; and above all, henceforward do not listen to my enemies." After some farther admonition, he

\* Tab. Akb. f. 51. The author mentions that his father, Muhammed Mokím, was one of the few who

attended the Emperor in this flight. See also Jouher, c. v.





added, "What is past is past. We must now all join manfully to repel the common enemy." The princes and Amírs, applauding his clemency, loudly joined in assuring him that, by his favour and the divine assistance, they would soon extirpate Shír Khan and his race. Solemn prayers and vows were repeated, and it was fixed that, as early as was practicable, the imperial tents should be pitched in the Zirefshán garden, ready for the field.\*

Not long after the Emperor's return to Agra, the water-carrier, who had saved his life at Chonsa, presented himself at the public derbár. Humáyun, as soon as he saw the poor man from afar, mindful of his danger and his vow, descended from the throne, and, in strict compliance with the words of his promise, allowed him to mount "the throne of the world," and to occupy it for half a day. Whatever commands the new sovereign issued were literally and instantly fulfilled, even where the imperial decrees and usages happened to stand in the way; and the delighted monarch employed his power, during his short reign, to make several of his friends and family happy for the whole future course of their lives. This mummerly did not escape the ridicule and scorn of Kámrán.†

Indeed, though policy and necessity united the brothers for a season, it was soon but too evident that there was little cordiality between them. Meanwhile, however, the levying of troops went on; many Amírs joined the Emperor with reinforcements from their jágírs; and among others, Muhammed Sultan Mirza

Humáyun rewards his deliverer at Chonsa.

Prepares again to attack Shír Shah;

\* Jouher, c. v.

† Abulfazl, Ferishta, and the author of the Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, say that he filled the throne for half a-day: Jouher, for two hours (*do saat*). The author of the Kholáset adds that the report prevalent in his day was, that the water-

carrier, to complete the semblance of imperial power, had his leathern *mashek*, or water-bag, cut into pieces of the size and shape of different coins, which were gilt or plated, and stamped with his name, and the date of his reign and of the Hejra, as a sovereign prince.

A. D. 1539.

and his sons, who had so long been in a state of rebellion, finding, probably, that no single branch of the divided house of Taimur could withstand the overwhelming superiority of the Afgháns, once more sought and gained the imperial pardon and protection. The army gradually swelled, but more perhaps in numbers than in effective strength.

A. D. 1540.

The brothers, after their reconciliation, held many long consultations on the course to be pursued, but, in the state of mutual feeling in which they were, to very little purpose. Nothing was concluded. Kámrán strongly urged Humáyun to remain in the capital, and to entrust to him the conduct of the campaign; undertaking, with his army of the Penjáb, which amounted to 20,000 men, still fresh and unbroken, to give a good account of Shír Shah. But to this the Emperor refused to consent, declaring that, as he had been treacherously defeated by the Afgháns, he was determined to have his revenge in person. During the delays that succeeded, Kámrán, who in no respect entered into the Emperor's views, showed the strongest desire to return to Láhúr, and repeatedly asked leave to go. Every wish of Kámrán's, but that alone, was readily granted. In vain did the Mírza urge that the government of his extensive territories required his presence. For seven months did he persist in his petitions and entreaties to be allowed to depart; when news arrived that Shír Shah, having cleared Bengal of the imperial troops, had collected a formidable army, and was on his march to attack the brothers.\*

who advances to meet him. Ramzán, January.

Illness and retreat of Kámrán.

It might have been supposed that such a demonstration would have induced them to unite heartily against the common enemy. But Kámrán had no wish to add to his brother's power, which he still regarded as dangerous to his own independence: and his impatience

\* Akbernáma, f. 46.; Tab. Akb. Bedáuni, f. 143.; Jouher, c. 5.; f. 151.; Tar. Niz. f. 214.; Tar. Ferishta, &c.



February  
to April.

to return to the north was increased by a severe attack of illness, which ended in a complication of disorders. The climate of Hindustán was unfavourable to his constitution. His malady, in the course of two or three months, was aggravated by a slow fever attended with eruptions over his body, great emaciation and the partial loss of the use of his limbs. The power of medicine failed: it was insinuated that his complaints were the effect of poison, and he determined to return.

"The retreat of Kámrán," says Haider Mírza \*, "was the efficient cause of the rise of Shír Khan, and of the fall of the Chaghatái dynasty." The Emperor spared no entreaty to prevail upon him to leave some of the chief men of his army with their followers behind as auxiliaries; but, far from assenting to this, he perversely used his endeavours to seduce such of the Emperor's officers and troops as were in Agra, to accompany him. His minister, Amír Khwája Kilán, who never ceased urging him to quit Agra, was at last sent before with the mainbody of the army, and Kámrán himself prepared to follow.

Meanwhile Shír Shah advanced to the Ganges, which he crossed, and detached his younger son Kutb Khan across the Doáb to attack Kalpi and Etáwa, positions of importance from their vicinity to the capital. They were held by Yádgár Názir Mírza and Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek; and a part of Kalpi had been given in jágir to Kámrán. The Amírs assembled their followers, and being joined by Sekander Sultan with a detachment of Kámrán's troops, marched out to check the progress of the invaders. They had no difficulty in bringing the enemy to an action, and completely routed them in a desperate battle, in which Kutb Khan was left dead on the field. His head was cut off, and sent with many others to Agra. The victorious generals strongly

Defeat of  
Shír Shah's  
advanced  
army.\* *Tarikh-e-Resháidí*, f. 367.

A. D. 1540.

Haider  
Mírza  
Dughlat in  
Humáyun's  
camp.

advised the Emperor to follow up his success, and instantly to take the field in person. He accordingly marched from Agra towards the Ganges to meet and engage Shír Shah.\*

The efforts of Humáyun to detain his brother and his troops at this important and dangerous crisis were unsuccessful; but several of Kámrán's officers were prevailed upon to remain. Of these, the most eminent was his cousin, the celebrated Haider Mírza Doghlat †, who, in his own defence, states at some length the arguments used to influence him, and they are curious as showing the feelings of the brothers to each other. He was high in the Mírza's confidence, and we have seen that he was even left, for upwards of a year, in charge of the government of Láhúr, during Kámrán's last expedition for the recovery of Kandahár. Kámrán remonstrated with him on his proposed desertion; and reminded him that he had received him in his Court when an exile from his own country; that he had treated him all along as if he had been a brother, with the most distinguished confidence and consideration, and intrusted to him the chief conduct of his affairs; and that, in return for all this, to leave him, his cousin, at such a moment, when a powerful enemy threatened his kingdom, and his body was wasting under a dangerous disease, would be the height of unkindness and ingratitude. On the other hand, Haider tells us that he had become the Emperor's brother after the Moghul fashion, an engagement which bound them to each other by the strongest ties of honour: the Emperor never spoke to him nor addressed him, even in his public firmáns, by any other name than that of brother and friend, a distinction shown to none of the Sultans of the Court, nor even to his own brothers. Humáyun,

\* Akbernáma and Tab. Akberi, as above.

† Haider was the son of Mu-

ammed Husein Korkán Doghlat, by the sister of Báber's mother.





on his part also, remonstrated with Haider Mírza, and laid claim to his services. He said, that though Haider was in Kámrán's employment, he himself had really been latterly guided in every thing by his counsels; that as to his being Kámrán's cousin, he stood in exactly the same relation to him; and as for his illness, even if it were real, Haider was no physician: that the present was no ordinary time: that, on the issue of the approaching combat with Shír Shah, depended the fate, not of Humáyun merely, but of Kámrán himself, nay of the whole family of Báber, and of Hindustán itself: that if Shír Khan was successful, all was lost, and Kámrán would not find himself safe even in Láhúr: that, as a faithful and enlightened friend of their house, it was Haider's duty to consult the general good and remain behind: unless, indeed, he dreaded the issue of the contest, and was anxious to shelter himself from danger by getting to Láhúr as a place whence, in case of calamity, he could easily betake himself elsewhere at will. "This reasoning," says Haider Mírza, "was to me conclusive, and I made up my mind to remain. Being unable, by any entreaties, to obtain Kámrán's permission, I staid without it. Kámrán Mírza, leaving Iskander Mírza with about a thousand men as auxiliaries, and taking with him as many as he could\*, set out for Láhúr: and this," continues he, "to the enemy was a victory, and to his friends a defeat."

The selfish and short-sighted policy of Kámrán was fatal to his family: and Humáyun, with many excellent and agreeable qualities, had not the talents required to support a sinking empire. We have a character of him, as he was at this time, drawn by an able hand, which

His character of the Emperor.

\* Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 89., follows Haider in regard to the number of men left. The Akbernáma, f. 46., has three thousand under Abdalla Moghul; the Kholáset-ul-Towárikh has the same number; the Tab.

Akb. and Nisábnáma, f. 93., have two thousand. The number carried back is stated at twenty thousand. He must have been joined by reinforcements after leaving the Penjáb.



BOOK IV.

A. D. 1540.

bears every mark of truth and impartiality. "Humáyun," says Haider Mírza, "as he was the eldest, was the greatest and most distinguished of Báber's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he : but in consequence of his having dissolute and sensual men in his service, and of his intercourse with them, and with men of mean and profligate character, such as in particular Moulána Muhammed Farghari, and others like him, he contracted some bad habits, as, for instance, the excessive use of opium\* ; and the business which, as a prince, he should himself have managed, he left to them. Nevertheless, he had many excellent qualities. In battle he was steady and brave ; in conversation, ingenious and lively ; and at the social board, full of wit. He was kind-hearted and generous. He was a dignified and magnificent prince, and observed much state ; insomuch that, though I came into his service at Agra, in his broken fortunes, when people said his pomp and style were no longer what they had been, yet, when the army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign, at which time the superintendence devolved upon me, the number of artisans who accompanied him was seventeen thousand, from which the extent of the other branches of his establishment may be imagined."

State of the  
imperial  
army.  
End of  
Zikáda ;  
beginning  
of April.

It was about the beginning of April when the imperial tents were pitched in the Zirefshán garden. The natural consequences of the Emperor's want of success in the preceding campaigns, and of the discord of the brothers, were visible in the bad spirit that prevailed in the camp and court. The higher Amírs, and especially the Chaghatái nobles, were discontented. The army consisted, in a great measure, of troops hastily raised, and who had seen no service. The great body of veterans had perished in the Bengal expedition. In

\* Tarikh-e-Reshidi, f. 365.





The camp there was a general languor and disaffection. The officers showed little zeal, the troops little ardour; all was disorganised. Shír Shah appears to have recrossed the Ganges on the Emperor's approach, and to have baffled him in an attempt to cross the river, over which he had thrown a bridge. Humáyun then marched along the banks to Kanáuj. Some of the enemy's ships appearing in the river to dispute the passage, one of the largest was sunk by the fire from the imperial guns. The events that followed may be best understood from the narrative, somewhat abridged, of Haider Mírza, who held a high rank in his army, tinged though in some respects it may be by the colouring thrown upon them by his wounded feelings.

"The imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped, and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Shír Khan on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than two hundred thousand men.\* Muhammed Sultan Mírza, and his sons Ulugh Mírza and Shah Mírza, were princes of the house of Taimur, who had been entertained with every mark of kindness and kingly favour by Báber, but after his death had more than once revolted, had been pardoned and received back into favour by Humáyun. They now once more deserted. This defection quite changed the face of things. Desertion became general in the army. The most surprising part of it was, that such as deserted did not go over to Shír Khan, and of course could expect nothing from him. The general cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number even of Kámrán's auxiliary troops deserted, and fled to Láhúr.

Haider Mírza's account of the campaign.

"The Emperor had with him a formidable artillery;

\* The Emperor's army is usually stated at 90,000, or 100,000; Shír Shah's, at 50,000.—Tar. Nizámi,

f. 214.; Nisábname, f. 92.; Be-dauni, f. 143.

seven hundred carriages, each having a swivel, and drawn by four pair of bullocks; and sixty-one heavy guns, each drawn by sixty pair of bullocks, and supplied, not with stone, but with leaden bullets.

“As the army had begun to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case we could not at least be accused of having abandoned an empire like Hindustán without striking a blow. Another consideration was, that if we passed the river, desertion would no longer be possible. We, therefore, crossed over.

“Both armies entrenched themselves. Every day, skirmishes occurred between the irregulars and the Hindus. At length, however, the monsoon rains came on, and there was a heavy fall which flooded the camp. To move was indispensable. Those about the Emperor told him that such another rain would ruin the army; and proposed to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found the place suitable for the purpose. They wished to march immediately. I represented that, when we did march, it would be desirable to divert the attention of the enemy by engaging them in skirmishes, as it would not do to be drawn into a general action, when the army was marching to change its ground: that next day was the tenth of Moharrem, when we could draw out our troops in battle array, without advancing on the Afgháns, or courting an engagement, but that if they left their trenches to attack us, we should engage; that a battle we must have in the end; but that, in the first instance, it was best for us to draw up the army in battle array, and plant the heavy cannon and small guns in front; that there were nearly five thousand gunners, who could be stationed with the guns: that if the enemy did not come out that day, we should return back to





the camp; and next day, having again drawn out the troops in the same order as before, we could keep our ground, while the baggage and stores were conveyed, covered by our lines, from the old camp to the new ground; and when that was accomplished, we might retire to our new quarters.

“The plan was approved of, and, accordingly, next day\* the army was drawn out to carry it into effect. The ranks were marshalled, but were unsteady: the guns and cannon, under the guidance of Muhammed Khan Rúmi, the son of Ustád-Kuli, Ustád Ahmed Rúmi and Hasan Khalífat, were moved forward to the appointed place, accompanied by the artillery men, and chains were extended between them, as is the practice. In the rest of the army were Amírs, — Amírs only in name, who enjoyed governments and rich jágírs, without the slightest tincture of prudence, or knowledge, or energy, or emulation, or nobleness of mind, or generosity, qualities from which nobility draws its name. The Emperor placed the author on his left side, so that his right was next the Emperor's left; on the Emperor's right was a chosen band of his tilándeh. On my left were placed my retainers, four hundred in number, all tried men, veterans who had experienced the changes of fortune, and were nurtured in hardships. On the day of the battle, they were all mounted on tipchák horses, and clad in mail. Between me and the extreme left of the centre stood seven and twenty Amírs, all having the horse-tail banner.† Beyond that was the left wing, the extent and nature of which may be judged of from the other. On the day of battle, when Shír Khan marched out with his army in columns, of the seven and twenty horse-tail standards that were with these great lords, there was not one that was not

And of the  
battle of  
Kanáu-j.  
Moharrem  
10.  
A. H. 947,  
May 17.

\* Roz-e-Ashúr. Moharrem, 10.

or mountain, cow. This was held  
only by Amírs of a high class.

† Or, more literally, the *túgh*,  
or banner of the tail of the Tibet,

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hid, from fear lest the enemy might see and bear down upon it. The soldiership and bravery of the Amírs may be estimated from this trait of courage.

“ Shír Khan led out his troops in five divisions of a thousand men each, having one of three thousand in advance. I reckoned his whole force at less than fifteen thousand, while I estimated the Chaghataí army at forty thousand, or thereabouts, all mounted on tip-chák horses, and in armour. The noise of their movement was like the waves of the ocean; the courage of their Amírs and commanders such as has been said. When Shír Khan's army quitted their trenches, two of the columns drew up before the ditch, the other three advanced towards our army. On our side the centre was in motion, to take the ground I had marked out for it, but we were unable to reach it. In the Chaghataí army every man, Amír and Vazír, rich and poor, has his camp-followers (gholáms), so that an Amír of any note, if he has an hundred retainers \*, will, for himself and them, have perhaps five hundred camp-followers, who, in the day of battle, do not attend their master, and are not masters of themselves, so that they wander at large; and as, when they have lost their master's control, they are under no other, however much they may be beaten back on face or head, with mace or stick, they are totally unmanageable. In a word, by the pressure of the masses of these men, the troops were quite unable to keep their ranks; the camp-followers, crowding behind, bore them so down that they were thrown into disorder; and the crowd continuing still to press on, some on one side, some on another, pushed the soldiers upon the chains of the carriages. Even then the camp-followers, who were behind, went on urging those before, till in many instances the chains burst, and every person who was

\* Nouker.





stationed at the chain so broken, driven out beyond it, while the order, even of such as kept within, was totally broken and destroyed, and, from the pressure and confusion, not a man could act.

“Such was the state of the centre, nor were matters more prosperous on the right. As Shír Khan’s three columns approached, a cry of ‘defeat’ was heard, and that instant a panic seized the men; and before an arrow was shot from a bow, they fled like chaff before the wind. The fugitives ran towards the centre. Here they found all in disorder, the camp-followers, having pushed clear through the line, had disordered every thing, and separated the Mír from the men, and the men from the Mír. But when, to this confusion, the rush of the terrified men flying from the right was added, the defeat was sure, and the day irretrievable. The Chaghataí army, which counted forty thousand men in armour, besides camp-followers and artisans\*, fled before ten thousand. It was not a fight, but a rout, for not a man, friend or foe, was even wounded. Shír Khan gained a great victory; the Chaghataís suffered a ruinous defeat. Not a cannon was fired—not a gun. The artillery was totally useless.

“When the Chaghataís took to flight, the distance from the field of battle to the banks of the river might be about a farsang.† Before a man was wounded, the whole army, Amírs, Beháders, and common men, fled, broken and dismayed, to the banks of the Ganges. The enemy’s army followed, and overtook them. The Chaghataís, not having time to take off their horse-armour or their own cuirasses‡, plunged, accoutred as they were, into the stream. Its breadth might be about five bowshots. Many Amírs of illustrious name perished; and all from want of concert and control. Every one went, or came, at his own will. When we

\* Shágird-peshéh.

† Nearly four miles.

‡ *Kichim* and *jaba*.



## BOOK IV.

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emerged from the river on the other bank, a monarch, who at noon had seventeen thousand artisans in his establishments, was mounted upon a wretched spavined horse, with both his head and feet bare. Permanence belongs to God alone, the King of kings. The author had nearly a thousand persons, retainers and servants, of whom only sixty escaped out of the river. All the rest were drowned. From this instance the general loss may be estimated." \*

Such is the account of Haider Mírza, which, though it bears evident mark of the disappointment and chagrin which embittered his mind, is that of an able man, and an eyewitness who had the best means of information. From other authorities, even more disposed to cover the failures of the imperial arms, we may glean a few further particulars of this battle, which, for a season, was decisive of the fate of Hindustán. The rains appear to have commenced with unwonted violence, nearly a fortnight before the usual time. Humáyun commanded his own centre, Hindal the advance, Askeri the right, Yádgár Násir the left. On Shír Shah's side, Jilál Khan with his column, chiefly composed of Niázi Afgháns, advanced against Hindal, Mobárez Khan led his against Yádgár and Kásim Husein Sultan, while Khowás Khan was opposed to Askeri. The action is said to have commenced by a rencounter between Hindal's division and that of Jilál Khan, in which Jilál being thrown from his horse, his troops fell into disorder, and Yádgár, on the left, having gained some advantage over the force opposed to him, drove in the right of the Afgháns upon their centre. On observing this, we are told Shír Shah led up a body of his reserve, and checked the progress of the imperialists, while Khowás Khan, on his side, rode forward to attack Askeri, whose division instantly fled. Humáyun in

\* Tar. Reshídi, ff. 368—371.





vain attempted to rally his troops, and to seize a rising ground. His personal exertions were unavailing. All agree that in a short time every thing was confusion and flight.\*

When he reached the Ganges, he found an old elephant, and mounted into the howdah, where he found an eunuch of his household, named Káfúr. He ordered the driver to cross the river, but the man told him that the animal was quite unequal to it, and would be drowned. Káfúr hinted to the Emperor that the man wished to carry over the elephant to the Afgháns, and that it was better to put him to death; that he would undertake to guide the animal. On this Humáyun drew his sword, and struck the driver, who fell wounded into the water. The eunuch then stepped down on the elephant's neck, and directed him across. As they gained the banks, which were very steep, the Emperor found it difficult to mount them, when a soldier, who had just gained the shore, presenting his hand to the Emperor, drew him up. Humáyun asked his deliverer's name, and was answered, Shems-ed-dín Muhammed of Ghazni, in the service of Mírza Kámrán. The Emperor made him high promises. At this moment he was recognised by Mokadam Beg, one of Kámrán's nobles, who came forward and presented his own horse.†

Flight of  
Humáyun.

\* Akbernáma, ff. 45, 46, 47.; Jouher, c. 5.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 89, 90.; Kháfí Khan, ff. 48, 49. The Tab. Akb. ff. 151, 166., and Tar. Niz. f. 214., Tar. Bed. 143., with the Nisáb-náma, f. 93., agree that the Chaghatái army fled with little or no fighting.

† Akbernáma, f. 47.; Nisáb-náma, f. 93.; Jouher, c. 5.; Tar. Bedauni, f. 144.; Kholáset-ul-To-wárikh, f. 260.

The narrative of Jouher, which he gives on the Emperor's own authority, differs from the account

of the others in several particulars. "His Majesty further related," says he, "that when he arrived near the bank, it was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. At length, some of the standard bearers (tugh-bárán), sons of Bába Jeláir, viz., Mírza Muhammed and Ters Beg, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he, with some difficulty, climbed up; they then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded to Agra." — Stewart's Jouher, p. 22., corrected by the

Shems-ed-dín afterwards became one of the most distinguished noblemen of the empire, was made Khan Azim, and was the atkeh, or foster father, of Akber, in those days a connection of no small importance.

Humáyun was soon after joined by Askeri Mírza, and by Yádgár Násir Mírza, and they all, with the few attendants they could collect, pushed on for Agra. By the road they passed a walled village\*, the inhabitants of which, probably accustomed to be plundered alike by the conquerors and the conquered, refused all intercourse with the fugitives, even in the way of buying and selling the necessities of life; and, it was alleged, attempted to cut off and plunder the stragglers. Humáyun, when informed of this refusal, desired Askeri Mírza, Yádgár and Hindal, who had also joined him, to go and punish their insolence. If we believe Abulfazl, about thirty thousand of the neighbouring population had by this time risen to defend themselves, or attack the retiring troops. But the number on the spot was probably inconsiderable. Askeri declined

original. Stewart calls the *túgh-búrán*, "camp-colour men:" I suspect the word should be *túghdárán*, "nobles who had the túgh-banner," Bába Jeláir was a man of high rank.

\* The name of this village is not very clear. Major Price (Mahom. Annals) calls it Bankapúr, or Behgánu; Major Stewart's Jouher has Bhyngang. My copy of the Akbernáma, No. 1. f. 47., reads Behkánu, or Behgánu; that No. 2. f. 96., has Bingala. In the Memoirs of Jouher, the opposition made near this village is not treated as so formidable as it is by Abulfazl. It is said "that the peasants stopped the road, and one of them wounded Myrza Yádgár with an arrow: on which the Myrza said to the prince Askeri, 'Do you go on and punish

these villagers, while I stop to dress my wound.' The prince was displeased at this request, and gave the Myrza some abuse: on which the other retorted in harsher language, when the prince struck him three times with his horsewhip. 'I will repay you after the fashion of kings,' said Yádgár, and struck him several successive blows with his whip, without intermission. When intelligence of this unpleasant fracas reached the Emperor, he said, 'They had better have vented their spite on the robbers than on each other. What has happened cannot be recalled; but let us hear no more of it.'—Stewart's Mem. of Humáyun, p. 23., slightly modified from the original. Abulfazl makes the first blows proceed from Yádgár.





gong. "It is from such want of co-operation among you," said Yádgár Násir Mírza indignantly, "that we are brought to the state in which we are; and still you are not corrected." These words produced an altercation, and some blows of a whip followed on both sides. Yádgár and Hindal Mírza then attacked the villagers, and put many of them to the sword. Mírza Askeri's conduct on this occasion gave great offence to the Emperor. From this place Humáyun posted on to Agra.\*

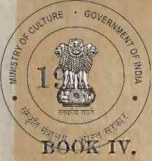
At Agra, Humáyun found little to console him. The quarrels of the brothers and their mutual jealousies had thrown every thing into disorder. The whole government and army were disorganised. Kámrán, when he set out from Agra, had induced some of the officers of government, and a great portion of the garrison, to accompany him to the Penjáb. The country had been drained of troops to form the Emperor's army, the greater part of which had perished in the Ganges, or by the sword of the Afgháns, while the scanty remainder was dispersed in flight. There was, therefore, no considerable force in reserve to form the nucleus of a new army. Nor did any means exist of calling out, in this emergency, the national resources that were still left. The nobles were discontented; the peasantry, a prey to misrule and anarchy; the Afgháns hard in pursuit. The Emperor, without entering the city, alighted in the suburbs at the house† of Syed Rafia-ed-dín, a very learned and eminent Sufi doctor, who, like many of the distinguished divines of his time, had a high reputation for political sagacity. As circumstances were urgent, Hindal Mírza was sent with his followers into the fort to

He arrives  
at Agra.

\* Akbernáma, f. 47.

† The Akbernáma (f. 47.) makes this visit take place the morning after Humáyun's arrival. The Nisábnáma (f. 94.) asserts that, in this conversation, Humáyun affirmed

that in the late battle he saw a troop of derwishes attack his lines, and not desist till they had broken through them. This of course referred to something supernatural.



## BOOK IV.

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bring off the Emperor's mother, sisters and family, with their domestics, and such part of their treasure and jewels as they were able to remove. The Syed, meanwhile, placed before the Emperor, bread, melons, and such homely fare as his house at the moment afforded, and soothed his mind by moral and religious reflections on the instability of fortune. Having breakfasted, the Emperor consulted him as to the practicability of defending Agra. From this attempt the Syed strongly dissuaded him, as being hopeless, and advised him to hasten forward to Láhúr, where his brother Kámrán's power was still unbroken. When the Emperor departed, he presented him with a horse richly caparisoned, and gave him his blessing. Humáyun, now abandoning his capital, rode off to Sikri.\* He was soon after followed and joined by Hindal with the household.

Humáyun had not been long at Sikri, in his father Báber's garden, when an arrow discharged from an eminence by an unknown hand, fell close by his side. Haider Mírza and an officer, who were sent to discover whence the arrow proceeded, both returned wounded. Apprehensive of treachery, he proceeded on his route to Delhi. He seems to have been in an irritable state, and had but few Amírs left along with him. One of them, Mír Fakr Ali, happening to ride on before him on the road, Humáyun called out angrily, "It was by thy advice that I passed the Ganges. Better would it have been that thou hadst perished there than that this should happen. Go immediately, and leave me." Fakr Ali fell back.† The Emperor had not a more faithful or zealous servant than the Mír, who died soon after on the road to Sirhend.

But the Emperor was not doomed to retreat in quiet. Hardly had he reached his ground at the first stage, at Bijúna on the banks of the Kanbír, when Askéri

\* Jouher, c. 5.; Akbernáma, f. 47.

† Jouher, c. 6.; Akbernáma, f. 47.





arrived with information that Mír Feríd Gúr, who had been sent in pursuit of them by Shír Shah, was fast approaching. The Mírza, therefore, advised Humáyun to renew his march without losing a moment, offering, with the few troops still left, to cover his retreat. All was now unseemly trepidation. "In consequence of this advice," says Jouher, "the (Emperor) mounted his horse and set off, but the followers were thrown into the greatest alarm, not knowing what to do. No one attempted to assist another; the son paid no attention to his father, nor the father to the son, but each person endeavoured to conceal whatever valuables he had, and to make his escape; and, to add to their distress, a very heavy rain fell. In short, God preserve us from seeing such another day."\* The Emperor, struck with the misery and dismay of his followers, seems at length to have thought of conducting his retreat with some degree of method. He ordered the troops to halt; divided them into different columns. He himself led the advance; Hindal had the right, Yádgár Násir the left, and the other Amírs brought up the rear. "It was ordered," continued Jouher†, "that if any person went before the Emperor, he should be punished, and his house plundered."

Humáyun at length reached Delhi, where, on the 25th of May, he was joined by Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, and several other Amírs. Hindal and Askeri now took leave to proceed to their jágírs, the one to Alwar, the other to Sambhal, for the purpose of making some hasty arrangements on the spot. The Emperor did not venture to prolong his stay in the ancient capital of the kingdom, and on the 27th, only ten days after the decisive battle, he left it. On the 29th, Hindal Mírza and Haider Mírza rejoined him at the village of Rahtak, where he halted next day. Thence,

And to the  
Penjáb.  
Mohar-  
rem 18.  
May 25.

Mohar-  
rem 20.  
May 27.

\* Stewart's Jouher's Memoirs, † Jouher, from the original.



## BOOK IV.

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Beginning  
of Sefer.Shír Shah  
at Delhi.

by long marches of ten or twelve kos, they proceeded to Sirhend, which they reached before the middle of June. There Hindal was halted for a few days, while the Emperor proceeded to Máchíwára on the Satlej. As the river was swollen by the rains, and as no boats were to be found, they passed it as they best could, and marched on.

Intelligence now arrived that Shír Shah had halted on reaching Delhi, but had sent forward detachments in pursuit, which were only forty or fifty kos off. The Afghán prince, during his whole life, whether from superstition or policy, had maintained a close intimacy with the leading devotees and holy men of his religion, and with the whole body of religious mendicants, whose influence often afforded him essential service in his various political enterprises. He seems to have been willing to have it believed that a supernatural power favoured all his designs, and among other means, led him on by dreams and visions of the night. The morning of the discomfiture of Humáyun near Kanáuj, he related that, the night before, he dreamed that he and Humáyun, alighting from their horses, had wrestled between the two armies; after long and keen struggling, the Emperor threw him upon the ground, and made strong efforts to lift him up again from it, but could not succeed; Shír Shah, clinging to the ground, baffled his attempts. He himself proceeded to interpret the dream, affirming that his aim and ambition had long been to take possession of the ground of Hindustán, which his dream portended that he would do, and that he would baffle Humáyun. Immediately after the battle he pushed after the fugitives, and took possession of Agra, where he got possession of the treasures and arsenals, and then hastened on to Delhi. Here he paused for some time to give the orders rendered necessary by his great success. No effectual resistance was now presented to him from any point of the Emperor's peculiar dominions. The hopes of the family of Báber





were turned to the Penjáb, and to Kábul. Shír Shah pushed on a strong force in pursuit of the flying monarch, which soon approached the Satlej. Upon this Hindal Mírza, with the Emperor's rear-guard, crossed that river, and joining the main body, the whole proceeded to Jalindher, between the Satlej and Biah, where Hindal's division again halted, while Humáyun proceeded to Láhúr on the Rávi.\* On his arrival at Láhúr, Mozeffer Beg was despatched with a body of troops to support Hindal, and encamped on the western bank of the Biah. The Afgháns, who had passed through Sirhend, and crossed the Satlej in pursuit, soon appeared on the opposite bank. Askeri Mírza arriving about this time from Sambhal, all the four brothers met at Láhúr. Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, who, it may be remembered, had deserted from the Emperor's army before it crossed the Ganges, and had gone to Láhúr, fled from that city, as soon as Humáyun approached it, and went down to Multán.† When the imperial princes held their consultations at Láhúr, it was still only the beginning of July, not two months since the grand discomfiture of Kanáuj.

His parties pursue Humáyun across the Satlej.

Rebi 1. 1.  
July 5.

When Humáyun resolved to bend his flight towards the Penjáb, he had cherished a hope that Kámran might still receive him cordially, and acknowledge and submit to him as his sovereign lord;—or at least employ the whole force of his extensive dominions in repelling and humbling the Afgháns. He was disappointed in all these hopes. Kámran was much more his rival than his subject, or even his ally. The Emperor was received with external honours, and suspicion that could not be disguised. At Láhúr he found nothing pre-

Selfish conduct of Kámran.

\* Called also Gandwál, or Goindwál.

† Akbernáma, f. 47.; Jouber, c. 6.; Tabakát-e Akberi, f. 151.; Tar. Niz. f. 188.; Nisábnáma-Afgh. ff. 93, 94. Shems-ed-din

Muhammed, the fortunate soldier who assisted Humáyun in mounting the banks of the Ganges at Kanáuj, also came to Láhúr, and was gratefully welcomed by the Emperor.

pared to meet the common enemy. The conduct of Kámran-at this crisis was unkind to his brother, and ruinous to the family. His situation was certainly very trying. He was placed between two dangers, and hardly knew whether most to dread his brother or Shír Shah. He saw that the hereditary claims of the former might be employed to wrest from him the whole of his extensive dominions, which stretched from Persian Khorásán and the Helمند, to the Satlej and Hissár-Firóza. The utmost success of the former would be confined to the conquest of the Penjáb, leaving Kábul, Ghazni, and Kandahár untouched. Hence his energies appeared to be paralysed, and he was evidently more anxious to keep under his brother Humáyun and his dreaded pretensions, than to meet and repel the Afgháns. Could the brothers have trusted each other, and combined to act as their common interest required, much might still have been effected; but there was no sympathy among them, no mutual confidence. All was suspicion, jealousy, and distrust.

Treaty  
among the  
imperial  
brothers.

The Afgháns continued to advance. When their entrance into the Penjáb was known, the brothers, and such of the Amírs as had followed them, or were on the spot, held many consultations, to which the most eminent of the holy men, who then flourished in that country, were invited, that they might at once add solemnity to the council by their presence, and enlighten it by their wisdom. Terms were finally agreed to, after much discussion, and a regular treaty of alliance and concord concluded between the princes, and sealed and witnessed by all the assembly. But signatures and seals were vain, where confidence and unity of purpose were wanting. Neither adversity, nor the progress of events not to be mistaken, could teach them the most obvious lessons of prudence. Each still urged on a separate project of his own. Humáyun, who had been the greatest sufferer, enforced the necessity of una-





nimity, and the mischiefs of discord. But his past success and conduct were not such as to make them turn to him with much hope, as the leader of a confederacy. Kámran Mírza, who, from the first, betrayed the general cause, and consulted only his own individual interest, was anxious chiefly for the speedy breaking up of the congress, that the princes might separate, and he himself be at liberty to proceed to Kábul. He, therefore, proposed to retreat from Láhúr, as soon as it was attacked, into the neighbouring hill-country; and he undertook to convey the families of his brothers and of their adherents into the highlands of Kábul, above the passes, where they would be safe; after which he engaged to return, and join his brothers. Hindal Mírza and Yádgár Násir Mírza had a plan of their own. They recommended an attack upon the fort and territory of Bheker on the Indus; after conquering which, they affirmed that it would be no difficult matter to invade and subdue Gujrát; and, aided by the wealth of that kingdom, to resume operations with a powerful force, in the very heart of Hindustán. The plan of Haider Mírza was different still. His thoughts were turned towards Kashmír, which he had once already overrun, and with which he was well acquainted. He advised the princes to occupy and fortify the skirts of the hill-country between Sirhend and Sarang, and undertook within two months to be in possession of Kashmír, whither their families could be sent as a place of safety, for which no situation could be better fitted. In support of his opinion he maintained that it would take Shír Shah at least four months to bring on to the hill-country his carriages and artillery, on which he chiefly relied; and that, should the Afgháns attempt to follow them among the mountains, their army, in a short time, would be completely ruined.\*

\* Akbernáma, f. 47.

A. D. 1540.

Treachery  
of Kámrán.

All these deliberations, however, ended without leading to any combined plan of operation. Humáyun did not possess the qualities that command at once respect and confidence. Each of the princes was led to pursue schemes of his own, and became an adventurer on his own account. The genius of Báber had descended on none of his sons. Kámrán, on whom every thing depended, was resolved to admit of no competitor in his dominions; and, at the very moment when he signed the treaty with the other princes, and joined in their deliberations, regardless of his oaths, was carrying on an underhand correspondence with their inveterate enemy, Shír Shah. For that purpose he had secretly sent Kázi Abdalla, his Sadr or Chief Judge, to endeavour to enter into a treaty with the Afghán, hoping to confirm his own independence and power, by an alliance with the common enemy. He instructed his envoy to assure Shír Shah, that, if left in possession of the Penjáb, he was ready to evince his gratitude by rendering him the most important services.\*

Shír Shah  
receives his  
overtures,

Shír Shah halted for some time at Delhi, highly delighted with his success, and unwilling, by an imprudent advance, to hazard any portion of what he had gained. He heard with some alarm of the assemblage at Láhúr, and was apprehensive of its consequences. The arrival of the Sadr was, therefore, to him a most pleasing occurrence. It relieved him from great anxiety. He gave him a gracious reception, learned with rapture the divisions that prevailed among the Mírzas, and readily promised Kámrán all that he asked. The Sadr, probably anxious to expel Humáyun from the Penjáb, pressed Shír Shah to advance without delay towards Láhúr; and the king soon sent him back, accompanied by an ambassador, who had instructions carefully to mark the real state of affairs, and to re-

\* Akbernáma, f. 48.; Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 260. See also Jouher, c. 6.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 188.





turn and report what he saw. Kámrán made every thing he conducted as if this mission had been to the Emperor. The ambassador was introduced to a public audience of Humáyun, with much pomp, in a royal garden at Láhúr, when Kámrán entertained the Emperor and his brothers at a grand festival; the whole population of the city being called out to witness the entry and the reception. But the real business was transacted with Kámrán himself at a private nocturnal conference. The Sadr was once more sent back, with new instructions, and again meeting Shír Shah, who by this time had advanced to the banks of the Biah river near Sultanpúr, encouraged him to cross it. Mozeffer Turkomán, who had been left to defend the passage, was unable to resist the force opposed to him, and soon after arrived at Láhúr, bringing information that Shír Shah had forced his way over, and secured a position on the right bank, in spite of all the opposition he could offer; was bringing the rest of his troops across, and might soon be expected to arrive in sight of Láhúr.

enters the  
Penjáb.

There was now no longer room for delay. Whether Kámrán was overreached by Shír Shah, or whether he had privately consented to surrender to him all the Penjáb, it is difficult to determine. The former supposition is most probable. At all events no attempt at resistance was made. The Emperor and the Mírzas instantly abandoned Láhúr, crossed the Rávi, which happened to be fordable, and hastened towards the Chenáb. Kámrán conveyed his followers and his property across in boats. The princes were at that moment on such bad terms with each other, that some of Humáyun's counsellors advised him, as the only way to render the army unanimous and efficient, to make away with Kámrán, who was evidently intriguing to depose him. But this proposal the Emperor at once rejected. "No," he replied, in the style of his country, "never, for the vanities of this perishable world, will I imbrue

The imperial  
family quits  
Láhúr.

Jemádi II.  
29.  
October 31.

A. D. 1540.

Rejeb 1.  
Nov. 1.

Kámrán  
departs  
for Kábul ;

Hindal, for  
Sind and  
Guzrát.

Humáyun  
meditates

my hands in the blood of a brother, but will for ever remember the dying words of our respected parent (Báber), who said to me, 'O, Humáyun! beware! beware! Do not quarrel with your brothers, nor even form any evil intentions towards them?' These words are engraved on my heart, never to be erased."

Humáyun, in the exigency in which he was placed, had resolved to adopt the plan proposed by Haider Mírza, and to attempt the conquest of Kashmír. After crossing the Rávi, he marched on to the town of Hazára, which he reached in the morning. Here he was informed that Kámrán, with his troops and followers all in arms, was marching right towards him. The Emperor's followers offered to arm also to repel any aggression, but he forbade them, and waited the issue. Kámrán, on coming up, sat down beside him, when they conversed for about an hour. The Mírza said, that from the instant he had last set out for Hindustán, so incessant had been his occupations, that he had enjoyed no interval of rest, and that his followers also were quite exhausted. He, therefore, found it necessary to use his endeavours to put his affairs on a proper footing, and to recruit his force, and asked the Emperor's leave to proceed to Kábul for that purpose, promising to return as soon as that object was effected. Humáyun assented, with prayers for his safety and success, after which the brothers separated. Humáyun then continued his march, and halted about four kos further on; when he got notice that Hindal Mírza, Yádgár Mírza, and Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, had been induced by Beg Mírak to set out on their proposed attempt on Gujrát. Many of the Emperor's followers, upon this, deserted and joined them. Hindal's party marched down the Penjáb towards the Balúch country.

Humáyun, thus abandoned by two of his brothers,





hastened forward to join his cousin, Haider Mírza\*, in the projected expedition against Kashmír.

It is necessary shortly to advert to the state of parties in that country. When Kámrán marched from the Penjáb for the purpose of recovering Kandahár from the Persians, it has been mentioned that he left Haider Mírza in charge of Láhúr. At that time several nobles of Kashmír, who were discontented with the reigning prince of that kingdom, waited on Haider Mírza, who had formerly commanded in Kashmír, and attempted, through his influence, to obtain from Kámrán a body of troops with which to dethrone the present ruler, and restore themselves to their country, from which they were exiled. Haider Mírza, who, from the incidents of his past life, took a lively interest in the affairs of Kashmír, entered warmly into their views; but, in spite of all his exertions, was, from various circumstances, always prevented from procuring for them the assistance they desired, while Kámrán remained at Láhúr.

Afterwards, when that prince was lying at Agra, Haider Mírza succeeded in prevailing upon him to send Bába Jujkeh, one of his officers, to attempt the adventure along with the exiled nobles. But so dilatory was the general in his motions that, before he reached the scene of action, the news of Humáyun's defeat at Chonsa arrived, an event which withdrew the attention of the Mírzas from distant expeditions, and turned it to providing for their immediate safety. The attempt on Kashmír was therefore suspended, and the exiled nobles were placed in the Noushehr and Rájwari † territory, in the opening of the mountains between the Penjáb and Kashmír, to wait better times.

The exiles, however, never ceased from urging Haider Mírza to support their interests; and after Haider

an expedition to Kashmír. Recent events there.

\* Haider was the maternal cousin of Báber.

† Rájour.

A. D. 1540.

changed Kámrán's service for that of Humáyun, he had regularly communicated their letters to the Emperor, who, in his present distress, seeing nothing better to be done, agreed, with their assistance, to attempt the conquest of Kashmír. He had, therefore, sent forward Haider Mírza, with such of his troops as were willing to join in the enterprise, to Noushehr, which was the most practicable road into the mountain-circled valley, and where he could see and confer with the exiled and the discontented Kashmírian nobles. Haider was to be joined by Sekander Topchi, who had a considerable jágir in that quarter, and by his followers; and in addition to these, Khwája Kilán Beg, one of Kámrán's principal Amírs, was to meet them with a reinforcement. On hearing of the Khwája's arrival at Noushehr, Humáyun himself was to join them, and the expedition was to enter the hills.

Kámrán  
thwarts the  
plans of  
Humáyun.

The accounts of what happened at this period of alarm are very uncertain and contradictory. It would appear, however, that Kámrán Mírza, who retired by way of Bhíra, contrived to thwart the plans of Humáyun. Khwája Kilán, who probably governed the Bhíra country, had written, both to Kámrán and to Humáyun, with assurances of his fidelity and attachment. On hearing of the advance of the Afgháns within thirty kos of Láhúr, and of the flight of the Emperor and Kámrán towards Bhíra, he had hastened from Siálkot, where he was, to meet them at Bhíra. Humáyun, on his part, had set out for that town, eager to meet the Khwája. It was about afternoon prayers when he reached the Jelem, which was much swollen. Anxious to cross, he desired Terdi Beg to lead the way, and to spur his horse into the river. The horse swam awhile, but turned round, and could not be made to go on. Determined to force his way, Humáyun caused an elephant to be driven into the stream, and then plunged in on horseback, and followed it





across. He thus crossed with forty men about evening prayers. They rode all night without stopping, and arrived next morning at the town of Bhíra. Here he found that they had been anticipated by Kámrán, who had already seized Khwája Kilán in his house, and thus secured his services. While irritated by this sudden disappointment, and his brother's breach of faith, Jabar Kuli Korchi, an officer of his guard, offered to him to lay violent hands on Kámrán. "No," said Humáyun, among whose faults cruelty was not one: "No; I refused to slay him at Láhúr, and I will not do it here." He could not, however, remain where he was, nor could he perhaps, with safety, venture to push on to Noushehr. He resolved at once to turn back, and riding, without halt, down the banks of the river, by noon next day he reached Khusháb, where he was well received by Husein Sultan, the governor of the district.\*

The Emperor, confounded and perplexed by these untoward events, renounced altogether the plan of proceeding to Kashmír, and resolved to join Hindal and Yádgár Mírza in their expedition against Bheker. Haider Mírza meanwhile, adhering to his original purpose, though deprived of the assistance of Sekander Topchi, who retired into the mountains of Sarang, as well as of Khwája Kilán's co-operation, penetrated the mountain passes of Kashmír, and, as will hereafter be mentioned, was, on the 22d November, less than three weeks after this time, acknowledged in the capital of Kashmír, as sole ruler of the kingdom, without a battle.

Rajeb 22.  
Nov. 22.

Humáyun left Khusháb the morning after his arrival, along with the governor, who agreed to accompany him, and had proceeded about six kos, when he reached a narrow pass beyond which the road divides, one branch leading to Multán, the other to Kábul. It

Who proceeds to-  
wards Sind.

\* Jouher, c. 7. Compare Ak- f. 188., Tabak. Akberi, f. 152.  
bernáma, f. 48., and Tar. Nizámi,



## BOOK IV.

A. D. 1540.

happened that he and his brother Kámrán came to the entrance of the defile at the very same time. The Emperor wished to enter it first, but Kámrán, who now threw off the mask, refused to give way, saying he was determined to take the lead. Humáyun was much irritated, and the followers of the princes preparing to assert the right of their masters by force, the affair bore a threatening aspect, when Mír Abul-Baká, a man noted for his sanctity, who belonged to Kámrán's court, riding up to the Mírza, remonstrated with him on his conduct. The Mírza was brought to acquiesce, and the Emperor, passing on first, took the Multán road; after which Kámrán following, turned off for Kábul. It was observed that Kámrán was accompanied by his brother Askeri; and he was soon after joined by the restless Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, Ulugh and Shah Mírzas, from Multán. The family had no sooner heard of the dispersion of the Emperor and his brothers, than they resolved to attach themselves to Kámrán, and overtook him on the banks of the Indus.

After some days' march down the desert that lies between the Chenáb and the Sind, the Emperor arrived at Gul-Balúch, where he received information that Hindal and Yádgár Násir Mírzas, who had preceded him in the same route, had been attacked and interrupted by the Balúches, a barbarous and hardy race spread over all that country, who would not suffer the Mírzas to proceed on their route. Here Humáyun halted his little force. It appears that the Mírzas, who had left Láhúr and crossed the Rávi along with the Emperor, after separating from him near Hazára, had marched down into the Multán territory. Their rangers\* soon after fell in with a party of Afgháns who escorted Kázi Abdalla, the Sadr, Kámrán's envoy, to

\* Keráwalán.





Shir Shah. The Sadr was then probably returning from a secret mission to the Afghán camp, and on his way to meet his master. They were all taken and brought to the camp of the Mírzas. The Afgháns were put to death; and the Kázi saved at the intercession of a friend.\* The march of the Mírzas through the western desert lasted twenty days, during which period they were subject to the greatest fatigue, and to suffering and danger of every description. The Balúches already occupied these wastes, and were in possession of the few strong positions within their bounds, so that they were able to cut the wanderers off from water and provisions: and so determined was the opposition which they made to the progress of the Mírzas that, harassed and in despair at the increasing difficulties which they daily encountered, the princes were forced to retrace their steps, and were now actually on their way back. The Emperor, while at Gul-Balúch, hearing a kettle-drum in the desert, sent out to discover whence the sound proceeded, and found that it was from the camp of Hindal and Yádgár, which was pitched only two or three kos off. He sent forward the reverend Mír Abul-Baká, who had left Kámrán, and joined him, after the occurrence at the defile. The holy man, who had authority to invite the Mírzas to join the Emperor, was successful in his mission, and brought them back with their followers; after which, both the little bands, having once more united, advanced in conjunction on their march.

Hindal re-  
joins him  
at Gul-  
Balúch.

Before the Emperor, attended by the Mírzas, set out from Gul-Balúch, an alarming report reached them, that Khowás Khan, the Afghán general, had been sent in pursuit of the Emperor, and was only twenty kos distant. Humáyun prepared for battle, few as his numbers comparatively were, but was soon relieved by

\* Mír Bába Dost.

A. D. 1540.

End of  
 Shábán.  
 End of  
 December.

They pass  
 the terri-  
 tories of  
 Bakhshui  
 Langa.

intelligence that Khowás Khan had halted, and seemed to have abandoned the pursuit. That distinguished officer, having pushed on to Multán, finding his enemy totally dispersed, and being unable to get any intelligence of the Emperor or the Mirzas, had retired for the purpose of rejoining the main body of the Afghán army. The belief of his vicinity, however, quickened the movements of the Emperor's army, who hastened along once more on their dreary and painful route towards Uch, over against which town, after many sufferings from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, they at length halted, on the banks of the Chenáb, which, after receiving the waters of the Satlej and Biah, is known by the name of the Gára.

When Humáyun approached the territories of Bakhshui Langa, who was one of the great chieftains of the country, and whose tribe, in times not long past, had given sovereigns to Multán, he was anxious to avert opposition in passing through his country, and especially in crossing the Gára. For that purpose, he sent forward a mission, who bore a firmán conferring on the Langa the high title of Khan Jehán; and a khilát, composed, among other articles, of a dress of honour, a horse-tail standard, shield and kettle-drum, with four elephants. The Emperor required the Langa, on his part, to furnish grain for the supply of the camp, and boats for crossing the river. Bakhshui, who dreaded his uninvited guests, seems to have conducted himself with great caution and prudence; did not wait on the Emperor, but sent supplies for present use, accompanied by suitable presents. He, at the same time, encouraged merchants to proceed to the suffering camp with necessities of all kinds for sale, and furnished boats by which the Emperor was enabled to pass the Gára. After accomplishing the passage of that river, near Uch, he moved down the left bank of the Indus to Bheker, the territory of which he reached in the end of January,

A. D. 1541,  
 beginning  
 of January.

Ramzán 28,  
 January 26,





A.D. 1541. There he encamped at the town of Lohri, on the left bank of the river, near the city and fortress of Bhaker, which filled the small island in the middle of the stream, the opposite bank being occupied by the town of Sakar.\*

CHAP. V.  
and reach  
Sind.

Humáyun, for several years to come, does not re-appear on the theatre of India. He was now completely driven out of the empire left him by his father, and was not permitted to enter, even as a guest, the wide extent of dominions still enjoyed by his younger brother, and of which he was liege lord. His fortune, during the ten years that had elapsed since he mounted the throne, had been various. He had conquered the kingdoms of Malwa and of Gujrát, and had been expelled from them. He had conquered the kingdom of Bengal, and had been compelled to abandon it. These conquests, effected by the superior military skill, and the greater vigour of mind of his brave Túrki and Moghul troops, and their veteran leaders, seem to have been lost chiefly by the want of any well-combined general plan of operations. In his advance into Gujrát and Bengal, every obstacle gave way before the fury of his attack. But when in possession of the object of his ambition, he found that he had gained nothing. He totally failed in securing the fruits of his victory. No sufficient army of reserve, or of communication, supported the victorious troops. Wherever the imperial camp moved, all, at first, was conquest and glory. But as the government was essentially military, on the army all depended: any disaster to it was ruin to the government. The change of dynasty was still so recent, that a most wakeful and patient superintending policy would have

Present  
state and  
past career  
of Hu-  
máyun.

\* The chief authorities for these transactions are the Akbernáma, ff. 47—49.; Jouher, c. 7.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.; Tarikh-e-Sind, ff. 151—154.; Kháfí Khan. The Tar. Sind. makes the

army reach Bhaker, Ramzán 26. Yádgár Násir Mirza led the advance of the imperial army, and perhaps arrived two days before the main body.

been indispensably requisite in every quarter. The empire had really, as yet, attained no unity, and it had little of what can be called political, or civil, organization; so that the government took its colour entirely from the character of the person at its head. The want of a grand superintending mind was soon felt. There was no adequate provision for the regular administration of affairs in the provinces; no effective system of mutual support among the officers of the empire. The head of the government had not the weight of character which inspired awe or reverence. Revolt early began to appear in different quarters; and that not merely among the Afgháns, burning to recover their lost greatness, but among the chief nobles of the imperial court itself. The empire of the great Báber was in danger of falling to pieces. The discord of the brothers completed the mischief; for the leading Amírs, seeing no hopes of retrieving affairs by adhering to the Emperor, who, brave and accomplished as he was, was regarded with no confidence, had lost heart, even before they were dispersed by the last decisive discomfiture. It was not yet fifteen years since the defeat and death of Ibráhím Shah, from which event the overthrow of the Afghán, and the rise of the Taimúrian, dynasty in India may be dated. Of these fifteen years, the vigorous government of Báber occupied only five; the other ten were filled by the indolent and thoughtless misrule of his son. There had not been much time to consolidate the influence of the new race. Their power still remained entirely military; so that, when the army of the Túrki monarch was dispersed, and his camp taken at Kanáuj, the authority of the family of Báber seemed to be rooted out from India for ever.

The Afghán supremacy restored in India under Shír Shah.

Shír Shah, whose success made him the representative of the Afghán race, and whose abilities rendered him worthy of the trust, lost no time in pursuing his advantage. Though the Afgháns had been routed in





battle, and driven to the extremities of the empire by the great Báber ; yet they had so long previously held power and sovereignty in India ; they were so numerous there, as so many of their race had resorted to that country in pursuit of fortune and of subsistence, and settled in it : and so many of them, for several reigns, had held all the great offices of the kingdom, and numerous rich jágírs and estates in every part of the land, that their power and influence were much deeper rooted, and better established, than it was possible for the authority of their Túrki rivals to be, in the few years they had enjoyed it. The Afghán power, though broken for the moment, could still, by a skilful hand, be speedily repaired. The interest of a rich, powerful, and numerous class of brave men was at stake ; and every arm was prepared to aid the hero, who was struggling to raise their nation once more to the eminence from which it had fallen, and to hurl destruction on the hated invaders, whose success must infallibly wrest from the whole Afghán population of India, not their political power only, but their very estates and property, and, what was equally dear to them, the importance individually enjoyed by the meanest Afghán, as belonging to the dominant race. All of these, delighted with the rising prospects of Shír Shah, now flocked to his standard, and hailed him as the restorer of their glory, of their power, and of the Afghán ascendancy.



## BOOK FIFTH.

## HUMÁYUN IN EXILE.

## CHAPTER I.

## HUMÁYUN'S RESIDENCE IN SIND.

## SECTION I.

## FIRST RESIDENCE IN SIND.

STATE OF SIND ON THE ARRIVAL OF HUMÁYUN. — CONDUCT OF SHAH HUSEIN. — HUMÁYUN AT ROHRI. — HIS FOLLOWERS DETACHED OVER THE COUNTRY. — DISTRESS IN HIS CAMP. — HE SENDS ENVOYS TO SHAH HUSEIN — WHO PROCRASTINATES, AND ATTEMPTS TO INDUCE HUMÁYUN TO LEAVE SIND. — HUMÁYUN LAYS SIEGE TO BHEKER. — SCARCITY IN UPPER SIND. — HUMÁYUN AT THE CAMP OF HINDAL. — HIS MARRIAGE TO AKBER'S MOTHER. — HE RETURNS TO HIS CAMP. — INTENDED DESERTION OF HINDAL, PREVENTED BY THE EMPEROR'S CONCESSIONS. — DISMISSAL OF SHAH HUSEIN'S ENVOY. — HUMÁYUN ADVANCES TO SEHWÁN. — DESCRIPTION OF SEHWÁN, TO WHICH HE LAYS SIEGE. — APPROACH OF SHAH HUSEIN. — DIFFICULTIES OF THE SIEGE, AND DESERTIONS FROM THE IMPERIAL CAMP. — PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE OF BHEKER. — HUMÁYUN URGES HINDAL TO ACT AGAINST SHAH HUSEIN. — DEFECTION OF YÁDGÁR NÁSIR MÍRZA. — SHAH HUSEIN SEIZES THE EMPEROR'S FLOTILLA. — HUMÁYUN RETREATS FROM SEHWÁN WITH THE LOSS OF HIS BAGGAGE. — REACHES ROHRI, AND CROSSES THE INDUS. — CONDUCT OF YÁDGÁR. — DISORGANIZATION OF HUMÁYUN'S FORCES. — THREATENED ATTACK OF YÁDGÁR. — DESPONDENCY OF HUMÁYUN, WHO RETREATS TO THE DESERT OF MÁRWÁR.

BOOK V. WHEN Humáyun, driven first from Hindustán, and afterwards from the Penjáb, resolved to try his fortune on the Lower Indus, he had not long left Uch, in his

A. D. 1541,  
A. H. 947.  
State of





disastrous flight, before he reached the dominions of Shah Husein Mirza, the ruler of Sind. That prince, though he had been forced to relinquish Multán, after having conquered it from the Langas, as has been mentioned, was still the undisputed ruler of Upper and Lower Sind, or of Bheker and Tatta, and his dominions extended along the Indus, from the sea nearly to Uch. To the east of the Indus, the country, wherever the waters of that river or its branches were found, was rich, and seems to have been fairly peopled. The more desert portions, as far as the borders of the Rájput states, were inhabited by various tribes, chiefly Balúches. On the west of the river, and above Tatta, the Lakki hills and the Balúch mountains enclosed Sehván, Bághbán, and Dádar with the present Shikárpúr, all of which acknowledged Shah Husein as their prince. Though he had professed to be dependent on Báber, the dependence was little more than nominal, and he governed his dominions uncontrolled, as an absolute sovereign.

Shah Husein was a man of great talent and sagacity, and the events that had been recently passing in Hindustán did not escape his attention. When Humáyun was at the height of his power, and had overrun Gujrát, Husein had sent Mír Anka Arghún, as his ambassador, to congratulate the Emperor on his conquests. The ambassador, who cast a keen eye on what was passing around him, reported to his master that such was the negligence of Humáyun, and such the arrogance of his officers, that it was impossible that affairs could continue long to go on, as they were doing.\* Events justified the prediction. The defeat of Humáyun, however, and more especially his subsequent expulsion from his Indian dominions, filled Shah Husein with uneasy apprehensions, as he had just reason to look for a visit

Conduct of  
Shah  
Husein.

\* Tar. Sind, f. 152.

A. D. 1541.

Humáyun  
 at Rohri.  
 Beginning  
 of Ramzán.  
 Ramzán  
 28. January  
 26.

of at least some portion of the fugitives. He had committed the charge of Upper Sind, and of the island fortress of Bheker, to Sultan Mahmúd Bhekeri, with instructions, if invaded, to lay waste the country before the invaders, to leave them nothing but a desert on every side, and to defend himself in his castle to the last extremity. As Humáyun advanced, these orders were punctually executed. On both sides of the river, from Uch to Bheker, and, at a later time, from Bheker nearly to Schwán, the cattle were driven away, the forage or grain removed or burnt, the inhabitants compelled to migrate, and the villages destroyed.

Humáyun left Uch about the beginning of January, A. D. 1541, and on the 26th of the same month, in spite of the difficulties which he encountered, reached Lohri, and was waited upon by some individuals of the Darícha and Sefiáni tribes, who had remained in the town. Next day he moved to the Mírza's College, and the day after to the delightful garden, or Chárbágh, of Báberlú, which he made his head quarters while he remained in that vicinity.

Lohri, or Rohri\*, is situated on a high flint rock on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to the celebrated fort of Bheker, which rises near it from a rocky island in the centre of the river. This island had, some years before, been strongly fortified by Shah Husein, and more recently had been supplied, not only with a strong garrison, but with provisions and warlike stores sufficient to enable it to maintain a long siege. "The island fortress of Bheker," says a late traveller†, "is built upon an oval flint rock, three quarters of a mile in circumference, which divides a stream eight hundred yards in width. The fort itself is strongly built, but it is overlooked by the bank, upon which stands the town

\* The older writers in general call this town Lohri; in modern times it is always called Rohri.

† Conolly's Overland Journey, vol. ii. p. 260.





of Rohri. It commands the river, and all boats, that pass up and down the river, pay a toll." Still farther to secure his position, Sultan Mahmúd had ordered all the boats and other craft on the river to be seized, and moored under the walls of the fort. The gardens at which Humáyun encamped were about four miles from Rohri, and had been formed and ornamented at great expense, with all the skill and taste of the age. He and his household occupied the palace, with the garden in which it was situated; his chief nobles took possession of the rich houses that had been built by the Arghún chiefs in the immediate vicinity, while the rest of the troops were placed in the neighbourhood, and in the grounds, all the way to the town itself, where they gladly enjoyed some repose after their long sufferings.\*

But the life of Humáyun was not doomed to be one of quiet. It was necessary to make provision for the support of his followers. In the course of a few days, Mírza Hindal moved with his division four or five kos farther down the river, where he halted, and soon after crossed over to the right bank. Yádgár Násir Mírza also crossed, and encamped near him. But soon after, for the purpose of extending their quarters, and securing a larger supply of provisions, Hindal marched down to Páter in the fertile province of Sehván, and Yádgár to Dárbila; the former fifty, the latter twenty kos below Rohri.

Immediately on his arrival †, the Emperor had lost no time in calling upon Sultan Mahmúd, the governor of Bheker, to repair to the presence, and to deliver up the fort to the imperial officers. Sultan Mahmúd replied, that he was only a servant of Shah Husein, and that, without orders from his master, his duty would not

His followers detached over the country.

Distress in his camp.

\* Akbarnáma, f. 49.

† Akbarnáma, f. 49.; Tab. Akb. f. 152.; Tar. Niz. f. 188.; Tar.

Bed. f. 179. Jouher, 29., calls these towns Pát, in the district of Suhán (Sehván), and Bhila.

A. D. 1541.

He sends  
envoys to  
Shah Hu-  
sein,

who pro-  
crastinates,

permit him to comply with either request. As, how-  
ever, a serious scarcity already prevailed in Humáyun's  
camp, Sultan Mahmúd was induced to send to him, out  
of the provisions laid up in store in the fort, five  
hundred loads of grain, besides other victuals.

The answer of Sultan Mahmúd, from which he ob-  
stinately refused to depart, compelled Humáyun to refer  
directly to Shah Husein himself. Without delay he  
deputed\* Mír Táher Sadr and Mír Samander, two of  
his confidential servants, to the Mírza, who was then  
at Tatta, desiring them, by every practicable means,  
to gain him to his purpose. He bade them represent  
that the Emperor's coming to Bheker had not been  
optional; that his object now was, not to interfere with  
Shah Husein in the government of Sind, but to proceed  
on to the conquest of Gujrát; and he called upon the  
Mírza to come and consult with him in person, on the  
best means of invading that country.

The Mírza received the envoys with every mark of  
honour, and even offered his Majesty the revenues of  
all the country† from Kalikanda to Betura for the  
support of his household: but, on the grand subject of  
their mission, he deferred, from time to time, giving  
them a definitive answer, though he kept their hopes  
alive by the most artful representations. After a delay  
of some months‡, Humáyun, whose patience was ex-  
hausted, sent them instructions either to return at once,  
or to let him know distinctly what prospect they had  
of success. The envoys wrote in return, begging to  
be allowed to remain some little time longer, as they  
entertained fair hopes of bringing their negotiation to

\* Jouher, c. 8., calls the envoys  
Keber Beg Bariki, and Mír Táher  
Pír-záda.

† This seems to be the territory  
lying north-west of the Ran. It is  
doubtful if it really belonged to the  
Mírza.

‡ They seem to have been de-  
tained upwards of six months;  
Tar. Niz. f. 189. The Tarikh-e-  
Bedáuni says five or six months,  
f. 179.





had seized by surprise the whole of the Emperor's fleet which lay close by the camp, and contained the scanty provision of stores still left for the supply of the army; and so suddenly had this been effected, that some females who were on board, had only time to make their escape, half naked, into the camp. The siege was immediately raised, and the army retreated, or rather fled with precipitation, towards Bheker, leaving their whole tents, camp equipage, and baggage behind.\*

Humáyun  
retreats  
from Seh-  
wán with  
the loss of  
his baggage;

A short time before these events, an ambassador who had been sent by Shah Husein to the Emperor, having been plundered by some persons belonging to the camp, Humáyun now sent Monaim Beg, an officer of rank, to offer explanations, and at the same time to urge Shah Husein to cease from the pursuit, and to show some sympathy to his sovereign in distress. But the Arghún, who was highly irritated, refused to admit the envoy into his presence, asking what benefits the Emperor had ever conferred on him or his family, that he should now mind his distress. Meanwhile, the Emperor continued his retreat, which was hurried and disorderly, every one thinking only of himself, or his own safety. Many fell behind, and were slaughtered by the pursuing enemy; others deserted, so that, by the time the Emperor came opposite to Bheker, few of his followers remained with him.

Here a new difficulty occurred. Humáyun had sent on expresses before him, to desire Yádgár Násir to have boats in readiness to transport his troops, when they arrived, across the river, to Rohri. But, on his arrival,

reaches  
Rohri.

\* Akbernáma, f. 50.; Tar. Sind, f. 160.; Jouher, c. 9. The Tabakát-e Akberi, f. 158.; Tar. Niz. f. 190., says that the siege lasted seven months. If the dates are correct, it could have lasted only four. The Tar. Bed. f. 179. makes the siege last eighty days. The waters,

however, generally rise in the end of April, from the melting of the snows in the mountains. (See Burnes.) The account in the text supposes that they rose in February, so that the Tabakát is probably correct, in which case the siege was raised in the course of April.

no boats were to be found. Yádgár had sent privately to invite the Arghúns to come by night, and seize all the boats near Bheker, which they had done. To obviate the difficulty and danger of attempting a passage across to the left bank, with the imperfect and uncertain means that he could hastily command, his chief officers advised Humáyun at once to turn off for Kandahár; but he declared that nothing but dire necessity would induce him to approach his undutiful and unfriendly brothers, or take refuge in their territories. He despatched a party under Roushen Beg, with orders to drive in all cows and buffaloes from the villages for ten or twelve kos around, and of their skins to construct rafts and vessels for crossing the river. These orders were speedily obeyed; and in addition to the conveyances which they afforded, a few boats, which had been sunk in the Indus, were pointed out by two neighbouring zemíndárs, and raised. These operations detained Humáyun on the right bank for several days. All this while, Shah Husein's fleet was known to be advancing upwards; but, fortunately for the fugitives, the course of the Indus below Bheker is extremely tortuous, and, from the rapidity of the current, the progress of vessels ascending is proportionally slow.

Before the rafts could be properly constructed, on the inflated skins of the cattle that had been slain, Shah Husein Mírza had arrived within two kos of the Emperor's shattered party. Numbers of the first detachment that crossed over, fell into the hands of the enemy, who took most of their rafts. This added to the confusion and alarm. The Emperor's followers found difficulty in crossing. Terdi Beg had taken possession of a boat that was lying at the ghát, or creek, on the river side, to convey his people over. One of the Emperor's Ishek-Aghas, or chamberlains, coming up, desired him to quit the boat, and clear it of his goods,





a favourable issue. But a farther time having elapsed, during which no communication whatever was received from them, and the Emperor's difficulties increasing daily, he despatched orders, commanding the envoys, in case Shah Husein refused to accompany them to the presence, to return without him.

On receiving these orders, Mír Samander, one of the envoys, prepared to return to Rohri. The Mírza, seeing that he was unable to create any farther delay, and that the Emperor's army had not been broken up by famine and disease, as he probably anticipated, now attempted to remove Humáyun from his territories in a different manner. Along with Mír Samander he sent, as his ambassador, Sheikh Mírak, a man descended of the holy Sheikh Puran, whose family was highly revered by all the Arghúns. This ambassador, who carried various presents to his Majesty, was desired to represent to him that the produce of Bheker was at all times but scanty, and, far from being adequate to support his Majesty and his troops, was hardly enough to maintain the inhabitants of the country; that, on the contrary, should he march his army to Cháchkán\*, he would find a rich country, fertile and highly cultivated, which could furnish supplies of every kind, to recruit and refresh the army after its late marches and fatigue; that, if the imperial army moved to occupy that province, Shah Husein would himself be at hand to assist their operations; that Cháchkán, from its situation, was admirably suited as a *place d'armes* for an invasion of Gujrát, a kingdom which Humáyun could reduce with ease, and, aided by its wealth, gradually recover the whole of Hindustán.

These plans of conquest seem to have captivated the imagination of Humayún, who, at first, gave his assent

and attempts to induce Humáyun to quit Sind.

\* Cháchkán lies east of Tatta and west of the Ran, on the eastern branch of the Indus. See James

Burnes's Narrative of a Visit to Sind; and Map. Edin. 1831.



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to the ambassador's proposals. But his ministers viewed the matter in a different light. The country of Chách-kán, which lies to the east of Sind, was inhabited by some brave tribes, whom Shah Husein had been unable to subdue; and must be conquered by the Emperor from its present occupants. It had, indeed, rich fields and villages, and was watered by branches of the Indus, but it possessed no fortress, in which, when the army moved forward against Gujrát, the families and heavy baggage of the army could be deposited, so as to be in safety from the attacks of Shír Shah, of Shah Husein Mírza himself, or even of the neighbouring tribes. They considered the whole proposal as only an artifice of the crafty Mírza, to remove the Emperor from his territory. If Shah Husein was really as desirous as he pretended to be to serve the Emperor, why, they said, did he not give him admission into some one of his own strongholds? Mír Samander, who had studied the Mírza's character in his court, confirmed this view, by declaring that, in his opinion, Shah Husein had really no intention to join the Emperor. Humáyún having, at length, concurred in this opinion, the siege of Bheker was resolved upon, and immediately begun. When Shah Husein was told that the Emperor had laid siege to Bheker, which, as well as Schwán, he had placed in the best posture of defence, he is said to have remarked, that he felt quite at ease on that subject; for that Humáyún would not give up the delicious garden in which he dwelt, to go to watch the operations of the siege in the camp over against Bheker; and that his amírs never would take the place; a prediction which was fully verified.\*

Humáyún  
lays siege to  
Bheker.

Scarcity in  
Upper Sind.

From the time that the imperial camp reached Rohri, multitudes from different quarters seem to have flocked

\* Akbernáma, f. 49.; Tab. Akb. 89.; Jouher, 2—9.; Tarikh-e-Sind, ff. 151, 152.; Tar. Niz. ff. 188, ff. 154, 155.





to join it. The contest in Hindustán had not been merely between two individuals, Humáyun and Shír Shah; it was between two different races, the Túrks and Afgháns. When the Emperor and his family were expelled, there was no longer any safety in that country for his countrymen and adherents. Some accounts make the number of persons of every age and sex, who now joined the camp, amount to two hundred thousand, which has an air of exaggeration.\* The influx of a very great multitude, however, into a country not extensively fertile or well cultivated, and the measures resorted to by Shah Husein for destroying the grain, or preventing its transport to the army, joined to a bad season, soon aggravated the scarcity, which had prevailed from the first, into a famine, so that, all around Bheker, numbers began to perish of hunger.† The Emperor opened his treasury to supply the wants of his followers, but every thing speedily rose to an exorbitant price.

Humáyun had wasted much valuable time, in hopes of procuring a favourable answer from Shah Husein. His brother Hindal Mírza had repeatedly asked his permission to attack and occupy the rich province of Schwán, but was not allowed, that no interruption might be offered to the success of the negotiation, which the Emperor had so much at heart. That obstacle being now removed, Hindal was at length authorized to reduce the district, and informed that the Emperor himself would soon visit his camp. Shah Husein, pursuing the same policy as he had done in regard to Bheker, had fortified the town of Schwán, and now ordered the whole surrounding country to be laid waste. Humáyun, alarmed by some intimations that had reached him, of Hindal's having a design to desert from him, and march to Kandahár, quitted for a short

Humáyun  
at the camp  
of Hindal.

\* Tar. Sind, f. 156.

† A single loaf is said to have cost a mithkal.

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His marriage to Akber's mother.

time the gardens of Báberlú, in which he had now spent five or six months, and leaving his army to continue the blockade of Bheker, proceeded by Dárbila, where he visited the camp of his cousin, Yádgár Násir Mírza, and stayed two days. Three days afterwards he reached Páter, which lies about twenty miles west of the Indus, and was met by his brother Hindal.

This visit to Páter is chiefly remarkable for Humáyun's marriage at that place to the mother of the illustrious Akber. During the festivities that attended the Emperor's arrival, Hindal's mother, Dildár Begum, gave a grand entertainment, to which all the ladies of the court were invited; and among them was Hamída, then only fourteen, the daughter of Sheikh Ali Akber Jámi, Hindal's preceptor. Humáyun, captivated with her appearance, inquired if she was yet betrothed; and being told that she had been promised, but that the ceremony of betrothment had not yet taken place; "Then," said the Emperor, "I will marry her." Hindal, much offended, observed to his brother, that he had supposed that his Majesty's visit to Páter had been to do him honour, and not to look out for a young bride; but that, if the Emperor persisted in doing any thing so unbecoming, he must quit his Majesty's service. Dildár Begum, who overheard this altercation, interposed, reproved her son, and attempted to settle the dispute. But, as Hindal refused to apologise for the unseemly language he had used, Humáyun left the house in high displeasure, and went on board of a boat. Dildár, however, followed the Emperor, prevailed upon him to return back, made up the quarrel between the brothers, and next day gave a nuptial banquet, when the young lady\* was married, and delivered to the Emperor, with

Early in A. H. 948, in the summer of A. D. 1541.

\* Hamída was of the family of Zhiindeh-fil Ahmed Jám, a celebrated saint; Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 261.

Her style after her marriage was Hazret Mariám-makáni, Hamída Bánu Begum; Tar. Niz. f. 189.





her blessing. A few days after this event, Hindal's camp having become unhealthy, and a great mortality prevailing, Humáyun left it with his suite, and proceeded to the Indus, where he embarked, and sailed up the river to Bheker.\*

He found his army in great distress; but the evil did not terminate there. The signs of ruin and desolation which appeared on every side, joined to the recent quarrel, determined Hindal, who had long ceased to serve his brother with much zeal, to come to the resolution of separating from him. For some time past Hindal Mírza had been urged by Kerácha Khan, Kám-rán's governor of Kandahár, to repair to that capital, and to assume the sovereignty in the kingdom.† In these views he was encouraged by Yádgár Násir Mírza, his cousin and brother-in-law, his great adviser, who agreed to follow him in the adventure. Accordingly, Hindal having collected all his force, decamped, and took the road to Kandahár; at the same time writing to Yádgár that he would wait for him on the route, and entreating him to lose no time in forming a junction.

Intended  
desertion of  
Hindal,

The news of this movement of Hindal, with information of the designs of Yádgár, reached Humáyun on the 8th of September 1541, and led him to apprehend the total ruin of his affairs. He hurried, in alarm, to the house of Mír Abul Baká, his intimate friend, a man of science, and of great weight and influence, both from his personal character, and as being descended of a holy family; and, after a long conference, despatched him to use his endeavours to bring to an accommodation Yádgár Násir, who was at that moment encamped

Jemádi I.  
17. Sept. 8.

\* Tar. Niz. f. 189.; Jouber, c. 9.; Tar. Sind, ff. 156, 157.

† Nizám-ed-dín Ahmed, the author of the *Tabakát-e Akberi*, f. 152., represents Humáyun's visit to Páter

as having for its object to prevent Hindal from accepting Kerácha's offers, of which the Emperor had obtained notice.

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 prevented  
 by the Em-  
 peror's con-  
 cessions.

Jemádi I.  
 18

Jemádi I.  
 19. Sept. 10.

Sept. 17.

Dismissal of  
 Shah Hu-  
 sein's envoy.

about ten kos off, on the opposite bank of the river.\*  
 Abul Baká was successful, and concluded a treaty with  
 the Mírza, who agreed to recross the river, and wait  
 upon Humáyun; to remain steady to his interests;  
 and, thenceforward, to do him faithful and active service.  
 The return he was to receive, for thus adhering to his  
 allegiance, shows the difficulties to which Humáyun was  
 reduced; when the Emperor reached Kábul, he was to  
 give up to Yádgár, Ghazni, Chirikh, and the district of  
 Lohger, territories which Báber had assigned to the  
 Mírza's mother, for her support; and, when Hindustán  
 was once again recovered, one third of it was to be  
 Hindal's portion. Next day the Mír, having completed  
 his mission, was crossing the river on his way back  
 to Rohri, when the Bheker men†, informed of his  
 mission, and desirous to intercept him, sent out a  
 vessel manned with a strong party, who discharged  
 showers of arrows into his boat. The Mír received  
 several mortal wounds, of which he expired on the  
 following day. Humáyun was deeply affected by this  
 misfortune, and gave loud vent to his sorrow, declaring  
 that neither the ingratitude of his brothers, nor the  
 treachery of his adherents, nor any of the numerous  
 calamities that had assailed him, had ever unmanned  
 him so much as the loss of this faithful friend. Yádgár  
 Násir Mírza crossed the river about a week after, and  
 having ratified the agreement, returned back to his  
 camp.

At the same time Humáyun dismissed Sheikh Mírak,  
 Shah Husein's envoy, with directions to inform his  
 master that the Emperor agreed to all his proposals,  
 but expected that he would evince his duty and alle-  
 giance, by repairing to the presence‡; a test to which,

\* Tar. Bed. f. 179.

† They are said to have been  
 Doulat-sháhis and Barghdáis.

‡ Akbernáma, f. 49.; Tab. Ak-

beri, f. 152.; Tar. Niz. f. 189.;  
 Tarikh-e Sind, ff. 157, 158.; Jouber,  
 p. 30.; Tar. Bed. ff. 178, 179.





In spite of numerous promises, the wary Arghún had no intention of submitting.

The Emperor's affairs were now in such a situation that his ruin seemed inevitable, unless something decisive could be achieved; and nothing appeared so likely to afford relief as an attack on Tatta. Leaving Yádgár Násir in the government of Upper Sind, therefore, with directions to prosecute the blockade of Bheker, Humáyun proceeded down the river about the end of September. He had not advanced far, when numbers of his people left him, and went to the camp of Yádgár, who showed no disposition to send them back. Humáyun, however, held on in his course along the Indus, and on the 6th of November reached the vicinity of Sehván.

Humáyun  
advances to  
Sehván.

Jemádi II.  
1. Sept. 22.

Rejeb 17,  
Nov. 6.

Description  
of Sehván.

The province of Sehván, which by historians is often called also Síwí and Síwistán, is bounded on the east by the Indus, on the west by the Balúch mountains, and on the south by the Lakki range, which runs in upon the Indus. It is watered in its whole extent by a branch of that river, called the Aral, which comes down to it from Lárkhána. Canals from this branch water the fields, intersecting the country in all directions, while, on the west, many streams descend from the hills. It is consequently a well watered, fertile, and prosperous little province. The town of Sehván, which also, like the province, is often called Síwí and Síwistán, stands on a rising ground, close to the Lakki hills, on the banks of the Aral, somewhat above where it rejoins the Indus. It is commanded by a castle, built on an artificial mound of earth about sixty feet high, surrounded by a strong brick wall that rises from the level of the ground below. The Lakki hills, which exclude the refreshing breezes from the ocean, render the climate extremely sultry.\*

When Humáyun arrived near Sehván, a party of his

\* See Burnes's Travels, vol. i. pp. 47. 50. 251.

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to which he  
lays siege.

troops attacked a body of the enemy, who had issued from the fort, defeated them, and drove them back within the walls. Flushed with success, the victors came on board of the Emperor's ship, and represented to him that it would be an easy matter to take the town, which would give them the command of all the surrounding country. With too great facility he entered into their views, suspending the march against Tatta, and immediately laid siege to Schwán. He probably imagined that it would occasion a delay of but a few days; but here Shah Husein had pursued the same wise policy as elsewhere. He had placed a strong garrison, and a number of his ablest officers, in the fort. The country around was reduced to a waste, and the inhabitants and cattle driven away. Even before the Emperor's arrival, the garrison had unsparingly destroyed all the gardens, garden-houses and other buildings, in the suburbs or near the place. Batteries were, however, constructed by the invaders, and operations begun and carried on with such vigour that the garrison began to be straitened.\*

Approach of  
Shah Hu-  
sein.

Mírza Shah Husein, who had watched the danger as it approached his capital, thought it now time to commence active operations, and marched from Tatta to Sen †, a town on the right bank of the river, not far from the imperial camp; where he entrenched himself and collected a flotilla of ships and boats. He nominated Mír Alíka Arghún, a tribesman of his own, to the command of Schwán, and ordered him to proceed to strengthen the garrison. Mír Alíka, seizing a favourable opportunity, passed with his men through the camp of the besiegers, near the bazár, and was not discovered to be an enemy till he had safely entered the place. Humáyun upon this ordered a mine to be run,

Difficulties  
of the siege.

\* Akbernáma and Tar. Nizámí, and Jouher, as above.

† Burnes speaks of Sen as a town

having at present a population of about 2000. Burnes, i. p. 250.





and approaches made with more vigour than ever.\* In a short time, the mine being fired, a portion of the wall was thrown down; but, to the disappointment of the besiegers, as they were preparing to mount the breach, it was found that a new wall had been run up behind it. Shah Husein, meanwhile, completely hindered all provisions from reaching the imperial camp, either by the river or by land. Parties of his troops ranged the country on every side; and want, despondency, and discomfiture seemed everywhere to attend the invaders. They found the Arghúns brave, and well equipped, and plentifully supplied with all the munitions of war, while their own store of gunpowder began to fail, and they were unable to command the implements necessary for carrying on a siege which, contrary to their expectation, was protracted for some months. To add to their misery, the country was overflowed as the river rose; and disease began to rage. The soldiers, who were without bread, were supported chiefly on the flesh of the camp cattle, which they were forced to kill in order to supply their necessities; but, seeing no end to their sufferings, they lost heart, and deserted in numbers. Such was the pressure of misery, that their example was gradually followed by several officers; and, ere long, not a few even of the more eminent of the nobles absconded, among whom Mír Táher is specified; some of them joining Shah Husein, who gave them a favourable reception, while others found their way back to Bheker to Yádgár Násir Mírza, whom they instigated to set out without delay to Kandahár, representing affairs in Sind as utterly desperate.

Desertions  
from the  
imperial  
camp.

Some time before matters had reached this pass, one Ali Beg Jeláir, an old Túrki noble, had offered, if allowed only five hundred horse, to fall upon Shah Husein by a forced march, and surprise him where he lay, con-

\* Akbernáma, f. 50.; Tab. Akb. f. 153.; Tar. Sind, f. 159.



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Progress of  
the siege of  
Bheker.

fident that by such an attack he could discomfit his army. But daring enterprises do not suit dispirited troops; and the Emperor found none of his chiefs disposed to join in the adventure.

Yádgár Násir Mirza, when left to continue the blockade of Bheker, had crossed over from the right bank of the river, and taken up his quarters in Rohri. The harvest that year suffered from the severity of the season, and from the ravages of hostile troops; yet his army had increased in strength. The fort of Bheker, as we have seen, is placed on an island in the Indus, where it occupies a very picturesque and a very important situation. It has opposite to it the town of Rohri, on the left bank of the river, and what is now the town of Sakar on the right bank. The river, which is here eight hundred yards wide, rolls past the island in two streams; the one four hundred, the other three hundred-and-fifty yards broad. "The waters lash the rocks which confine them, with noise and violence." "The town of Rori, which faces Bakkar, stands on a precipice of flint forty feet high; and some of its houses, which are lofty, overhang the Indus. The inhabitants of these can draw up water from their windows; but a road cut in the rock supplies the citizens with this necessary of life, without risking their lives. The opposite bank of Sakkar is not precipitous like that of Rori."\* The garrison of Bheker, who were not disposed to be cooped up without making some active efforts to annoy the besiegers, made two different sallies upon Yádgár Násir Mirza, and twice surprised and cut off a number of his troops. A third time they landed from their boats, but were met by the Mirza's men, and a regular action ensued in the sandy plain by the river side, not far from the town. The advantage remained with the besiegers. Three or four hundred of the assailants were left dead

\* Burnes's Travels, vol. i. p. 62, 63.





on the field; some were driven into the river, where they perished, while others succeeded in reaching their boats, and regained the fort. This repulse put an end to these sallies.\*

When Humáyun found that his difficulties were increasing, and that he was hemmed in on every side by Shah Husein's operations, he had written to Hindal, earnestly entreating him to make a diversion in his favour, by marching down towards that prince, who would not dare to face him in the field; he added, that he was himself prevented from making such a movement, by the certainty that the fort, during his absence, would receive all manner of supplies, so that the whole labour of the siege would be thrown away. In consequence of this demand, Yádgár despatched a trifling body of 150 horse, under Terdi Beg, to his assistance. But it was too late for such a force to be of any service.

Humáyun  
urges Hindal to act  
against  
Shah Husein.

Yádgár Násir Mírza had, before this, begun to play a double part. Shah Husein, who was no stranger to his ambitious views, seized upon the present crisis, when the affairs of Humáyun were depressed, and those of Yádgár in some degree prosperous, as holding out a favourable opportunity for withdrawing him from his allegiance to his sovereign. He had for some time engaged Yádgár in a private correspondence, and now deputed Bába-kuli, his seal-bearer, to complete the negotiation. Shah Husein offered to acknowledge Yádgár as Emperor, to read the khutba in his name, to give him his daughter in marriage, with all his treasure, which was supposed to be very great, and, to complete the whole, the succession to the throne of Sind, as her dower. It was artfully represented to the Mírza, that though Shah Husein, who was now aged, had no near relation left to soothe and comfort his de-

Defection of  
Yádgár  
Násir  
Mírza.

\* Akbernáma, ff. 49, 50.; Tab. Akb. f. 153.; Tar. Sind, f. 158.

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clining years, he was not, however, disposed to resign the reins of government while he lived: but that it was not necessary for Yádgár to wait the uncertain period of his death, before he ascended a throne: that, with the assistance of his father-in-law, he might easily conquer Gujrát, of which he should be put in immediate possession: while the whole territory of Tatta would fall to him in the course of nature, on the demise of the Mírza. Yádgár's constancy was not proof against these magnificent offers, and he joyfully acceded to the conditions proposed to him. But as he was not yet ready openly to declare himself, and as it was of consequence to amuse the Emperor, he sent forward his camp equipage one march from Rohri, as if he were preparing instantly to set out to join him.

Meanwhile, Humáyun, whose difficulties were daily increasing, despatched Abdal Ghafúr, an officer of his household\*, to hasten Yádgár Mírza's motions. But the Mírza, having learned from the envoy the disabled state of the Emperor's army, and believing that he had now nothing to dread from his resentment, ordered the tents back to the city. It was at this crisis that, at the desire of the Arghún prince, he seized a ship that was on its way down the river, loaded with grain and provisions for the supply of the famished camp, and delivered it into the hands of Shah Husein, who put the crew to death.

Shah Husein seizes the Emperor's flotilla.

Shah Husein, relieved from the fear of any troublesome diversion, by his understanding with Yádgár Mírza, was now enabled to bend his undivided force against the Emperor: and news soon reached the camp of Humáyun, that the Arghún was on his way up the river with a fleet of boats, in which was embarked a large body of troops, for the purpose of cutting off the Emperor's retreat. This intelligence was speedily followed by the astounding information, that the enemy

Zikádeh 17.  
 March 3.  
 A. D. 1542.

\* He was Mír-Mál.





as it was required for the use of his Majesty's wives and children. Terdi Beg, offended at the insolence of his manner, called him a contemptible fellow.\* "Not more so than yourself," retorted the chamberlain; on which the Beg raised his horsewhip, and struck him. The chamberlain instantly drew his sword, and aimed a stroke, which luckily fell on the pommel of the Beg's saddle; when the bystanders interposed. What followed is illustrative of oriental manners. The Emperor, on being informed of this occurrence, was much concerned. But as Terdi Beg was a man of high rank and consideration, he made the offending Agha be taken to that nobleman, his hands tied with a kerchief. Terdi Beg, on seeing this proof of the Emperor's attention to his feelings, immediately untied the kerchief, seated the Agha, in the most respectful and courteous manner, beside him, presented him with a rich dress and a horse, and apologised for what had passed.†

Crosses the  
Indus.

The Emperor gained the left bank of the Indus in safety, but his dangers were not yet over. Yádgár Násir, distressed and alarmed at his unwished-for return, before he was ready for open revolt, in order to make a show of fidelity, pushed on against a party of Shah Husein's men, who had landed on the bank of the river not far below, killed some, made others prisoners, and forced the rest to take refuge in their boats. He then returned in triumph to the Emperor, and laid the heads of the slain at his feet. Shah Husein now halted by the river, and quietly watched the progress of events.

Conduct of  
Yádgár.

Though Yádgár treated the Emperor with every external demonstration of respect, Humáyun, though he made no complaints to him of what was past, could not help perceiving the change that had taken place in his

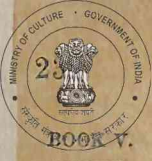
\* Merdek.

Jouher, c. 9.; Tar. Sind. ff. 157—

† Akbernáma, ff. 49, 50. Tab.

160.; Tar. Bed. f. 180.

Ak. f. 153.; Tar. Niz. f. 190.;



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conduct. The Mírza still continued his secret correspondence with Shah Husein, who insisted that he should give up the two zemíndárs, who had pointed out the boats, in which the Emperor crossed. These men, getting some intimation of their danger, fled to Humáyun's camp. Yádgár requested him to deliver them up, under pretence that he had to settle accounts with them for the revenue of their lands, which lay in his district, and were in arrear. The Emperor sent them with a guard, who had orders to bring them back, as soon as their accounts were arranged. But no sooner had they arrived, than Yádgár took them by force from the guards, and delivered them up to Shah Husein.\* Soon after this outrage, he openly assumed a hostile countenance, and never afterwards returned to his allegiance.

Humáyun, who by the late events was deprived of such stores as he had previously possessed, and who was in a country where famine raged, procured, with much difficulty, from Yádgár Násir a scanty supply of grain, which was soon consumed. In this exigency, compelled by want, he sent an application by Terdi Beg and some others of his chief officers, to Sultan Mahmúd Bhekeri, the enemy whom he was besieging. Mahmúd received the deputation with every honour, presented them with dresses, and gave each of them a sum of money, and a portion of grain. He then called a council, at which various opinions were given, but, in conclusion, he sent the Emperor three hundred loads of grain for the use of his household.

But this small provision was soon expended. The camp followers and people of the bazar, seeing this universal distress, gradually went off, and such of Humáyun's troops as did not desert to Yádgár were com-

\* Tab. Akb. f. 154.; Tar. Niz. f. 190. The zemíndárs appear, in the first instance, to have been sent into the castle of Bheker.





elled, from the increasing destitution, to separate, and scatter themselves in small parties over the country, in every direction, in search of food; in which disorganized state they were attacked, and numbers of them put to death by the inhabitants. Wherever they had any opportunity of coming to action, they uniformly maintained their superiority: but with hunger and want it was impossible to contend; and the brave veterans whitened the plains of Bheker with their bones.\* Some of them were fortunate enough to make good their way to the surrounding countries, and even the highest of the Emperor's officers, such as Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, went over to Yádgár, who spared neither promises nor threats to induce Humáyun's remaining followers to abandon their master. When he saw them reduced to the last extremity, he sent them an express and open invitation to desert, adding that, as for such as remained in the camp till morning, their "blood must be on their own heads."

"After this," says the narrative of the ewer-bearer, "news was brought that Fazáel Beg (who had deserted the day before), intended to seduce his brother Monaim Beg to leave the camp. The Emperor, hearing of this, said, 'Let him come, and he shall meet with his deserts.' Having, however, heard that Monaim Beg and Terdi Beg wished to escape, the Emperor sat up the whole night, watching, while these two attended him. When it was morning, his Majesty went to the bath, and desired them to wait his return. No sooner was he gone than the two Beks ran to their horses. Roushen Beg, the wardrobe-keeper†, hastened to inform the Emperor that they were going away. He was sent to call them back, but they did not mind him; so that the Emperor was himself compelled to run and recall them. Seeing no remedy, they came back. Monaim

\* Tar. Sind, f. 160.

† Toshak Begi.

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Threatened  
attack of  
Yádgár.

Beg was ordered into custody, and Terdi Beg found himself obliged to remain."\*

It was impossible for Humáyun long to exist under such painful circumstances. He daily discovered new instances of Yádgár's hostility; but such were the difficulties of his situation, that his only chance of accomplishing any thing depended on the junction of the Mírza's forces with his own few and exhausted followers. The Mírza, however, who cherished very different views, had no disposition to meet his wishes. He even, at one time, issued out of Rohri, of which he retained possession, intending to attack the imperial camp, and thus finish the contest at one blow. Humáyun no sooner heard of his hostile approach than he drew up his remaining adherents, resolved to sell his life dear. In the meanwhile, however, Háshem Beg, a trusty and faithful officer of the Mírza, over whom he had great influence, hearing of his intentions, galloped out of the town after him, seized the reins of his horse, reproaching him with his guilty and impolitic proceedings, and succeeded in making him return back to Rohri.\*

Despondency of  
Humáyun.

Worn out with fatigue, disappointment, and uncertainty, and deprived even of hope, the mind of Humáyun began to sink under the pressure, and he spoke of making the pilgrimage of Mekka, and of adopting a life of piety and seclusion. From this purpose he was diverted by the persuasions and entreaties of the few servants who had followed him in all his changes of fortune, who still continued attached to him, and even now clung to the hope of gaining rank and riches through his means. With tears they entreated him to resign all such thoughts, and to make one more attempt

\* Jouher's Mem. c. 9. See also  
Tab. Akb. f. 154., and Tar. Bed.  
f. 180.

† Tabak. Akberi, f. 154.





to bring back fortune to his banners, by marching into the territories of Maldeo, the Rái of Júdpúr or Márwár.

Maldeo was, at this time, the most powerful of all the Rájput sovereigns. He was possessed of great wealth and a very large army, and had added to his hereditary dominions by extending his sway over several of the neighbouring states. He had repeatedly sent to invite Humáyun into his country\*, professing the most devoted attachment, and offering to support his cause with an army of twenty thousand Rájputs. The Emperor's followers flattered him with the belief that Maldeo would be delighted at such an opportunity of meriting his Majesty's gratitude, and that his affairs might still take a favourable turn. Yielding to their entreaties, and indeed at a loss what else to do, he finally determined to follow their advice. He made a last effort, however, to work upon Yádgár to join him, but found all his endeavours ineffectual. With a heavy heart, he, therefore, resolved to abandon Sind, and to try his fortune in the deserts of Rájputána.†

\* The Tarikh-e Sind states that at this very time, Humáyun received a letter of invitation from Maldeo himself, f. 161., and Nizám-ed-dín affirms that he promised to assist him in the conquest of Hindustán, Tar. Niz. f. 191., and Tar. Bed. f. 180.

† For the later transactions in Sind, see Akbernáma, f. 50. Tabakát-e Akberi, ff. 153, 154.; Tar. Nizámi, ff. 189—192.; Tar. Sind, ff. 157—161.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 179, 180.; Kholáset-ul Towárikh, f. 261.; Jouher's 8th and 9th chapters.

He retreats  
to the  
Desert of  
Márwár.



## CHAPTER I.

## HUMÁYUN'S RESIDENCE IN SIND.

## SECTION II.

HUMÁYUN IN THE DESERTS OF MÁRWÁR AND IN SIND, A  
SECOND TIME.

MARCH OF HUMÁYUN FROM BHEKER TO UCH. — OBSTRUCTED BY BAKH-SHUI LANGA. — MARCH TO DERÁWÁL. — TO THE BIKANÍR AND JÚDPÚR TERRITORY. — MALDEO AND HUMÁYUN SEND SPIES TO EACH OTHER'S HEAD-QUARTERS. — INSINCERITY OF MALDEO. — RETREAT OF HUMÁYUN. — A COVERING PARTY FORMED, AND SUCCESSFUL SKIRMISH OF CAVALRY. — HOSTILE EMBASSY FROM JESELMÍR. — HUMÁYUN ARRIVES AT THAT TOWN. — PROCEEDS TO THE GREATER DESERT. — EXTREME WANT OF WATER. — SECOND EMBASSY FROM JESELMÍR. — CONTINUED DISTRESS FOR WATER. — THEY REACH AMERKOT. — FRIENDLY CONDUCT OF THE RÁNA. — ANECDOTES OF HUMÁYUN. — STAY AT AMERKOT. — RECENT EVENTS IN SIND, AND PROCEEDINGS OF SHAH HUSEIN. — FLIGHT OF YÁDGÁR MÍRZA TO KANDAHÁR. — RESOLUTION OF HUMÁYUN TO INVADE JÚN. — BIRTH OF AKBER. — DESCRIPTION OF JÚN. — HUMÁYUN'S STAY THERE. — INCREASE OF HIS FORCE. — APPROACH OF SHAH HUSEIN. — DISGUST AND DEFECTION OF THE HINDU ALLIES OF HUMÁYUN. — SHAH HUSEIN ATTACKS HIM UNSUCCESSFULLY. — BIRAM KHAN JOINS HUMÁYUN. — HIS HISTORY. — RENEWED SCARCITY IN THE IMPERIAL CAMP. — DESTRUCTION OF THE FORAGING DETACHMENT. — SHAH HUSEIN PROPOSES TERMS. — HUMÁYUN AGREES TO QUIT SIND.

## BOOK V.

A. D. 1542.  
March of  
Humáyun  
from Bheker  
to Uch.

WHEN Humáyun found that he could no longer remain in Sind with safety, he determined to accept the invitation that had repeatedly been sent him by Maldeo, and set out, with the intention of marching to Júdpúr. But as the direct road from Bheker to that place, through the desert, was too dangerous and difficult to be at-





tempted, he resolved to take the more circuitous but practicable road by Uch. With this purpose, leaving Rohri on the 7th of May, he marched up the left bank of the Indus, and soon reached the village of Aru. This was on the route of the caravans, and grain and other articles passed through it, to and from Jeselmír and the neighbouring countries. No sooner did the merchants hear of Humáyun's approach, than, dreading the pillage that must follow the arrival of a famishing army, they loaded their camels, and pushed away into the desert, with such of their property as they were able to remove. But a sufficient quantity of grain and other provisions remained, and was seized, to enable the little camp to pass their time at Aru in what to them had become a great novelty and enjoyment, an abundance of the common necessities of life.\* Setting off again in the

\* Some anecdotes related by the Emperor's sewer-bearer throw as much light on his character as the more important events of his reign, and do not represent it unfavourably. "On one occasion," says he, "his Majesty's water-bottle was empty. He, therefore, asked his humble servant Jouher Aftábchi, if he had any water in the ewer. His humble servant replied, 'There is water.' The Emperor said, 'Pour it into my bottle.' What water I had, I poured into the bottle, adding, 'What a horrid country this is, where one cannot get even water, and as we are now travelling at night, should I be separated from your Majesty, I shall perish for want of something to drink.' I then poured a small quantity of the water back into the ewer. The Emperor signified his approbation, saying, 'That will be enough for you.'

"In the morning, we fortunately came to a small lake, and encamped. It so happened that I had gone to

the other side of it, when a deer was roused from the jungle, and ran through the camp. Although many persons struck at it, it passed them and entered the lake. When his Majesty was told, he came out, with an intention of following the animal, and said, 'I would be glad if it could be taken.' He then happened to observe me, and said, 'There is a man on the other side of the water: call out to him and say, the deer is gone hence, take it if you can.' They did so. When the humble Jouher saw the deer coming, he quickly threw himself into the water, exclaiming, 'One leg for me.' His Majesty said, 'It is well,' the other three he claimed for himself. The deer was swimming, and its strength failed. I seized and kept hold of it, till Sheikh Ata Beg was ordered to kill it. Fateh Ata (or Allah) came up, and cut its throat, as ordered. They carried it to the Emperor, who ordered one of the fore quarters to be given to me; and I accordingly received it, as he



BOOK V.

A. D. 1542.

afternoon, they were exposed to considerable privations before they reached Mhow, where the Bheker territory ended. The same was the case after leaving that town, while they continued their route upwards, through a parched and barren tract, in which they had much to endure from want of every description, but especially from want of water. After a few days' march, however, they arrived at Uch, where they halted and spent about six weeks.

Obstructed  
by Bakh-  
shui Langa

The ruler of that country, Bakhshui Langa, on whom the Emperor, on his former passage through his dominions, had bestowed the sounding title of Khan-Jehán, or Lord of the World, when now called upon to wait on the Emperor, or to send provisions for the supply of the camp, little pleased with the return of his uninvited guests, not only refused to render any assistance, but offered every obstruction to the people sent out to purchase supplies, so that whatever was procured was taken by force. Such was the general distress that the Emperor's followers went out into the jungle, to gather the berries of such trees and shrubs as were in bearing, to assist in sustaining life. What was the number of persons that remained with Humáyun at this time, we are not informed.\*

March to  
Deráwal.

But this state of suffering could not be supported for ever. Even the scanty supply of fruits and seeds from the forest failed, and it was necessary to move.† At

directed. Other two of the quarters were sent to the imperial kitchen, and the remaining one to the lady exalted as Mariám, Hamída Bánu Begum, who at that time was seven months gone with child of Akber." Jouher, c. 9. See Stewart's Jouher, pp. 35, 36., which I have altered to bring it closer to the original text.

\* Jouher, c. 9. Jouher particularizes the sanker, or sanger, and the ber trees as chiefly supplying them with sustenance. The latter

is a wild plum. With the former I am unacquainted.

† An incident, recorded by Jouher as occurring at this time, more resembles the cruel and tyrannical mockery of the princes of Europe in the middle ages, towards their Jewish subjects, than the usual generosity of Humáyun. Those who had been sent out to bring in the stragglers, "returned, and reported that a Moghul, to whom the Emperor was in debt, had fallen down





This moment, a wandering derwish, who had just arrived from Jeshelmír, mentioned his having recently passed the fort of Deráwal, which belonged to Maldeo, and where he had seen abundance of everything. Humáyun immediately issued orders to march into the desert in that direction, and on arriving in the neighbourhood of the fort, was fortunate enough to meet with an ample supply both of grain and water. Here he halted for three days, and Sheikh Ali, one of his Amírs, who had much influence with him, proposed to take the fort by surprise; a treacherous and impolitic proposition, which Humáyun had the wisdom to reject, the more readily as it would have offended Maldeo.

Rebi I. 8.  
June 22.Rebi I. 14.  
June 28.

Leaving Deráwal about noon, after filling their water-bags, Humáyun proceeded in the desert tract, in the direction of Ajmír and Bikanír, and travelled till noon next day; when, finding water, they halted for the night. On the day following, they again set out at midday, travelled all that day and the night after, and next day till three in the afternoon, without coming to water. About afternoon prayers, however, a pond of water was discovered to their great joy, when Humáyun alighted, returned grateful thanks to God Almighty for

Rebi I. 17.  
July 1.

Rebi I. 18.

Rebi I. 19.

Rebi 20.  
July 4.

from thirst, and was lying at the point of death, with his son standing by him. His Majesty went up to him, and said, 'If you give up my debt, I will give you a pitcher of water.' The Moghul answered, 'Let me preserve my life. I give up the debt for a pitcher of water.' Upon this the Emperor took Mo'naim Beg as one witness of the agreement, Mozeffer Beg 'Turkoman' as the second, and Roushen Koka as the third. After they had declared themselves witnesses, the Emperor gave him his fill of water; and the Moghul drank, and went on to the camp." c. 10. The Moghul was a subject of Humáyun;

his distress and danger arose from the fidelity with which he remained attached to his fallen fortunes; and the power which the Emperor employed, as a prince, to the poor man's injury, was given to be exercised for his advantage. The cool mockery of taking three men to witness, in conformity to the musulman law, renders the incident only more disgusting. It required all the selfishness generated by early indulgence and servility, to reconcile the most common mind to so mean an abuse of power. Yet honest Jouher relates it with glee as a good story, and the Emperor himself certainly thought it so.

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Rebi II. 17.  
July 31.  
To the Bikanir and  
Júdpúr territory.

Maldeo  
sends spies  
to the  
camp.

his merciful protection, and halted. He ordered the water-bags to be filled, and sent back on his own horses to afford relief to such as had fallen behind, and were perishing for thirst, and to bring them into the camp. Such as were still alive were supplied with water, and brought in. The dead they buried. This station seems to have been near Wásilpúr, in the Bikanir territory.\*

By the 31st of July, Humáyun had advanced within twelve kos of Bikanir. Here he was joined by some of the stragglers of his army, who had contrived to reach Bikanir, where they found the inhabitants very ill disposed towards them. As it was of the utmost consequence to ascertain the sentiments of Maldeo, Mír Samander†, in whose judgment the Emperor reposed entire confidence, was despatched to Júdpúr, to Maldeo's court. Meanwhile, the camp moved on to Filúdi‡, about thirty kos from Júdpúr, where it halted, and where the troops procured an abundant supply of grain, and of every thing that could recruit them after their toils and sufferings.

The report made by Mír Samander on his return, was by no means favourable. He said that, whatever show and professions of attachment Maldeo might have made, it was plain that they were totally insincere. About this time, a few trifling presents of fruit were sent to the camp by the Rájput prince. But new causes of suspicion were discovered. The Emperor's little party approached the capital by short stages. A merchant had arrived in the camp, and, among other articles, exhibited for sale a large and valuable diamond. This excited inquiry. The man was found to be Sangái Nagóri, one of the Maldeo's confidential officers. Humáyun, who had no doubts of the real character of the

\* Akbernáma, f. 50. Tab. Akb. f. 154. ; Tar. Niz. f. 191. ; Jouher, c. 10.

† Abulfazl and Jouher both make

Mír Samander the envoy. Nizám-ed-dín Ahmed says it was Atka Khan ; the Tarikhe Bedáuni, Anka Khan.

‡ Or Pehlúdi.





seller, made him be told that such a diamond was fit only for a prince, and was to be gained by the sword, not purchased with money.

Humáyun, more dubious than ever of the disposition of Maldeo, now deputed Shems-ed-dín Muhammed Atkeh, to his court. But as there was a certainty that, in the present state of affairs, all his acts would be narrowly watched, he, at the same time, despatched secretly into the city one Rái-mal Soni, a goldsmith, and a man of observation. He was desired to mingle with the Ráj-púts, and to use every endeavour to gain a farther insight into the Rái's intentions. He was directed to send back his remarks in writing if he found it safe to do so. But, if it appeared to be dangerous to commit them to writing, he was to communicate the result by a sign. If he thought Maldeo faithful, the messenger whom he sent back was to deliver his message, by taking hold of all the fingers of one hand with the other; if treacherous, the messenger was to grasp the little finger only.

As it happened, these precautions were not unnecessary. The imperial camp had moved slowly two or three marches onward from Filúdi towards Júdpúr, Maldeo's capital, and the Rái had announced that a body of troops had left that city to meet the Emperor, and do him honour. Humáyun was encamped on the banks of the Juki tank, when Rái-mal Soni's messenger arrived. Being questioned what message he brought, he held up and grasped the little finger only. From this it was concluded that Maldeo was acting perfidiously; and the report of spies led to the conclusion, that the real object of the troops sent to meet them, was very different from the professed one. This view of matters was confirmed by a letter which reached the camp from one of the Emperor's librarians, who, during the dispersion that had taken place when the Emperor was driven from Hindustán, had sought refuge with

CHAP. I.  
SECT. II.Humáyun  
deputes a  
secret agent  
to watch  
him.Insincerity  
of Maldeo.

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Retreat of  
Humáyun.

the Rái, and now wrote, advising the Emperor to hasten without delay out of his territory. Atkeh, the Emperor's envoy to Maldeo, had been carefully watched, so as to prevent his communicating any information to his master, and was, in reality, in a sort of free custody. Suspecting something wrong, however, and displeased with what he saw, he secretly left the city without taking leave, reached the camp, and confirmed the Emperor in the belief of his danger. There was now no time for hesitation.\* The Emperor, believing that Maldeo was bent upon his destruction, commanded a retrograde movement, and resolved instantly to proceed to Amerkot, by the route of Jeselmír.

"The real intentions of Maldeo," says Abulfazl, "remain a matter of uncertainty. Some contend that he was, at first, really well inclined towards the Emperor; while others are as decided that his professions of service, and his humble letters were, from the first, wholly deceitful and false." But the observations of Nizám-ed-dín Ahmed, perhaps the best historian of the period, seem to afford the real explanation of his conduct. When Humáyun was expelled from Hindustán, and, Shír Shah extended his conquests on every side, the Afghán and Rájput princes were brought into a state of collision. Maldeo, anxious to gain support against his powerful rival, invited Humáyun to his aid, as the most formidable enemy whom he could oppose to Shír Shah. But when the Rájput prince saw the Emperor arrive in his dominions with only a small number of followers, and they in the most destitute and miserable condition, and quite unfit to render him any succour; at the same time that Shír Shah, a body of whose troops were in the Nagór district, and threatened his frontier, had sent him ambassadors requiring him to seize and

\* Akbernáma, f. 51.; Tabak. Akberi, f. 154.; Tar. Niz. f. 191.; Jouher, c. 10.; Tar. Bed. f. 180.;

Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 92.; Kholásatul Towárikh, f. 261.





deliver up Humáyun; urged by the promises and threats of the Afghán, and looking upon the affairs of the Emperor as totally ruined, he departed from his original intentions, and altering his conduct, resolved to give him up to his mortal foe. \*

When the camp was once more in motion to return back, the Emperor sent out Roushen Beg and Shems-ed-dín Muhammed Atkeh, to seize and bring in some of the inhabitants of the country, to act as guides. They accordingly brought in two men † with their camels; the camels his Majesty ordered to be picketed with his own cattle, and the men to be placed in custody, and their swords taken from them. He made a Kázi, who was with him in camp, and knew their language, explain to them, that no harm was meant them, and that they would be well rewarded for acting as guides to the camp. The men remonstrated, and said that they were poor villagers, and totally ignorant of the road to Amerkot. They were, however, detained, and, as is usual enough in such cases, treated as being spies, or as men who stubbornly and perversely concealed what they knew; and they were threatened to be put to death. Driven to despair, the men contrived to free themselves from custody, snatched a dagger and a knife from two of the bystanders, and before any one was aware of danger, attacked and killed Tersún Beg, who had charge of them, and then rushing to where their own cattle were tied up, stabbed them, as well as the other animals picketed along with them, among which were a riding horse and mule of the Emperor's; and so desperately did these wretched men use their weapons, that they killed or mortally wounded a number of men, women, and horses ‡,

\* Tar. Nizámi, f. 191.

† The Tabakát says that these men were spies seized in the camp, and that one of them was directed to be put to death to intimidate the

other, f. 155. The Tar. Bed. f. 180., also calls them spies.

‡ They are said to have killed seventeen living beings, men, women, and cattle.

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before the imperial attendants, who at length surrounded them, could put them to death.

This incident spread so much confusion and alarm over the camp, that several of the Emperor's immediate servants spoke of retiring; several did secretly desert, and he had some trouble in keeping the great body of his followers from dispersing. The little camp was, however, at last put in motion. As most of the Emperor's cattle had been slain\*, and among the rest his riding horse, by these unfortunate men, his grooms went, and demanded several horses and camels of Terdi Beg, who gave a surly refusal. The Emperor, therefore, mounting on a camel, began his march. As soon as Nadím Koka, who was on foot, leading a horse on which his mother was riding, observed the Emperor's distress, he made his mother dismount, presented her horse to the Emperor, and seated her on the Emperor's camel.

A covering party formed.

As the road they now took was over a loose moving sand, where no water was to be found, they endured much distress; and, to add to their sufferings, reports were constantly brought in, that Maldeo was in pursuit, and his troops close at hand. Humáyun, the better to cover his retreat, ordered Ishán Taimur Sultan, Terdi Beg, and Monaim Khan to take a party, and bring up the rear slowly and deliberately; but if the enemy came near, then to attack them without hesitation. In this manner the whole moved on, and having passed Felúdi, reached Setelmír, in the Jeselmír territory. But during the darkness of the night, the covering party lost the road, and separated from the main body; and when morning broke, a suspicious body of men was descried at a distance, following in the track† of the retiring camp.

\* Jouher says, he had only two horses and a mule left.

† Tab. Akb. f. 155; Tar. Bed. 181; according to Jouher they

consisted of three bodies of five hundred men each. He is the only writer who guesses at numbers.





When it was ascertained that they were enemies, such measures were adopted for warding off the danger as circumstances allowed. The horses that were loaded, had their burdens transferred to camels; the ladies were dismounted, and their horses given to such soldiers as were marching on foot; so that a small troop of cavalry was hastily formed. It consisted of Sheikh Ali Beg, Derwîsh Koka and Ahmed, the father of the historian Nizám-ed-dín, with twenty-two others, who, riding back, were fortunate enough to encounter the enemy as they were issuing through a narrow valley or defile. Sheikh Ali, at the first shot, struck the leader of the enemy, who dropped lifeless on the ground; and most of the arrows discharged by his little troop happening to take effect, and to wound some of their chief men, the enemy hastily turned, and rode off; but were pursued, many of them slain, and several camels taken very opportunely for the wanderers. Sheikh Ali now desired Behbúd Chobdár (a mace-bearer) to return, and inform the Emperor of their success. Behbúd, having cut off the heads of two of the enemy who had fallen, tied them to his saddle-girths, and, riding back, threw them down exultingly before the Emperor, who received them as a fortunate omen, prostrated himself in thanksgiving and praise, and despatched him to recal the party. Sheikh Ali was desired still to bring up the rear, and, in a short time, the weary wanderers reached a well in which there was some water, and halted.\*

At the same time the party, that had lost their way during the night, made their appearance, and joined them, bringing in a number of cows and buffaloes, which they had seized in the Jeselmír country. This, with the other favourable events of the day, renewed the drooping spirits of the fugitives, and they passed the night more comfortably than usual.

\* Akbernáma and Tar. Nizámi, as above.

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Hostile embassy from Jeselmír.

At this station two messengers, sent by the Raja of Jeselmír, met them. They complained, that the Emperor had come into his country, with an armed force uninvited, and that, though no cows were allowed to be killed within his dominions, the Emperor's people were seizing and slaughtering these sacred animals, an act most abhorrent from the religion and feelings of Hindus. They added that this could not be permitted, and that his subjects would obstruct the passage of the imperial camp, wherever it moved. A consultation was held, when it was resolved to detain the envoys without returning an answer, and, having taken a supply of water, to march forward on their dreary journey.

Humáyun arrives at that town. Jemádi I. 1. Augt. 13.

They reached the neighbourhood of Jeselmír on the 13th of August. The Raja, Rái Lankern, who was little pleased with their visit, had placed a body of men to keep them off from the tank, which lay without the walls of the town. Many of Humáyun's followers had already dropped down, worn out and exhausted by thirst and fatigue, in passing over the sandy desert. But, as the rest came up, they attacked the enemy, and after a contest of some hours, drove them away, but not without considerable loss on their own part. The natives retreated into the fort.

Advancing about five kos, they came upon a village, where they found abundance of grain and water, but no inhabitants.

Proceeds to the greater Desert.

After this, they entered a country where the oases were fewer, and the desert more dry and desolate than any they had yet passed. To add to their distress, the Rái had ordered his son, Maldeo\*, to precede their march, and fill up the wells with sand, which he had done. They seem now to have gone on for three days before they met with water. At the end of their first

\* The name of the Raja of Júdpúr, as well as of the son of the Rái of Jeselmír, was Maldeo, a circum-

stance that seems to have produced confusion in the narrative of some historians of these transactions.





march, about noon, they reached some wells. But no water came up in any of the buckets that were let down. It was found, to their dismay, that they had been filled up. Compelled by necessity, they again moved forward. Towards evening prayers, they found a well, and orders were issued that they should halt and rest, whether water was found in it, or not. The camels were ranged around the little camp, as a defence, and, to guard against surprise, some men were appointed to make the rounds all night, on the outside of the enclosure. Humáyun himself joined them in their watch, till Sheikh Ali besought him to take repose, and supplied his place. He was prevailed upon to consent to the exchange, and having lain down, went to sleep. On waking in the morning he found his sword half drawn from the scabbard, but was unable to discover by whom it had been done.\*

Extreme  
want of  
water.

That day they, once more, proceeded on their toilsome journey, and, on the fourth day, at last reached four wells, one of which, however, was found to contain no water. The remaining three were given in charge to the chief Amírs. As the buckets had been removed, and none were to be found, an iron kettle was let down to supply the want. In this desert region, water is found only at a very great depth †, often six hundred feet from the surface. The rope which is fastened to the water-bag or bucket, is drawn by a camel, or by bullocks, which are of course at a great distance from the well, before the bucket comes to the top. In this instance, the distance was too great for the voice to be heard, so that it was necessary to strike a small drum, to give the camel driver notice to halt and ease the rope, when the kettle came within reach. As soon as the first bucket was seen at the top of the well, there was a rush to seize it, and four or five persons, mad

\* Jouber, . c10.

† See Tod's Rajasthan.

with thirst, threw themselves at the same time upon it, so that the rope broke, and the vessel fell down into the well. On seeing this, the perishing expectants raised a shout of despair, and some in their agony plunged in after it. When the water at length began to be brought up, the crowds around strove and fought for it, and there was not found enough to supply them all. One well had been reserved for the imperial household, but the artisans of the court, who could not be supplied, went in a body and complained to Humáyun, that Terdi Beg was supplying his horses and camels with water from his well, while they were dying of thirst.\* The Emperor, riding up to the Beg, addressed him in Túrki, his native tongue, and requested that he would allow his servants to draw water for themselves for one hour, to which the Beg agreed. The distress was, however, unspeakable; many fell down and died, before they could get a drop to quench their burning thirst.

At this time a son of the Rái made his appearance, bearing a white flag. When admitted to an audience, he complained that Humáyun had entered his father's dominions in a hostile manner, but assured him that, had his coming been known, the Rái would have received him with every mark of hospitality. He complained of the excesses of the Emperor's followers, and of the confinement of the two messengers. He added that, if the Emperor would halt a short time where he was, a sufficient number of bullocks and buckets should be sent, to enable him to draw up the water. By the advice of Terdi Beg, the two envoys were released.

Having ascertained that, at the next stage, there was only one well, the Emperor divided his little camp into three divisions, which he ordered to move forward on three successive days, so as to have the benefit of the water in turns. The first division was led by the Em-

\* Tar, Niz. f. 192.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 95.; Jouher, c. 10.

Second Embassy from Jeselmír.

Continued distress for water.





Emperor, attended by Terdi Beg and Ishán Taimur Sultan; the next by Monaim Beg; the third by Sheikh Ali. Yet, in spite of this precaution, the scarcity of water was severely felt, and numbers perished of thirst. We are told that, at this time, a part of the royal army, probably one of the three divisions, about mid-day, reached a pool of water, when the horses and camels, which for some days had had little or no water, could not be restrained from rushing into it, to appease their thirst, and drank to such excess, that many of them died.

The Emperor had now arrived within ten kos of Amerkot\*, but the nature of his reception there was probably still uncertain. Meanwhile, protracted misery had levelled all distinctions of rank, and, in some minds, had destroyed even the feelings of common courtesy. The horse of Roushen Beg having broken down on the march, he went and asked the Begum for the horse which he had given her. When notice of this was carried to Humáyun, he alighted, sent his own horse to his wife, and after marching for some distance on foot, mounted a camel belonging to the ewer-department. After he had ridden in this way a couple of miles, Khalíd Beg, the son of Khwája Khalífa, hearing what had occurred, rode up and presented his horse to Humáyun, who continued on his course, and the same day entered Amerkot, accompanied by only seven horsemen. Most of his followers dropped in, singly or by twos and threes, in the course of the day.

They reach  
Amerkot,

Jemádi I.  
10. Augt.  
22.

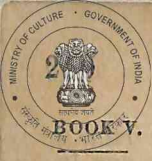
The Rána†, from various circumstances, was well disposed towards Humáyun. As soon as the Emperor arrived, he sent his brother to wait upon him, to apologise for his not himself appearing that day, it not being a lucky one, but promising to attend him on

Friendly  
conduct  
of the Rána.

\* The Tabakát calls Amerkot a hundred kos from Tatta.

called Rána, by the writers who speak of him.

† The ruler of Amerkot is usually



A.D. 1542.

Anecdotes  
of Humáy-  
un.

the day following. Next day the Rána accordingly visited the Emperor, and explained to him his situation. He said that his principality was small and barren, but that he had two thousand horsemen of his own tribe of Sodhas, and that to them five thousand Samícha horse of his allies could be added, all ready to follow his Majesty, and devoted, heart and hand, to his service; and that, assisted by these, the Emperor might conquer both Tatta and Bheker. The Emperor thanked the Rána for his ready zeal, and gave him to understand that, though unfortunately he did not himself at that moment possess the means of fitting out and paying his allies, he did not despair of speedily falling upon a method of acquiring them.

The minute details of the Emperor's conduct at this period have much in them that is curious and interesting, as exhibiting his sanguine and thoughtless temper. When the Rána retired, as Humáyun possessed no change of apparel, he was compelled to undress that he might give his clothes to be washed, and, in the meanwhile, sat down in his bathing-gown. A bird happened to fly into his tent. Struck with its appearance, he caused the door to be shut, and the bird was taken. He called for a pair of scissors, and having cut its wing, made a painter take its likeness, after which he let it off into the desert.

The historians of his reign tell us, that at this time, he borrowed a sum of money from Terdi Beg and some others of his followers. The mode in which this loan was effected, is not mentioned by these historians, but is described in all its particulars by his ewer-bearer with graphic simplicity, and is highly characteristic of the shifts to which Humáyun, in his difficulties, thought himself entitled to resort.\* When he had told the

\* Abulfazl launches into an exclamation against Terdi Beg and the Amírs, whose avarice compelled

him to resort to force. Nizám-ed-dín Ahmed, with more moderation, merely says that Humáyun levied a





Rána that he had no money to pay mercenaries, though he believed that his Amírs had, one of his servants, Shah Muhammed Khorásáni, had hinted to him, that he knew perfectly well where the Amírs hid their valuables. To facilitate the search which he proposed making, Humáyun called a meeting of all his Amírs in his tent. When they were convened, he found some pretence for keeping them waiting, and in the meanwhile privately despatched his servants along with Shah Muhammed, directing them to repair to the tents of the Amírs, to search for, and bring to him, all the money, and valuables, with every kind of plate or vessels that were found there, the cooking kettles and dishes only excepted. They accordingly went, and broke open the portmanteaus and boxes of the Amírs, tore up the harness and stuffing of the travelling furniture of their camels, took out all the money, jewels, and costly clothes found in them, and brought them to his Majesty. Of the money and valuables so found, he restored one half to the owners, the other half he gave to his own servants and others. Of the clothes, two-thirds were restored to the owners, the remaining third being retained for the use of the imperial household. In this rather unprincely way, so disparaging to his nobles, he was enabled to make presents of richly ornamented daggers, and of some money, to the Rána and his sons.\*

benevolence (*masaadet*) from them. Terdi Beg seems to have been a hardy old soldier, not much pleased with the mode in which he saw affairs managed, and probably not very conciliating in his manners. From the constant demands made upon him when distress occurred, and the collisions thereby occasioned, it may be inferred that, by foresight and attention, he kept his own immediate followers and their cattle in tolerable order, and was

little satisfied with the unceremonious requisitions made upon him, in trying circumstances, to correct, at his risk and at his expense, the negligence and oversights of such as had not been equally provident. Such a man could hardly be in favour with the retainers of a thoughtless court.

\* For the transactions in the desert, see *Akbernáma*, ff. 50, 51.; *Tabakát-e Akberi*, ff. 164, 165.; *Tar. Niz.* f. 190—2; *Jouher*, c. 10,

A. D. 1542.

Stay at  
Amerkot.

Recent  
events in  
Sind.

Beginning  
of Mohar-  
rem.

Moharrem  
21—24.

Proceedings  
of Shah  
Husein.

Humáyun remained about seven weeks at Amerkot, to recruit and refresh himself and his exhausted followers. During this time, he received every assistance from the Rána that his limited means allowed, and got some information of the transactions that had taken place in Sind, after his departure from Rohri.

We have seen that Shah Husein Mírza, after forcing the Emperor to raise the siege of Schwán, had failed in his attempt to intercept him in his retreat. As long as he had any apprehensions of Humáyun, he continued to court Yádgár Násir Mírza, and to buoy up his mind with the hopes of succeeding him in Sind, as his son-in-law, and even of placing him on the throne of Gujrát and of Delhi itself. Yádgár, lured by these promises, had treacherously renounced his allegiance to Humáyun, and, about the middle or end of April, had crossed over to Saker on the right bank of the river, and sent some of the cannon and guns belonging to his division into the fort of Bheker. Humáyun had been compelled to leave Rhori on the 7th of May, and, on the 10th, Shah Husein, having ascertained that he was really on his way to Uch, repaired to Bheker in person. The keen and sagacious, but stern and cruel, Arghún examined every department, and the condition of every thing, with his own eyes. He sharply reprehended the governor, Sultan Mahmúd Bhekeri, for the waste committed on the corn in the granaries, and especially for having employed it, to feed his own enemy. Determined to make an example, though unwilling to punish that nobleman personally, he impaled the probably innocent storekeeper before Mahmúd's gate. Malek and Umer, the two chiefs who had assisted Humáyun to cross the river, by discovering to him where some boats were sunk, and whom Yádgár had basely seized and delivered up, he commanded to be flayed alive before the





gates of Saker. After Humáyun's departure, the camp followers, and men of every class, who had been unable to accompany the Emperor in his flight, scattered in consternation and despair over the surrounding country. Yádgár, whose importance was destroyed by the departure of the Emperor, shared the fate of traitors who cease to be necessary; he saw every promise made to him broken; and hardly two months had elapsed after Humáyun's departure, before he was glad to flee from Sind\*, and to take the road to Kandahár. He arrived near that city when Kámrán was besieging Hindal, and had reduced it to extremity. Yádgár accompanied Kámrán to Kábúl, whence that prince despatched ambassadors to Shah Husein, to request that he would send back his sister Shehr-Bánu Begum, Yádgár's wife, with her son Mírza Sanjer. The Arghún instantly complied, and sent them forward by the barren wastes and wild passes between Sind and Kandahár, with every outward mark of honour; accompanied by a number of the stragglers and others who had separated from the Emperor in Sind, and still survived in that territory. But, says Abulfazl, he committed an error, intentional or not, in sending them through that desert tract, which is destitute both of water and forage, unprovided with sufficient supplies, so that numbers perished; and those who reached the town of Shál, in addition to all their other sufferings, were seized with malignant fever, by which, among others, the princess was carried off, so that, of two or three thousand persons who were in the caravan, very few survived to reach Kandahár. Shah Husein, having remained near Rohri till the middle of July, and put every thing in order, went down to Schwán†, where he staid a week, to see that the

Flight of  
Yádgár  
Mírza to  
Kandahár.Beginning  
of Rebi II.

\* Jouher says, he was not allowed to leave Sind till he had paid a sháhrukhi for every man, seven for every camel, and five for every horse that accompanied him; pro-

bably as if he had been a common traveller or merchant; Tar. Sind, f. 163.; Jouher, c. 13.

† Akbernáma, f. 56.

A. D. 1542.

Resolution  
 of Humáy-  
 un to in-  
 vade Jún.

Rejeb 1.  
 Oct. 11.

Rejeb 5.  
 Oct. 15.  
 Birth of  
 Akber.

breaches and damage done to the walls were properly repaired, and then went on to Sen.

While Humáyun remained at Amerkot, he held consultations as to the course which it was most expedient for him to follow. It would appear that the Raja, Rána Parsád, had not been long in possession of his principality, and looked to the Emperor for assistance in maintaining himself against Jáni Beg, the chief who had been dispossessed, as well as for taking revenge on Shah Husein, who had put his father to death. The Rána strongly recommended an invasion of Lower Sind, and, as the first step towards that attempt, an inroad into Jún, the inhabitants of which, being ill-affected to the Arghúns, would certainly join the invaders. The small and barren district of Amerkot was not a fit place for the lengthened residence of a prince like Humáyun. It was accordingly resolved to march towards Jún with their united forces. And the Raja, having been prevailed upon to withdraw his people from the castle of Amerkot, the Emperor, on the 11th of October, placed in it Hamída Bánú Begum and the rest of his family, with such attendants as he could spare, under the charge of Khwája Moazem, Hamída's brother, and himself set out on his expedition. Four days after, on Sunday the 15th of October, in this solitary castle, surrounded on every side by sandy deserts, Hamída Bánú Begum gave birth to a prince, who was afterwards to be the Emperor Akber, the ornament of his line and family.\*

The Emperor learned the joyful tidings from Terdi Beg Khan, at the first stage, about twelve kos from Amerkot, where he was still encamped. "As soon," says one who attended him, "as the Emperor had finished his thanksgivings to God, the Amírs were introduced, and offered their congratulations. He then

\* Akbernáma, f. 51.





called Jouher, and asked, what he had committed to his charge. Jouher answered, two hundred Sháhrukies, a silver wristlet, and a musk-bag; adding that the two former had been restored to their owners. His Majesty inquired the reason of this, as they had been given to him to keep. Jouher said, that, in doing so, he had obeyed his Majesty's orders. On this, the Emperor ordered the musk-bag to be brought, which was done. Having broken it on a china plate, he called his nobles, and divided it among them, as the royal present in honour of his son's birth. They offered their congratulations, with prayers and good wishes for his prosperity, and that of the imperial infant. At that station they continued the rest of the day, and had such rejoicings as circumstances allowed. This event diffused its fragrance over the whole habitable world.\* So unpromising were the circumstances that attended the birth of one, who was to become the most magnificent Sovereign of his age.

The same day, after evening prayers, the Emperor decamped, attended by his own faithful Chaghatáis, and a number of the Amerkot Rána's men, and in five marches arrived near Jún.

The district of Jún lies to the north-west of the Ran, on the western limit of Cháchkán, near the eastern branch of the Indus, which, after traversing the desert, forms the western boundary of Kach. The territory of Jún is intersected by numerous smaller branches of the river, that divide it into many islands and districts, which, at that time, were highly cultivated. It abounded with all the necessaries of life, and for the beauty of its gardens, and the excellence of its fruits and vegetable productions, excelled every other part of Sind. The nature of the ground, broken and defended by so many streams and artificial canals, joined to the bravery

Description  
of Jún.

\* Jouher, c. 12.

A. D. 1542.

Skirmish of  
cavalry.

Humáyun  
at Jún.

Increase of  
his forces.

of the inhabitants, seems long to have secured to its population the same blessings of independence that were enjoyed by their neighbours, the inhabitants of the wilder and more barren portion of Cháchkán.

When Humáyun arrived in this quarter, he found Jáni Beg, the former possessor of Amerkot, and a noted marauder, lying in the neighbourhood of the chief town of Jún, with a formidable body of horse. He sent forward Sheikh Ali Beg with a hundred of his old adherents, and a party of five hundred of the Rána's Sodha horse, and himself followed with his remaining troops. Sheikh Ali, naturally bold, and trusting to be supported, charged the enemy as soon as he came near them, and entirely broke and dispersed them, before the arrival of the Emperor, who ordered all the prisoners to be put to death. From the field of battle Humáyun moved on to the town of Jún\*, where he pitched his tent in a large garden, beside which the zemíndárs or chiefs, who had joined him, encamped. He dug a deep trench round the whole, so as to form a respectable fortified camp. In this position he remained for nearly nine months, during which time he invited all the neighbouring Rajas, or chiefs, to join him; and, in consequence of this invitation, the Ráis from the country of the Sodhas, the Samíchas from Kach, and the tribesmen of the Jám, who formerly were rulers of Bheker, waited upon him; so that his army at one time consisted of no less than

\* When Jún was taken, two rather noted persons fell into his hands. "During the period that the Emperor besieged Sehván, there was a musqueteer in the fort, who never missed his aim. H. M. said, 'I hope I shall one day get hold of that fellow.' He sometimes also used to say, 'I wish I could catch the man who drew the sword from under me, half way out of the scabbard.' It happened that both of these men were in Jún, when we

took it; and having met in a búzeh-shop, were boasting of their feats of bravery. Their conversation being overheard, they were seized, and brought before the Emperor, who, after inquiry, ordered the musqueteer to be put to death, but forgave the thief, and made him a handsome present." Stewart's *Jouher*, p. 46., a little altered. Many will differ from the Emperor in his ideas of distributive justice.





fifteen or sixteen thousand horse. And here, about the beginning of December, he was joined by the infant Akber, and the whole party from Amerkot.\*

As soon as Shah Husein heard of this new approach of Humáyun to his dominions in one quarter, hardly six months after he had left them in another, he hastened to meet the coming danger; and soon appeared with a formidable army on the branch of the Indus that was nearest to Jún, and pitched his camp on the opposite bank, four kos from that place.

While the two armies lay in this situation, skirmishes daily occurred. But the contest was an unequal one. Mírza Shah Husein had all the resources of his kingdom behind him; while, to Humáyun, the loss of any one of his old adherents, in whom his real strength consisted, was irreparable.

The Mírza added artifice to force. He made an attempt to detach from the Emperor's interest such allies as had joined him. To the Rána of Amerkot he privately sent a complimentary and flattering message, with a dress of honour, a rich dagger, and other presents, inviting him to abandon the Emperor's interest. These the Rána carried to Humáyun, who directed his ally, in proof of his contempt of the donor, to employ them in dressing up a dog, by Musulmans held to be an unclean animal, which he did. Shah Husein felt deeply hurt by the insult.

But the cause of Shah Husein was soon more effectually served by the habitual and uncontrollable arrogance of Musulmans towards Hindus of every rank. One of them, Khwája Gházi, insulted the Rána of Amerkot, who, meeting with no redress, left the camp in disgust with all his followers, declaring that to attempt to please Moghuls† was only labour lost. This

End of  
Shábán,  
beginning  
of Dec.

Approach  
of Shah  
Husein.

Disgust and  
defection of  
the Hindu  
allies of  
Humáyun.

\* Akbernáma, f. 51.; Tar. Sind, f. 164.; Jouher, c. 12. The Emperor's party left Amerkot, Shábán 11 (Nov. 20).

† Here we see that the term Moghul was already used to denote all northern men.

A. D. 1542.

Shah Hu-  
sein attacks  
him unsuc-  
cessfully.

Biram Khan  
joins Hu-  
máyun. Mo-  
harrem 7.  
A. H. 950,  
April 12.  
A. D. 1543.  
His history.

defection was instantly followed by that of all the native chiefs, whom the Emperor in vain attempted to soothe; and Humáyun was once more reduced to his own few, though brave, adherents, some of whom, and among the rest Monaim Khan, (who at a future time was destined to be prime minister of the empire) in despair deserted from his camp, and joined the Mírza.

The news of the desertion of the Emperor's allies encouraged the Mírza to make an attempt to surprise, or to force his position: but Humáyun, having received intimation of the design, had taken such effectual precautions, and so completely defended the camp by new trenches, that the attempt was defeated, though not without serious loss on the Emperor's side.

It was at this season of growing distress, that the celebrated Biram Khan arrived, very unexpectedly, in the imperial camp. After the disastrous battle of Kanáuj, which had finally ruined the fortunes of Humáyun in India, that nobleman, escaping from the field of carnage, found refuge in Sambhal with Raja Matter-Sín, one of the chieftains of the country. Shír Shah, hearing of this, sent to demand that he should be given up, to which the Raja, unwilling to incur the weight of that prince's resentment, was obliged to assent. Biram Khan was, accordingly, conducted to the royal camp, during Shír Shah's campaign in Malwa. The King treated him with marked distinction, rose when he was brought in, embraced, and addressed him in the most flattering manner. In the course of conversation, Shír Shah happening to observe that where attachment to a master is real, and proceeds from the heart, it never alters its course; Biram Khan rather emphatically replied, "Your Majesty's observation is just; real attachment can never change." With much difficulty he effected his escape, near Berhánpúr, in company with Abulkásim, who had been governor of Guáliár under Humáyun, and they took the road to Gujráat. As they





travelled along, an ambassador of Shír Shah's, who was on his way back from that country, having heard of Biram Khan's escape, and that some person of distinction was lurking in the neighbourhood, sent a party of his escort, who seized Abulkásim, a nobleman remarkable for his fine countenance and noble deportment. Biram Khan, seeing their mistake, with his usual high spirit and honourable feeling exclaimed, "I am Biram Khan." But Abulkásim, eager to preserve his friend, with much presence of mind interposed, and coolly observed; "See how my faithful servant, to save me, is willing thus to run into danger! Do him no injury, poor fellow! Let him go." Biram Khan was accordingly turned away, and reached Gujrát, where he was well received by Sultan Mahmúd, who then filled the throne. Abulkásim was carried before Shír Shah, who, insensible to the noble devotedness of his friendship, put him to death. Shír Shah often remarked, that from the tone in which Biram Khan assented to his observation that genuine attachment never changes, he felt persuaded he never could gain him. Sultan Mahmúd in vain endeavoured to retain Biram in Gujrát. He obtained leave to make the pilgrimage of Mekka, repaired to Surat, as if for that purpose, passed over into Kattiwár, and thence, soon after, joined Humáyun at Jún. The Emperor was much delighted on hearing of the approach of so eminent a person, at a moment of such difficulty, and made all the leading men in his camp go out to receive and welcome him.\*

But Humáyun felt daily, more and more, that while the position of his camp made it nearly unassailable, it at the same time made it easier for the enemy to cut off his supplies. This difficulty was not felt as long as he had the tribes of the desert for his friends. But since they had abandoned him, he was compelled to send out

Renewed  
scarcity  
in the  
imperial  
camp.

\* Akbernáma, f. 52.; Jouher, c. 12.

his own retainers in greater numbers, and to greater distances than before, in order to secure the needful provision of grain and other necessities. In a short time, all the nearer sources of supply had failed. In this exigency, hearing that there was a castle in the Thari, which contained an ample store of corn and other necessities, and that it could be reduced with no great force, he detached Sheikh Ali Beg Jeláir on the service; and that officer succeeded so far as to send back considerable supplies to the camp. But Shah Husein, having been informed of his motions, ordered Isa Terkhan, one of his generals, to march and attack the detachment, and cut off all supplies of grain from the imperial camp. That officer showing some hesitation, the duty was committed to Sultan Mahmúd Khan Bhekeri, who till now had remained in disgrace, and who, anxious for an opportunity of recovering the prince's favour, gladly accepted the command, and marched to the relief of the castle; while Shah Husein, to divert and occupy the Emperor's attention, pressed upon the imperial army more closely than ever, both by land and water, and engaged it in daily skirmishes. The Emperor, however, having heard of the march of the detachment that was sent against Sheikh Ali, despatched Ishán Taimur Sultan with a reinforcement to his assistance. As Sheikh Ali was superseded in the command by Ishán Taimur's arrival, he was much offended, and the circumstance produced a very unseasonable quarrel between these two officers. Sheikh Ali, it would appear, was desirous of avoiding a regular conflict.

Humáyun, meanwhile, tired of being shut up more closely than ever within his intrenchments, and seeing no prospect of effecting any thing by the defensive plan of operations to which he was reduced, had determined to hazard a battle. "At this time," says Jouher, "H. M. said, Shah Husein has advanced three or four times in battle-array, to fight. If he comes back to-





tomorrow morning, I will march out and attack him."

With this intention he repeated the Fátéhi\*, and changed the unfit for better horses. His resolution was to fight on the morrow. It was the holy month of Ramzán, and after breaking his fast (at sunset), one watch of the night had passed, when a person came from the river-side, and said, "There is some one on the other bank who calls for a boat." H. M. said, "Ask his name, who calls for a boat at so untimely an hour." They asked, "Who are you, that want a boat?" He answered, "I am Ishán Taimur Sultan." This was reported to the Emperor, who said, "God grant that all may be well!" A boat was sent across, and Ishán came before the throne, where he told of the death of Sheikh Ali Beg, and his own defeat.†

Destruction  
of the foraging  
detachment.

It would appear that Sultan Mahmúd Khan, having been joined by some of the neighbouring tribes, watching his opportunity, one morning about sunrise, made an unexpected attack upon the imperial detachment. The combat was desperate, and bloody. It is insinuated that Terdi Beg‡, who probably commanded in the name of Ishán Taimur, acted but remissly. Sheikh Ali, with his sons and retainers, stood firm, and fell fighting bravely. The loss was great on both sides, but especially on that of Humáyun.

\* This is a solemn prayer from the Koran, and is generally repeated when danger is apprehended.

† Jouher, c. 12.

‡ Tar. Sind, f. 164. Terdi Beg is repeatedly mentioned as behaving ill, especially by Abulfazl, who writes of him with great bitterness. But, as he was put to death by Biram Khan, whose panegyrist that writer is, some doubts may be entertained of the historian's impartiality: especially as Terdi Beg, on many occasions of danger and difficulty, is represented as comporting himself bravely, and bearing the brunt of the action. He

was one of the oldest of the Chaghatái nobles, and perhaps next in importance to the Emperor. He stood in the way of the able and ambitious Biram Khan's power, the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him, as those from Persia did to Biram Khan. The consequences were seen in the next reign. It was a favourable circumstance for Biram's fame, great and undoubted as his merits were, that the historians of the age were, in general, Persians, or the immediate descendants of Persians.

A. D. 1543.

Shah Husein proposes terms.

Humáyun agrees to quit Sind.

Rebt II. 7.  
 July 10.

On learning these events, and especially the death of Sheikh Ali, the Emperor was affected, and agitated beyond measure. Shah Husein Mírza, on his part, had, like the Emperor, been preparing for a battle on the following morning. His troops had buckled on their armour, and his men were ready to mount, when a deserter from the Emperor's camp arrived with information that Ishán Taimur had been defeated, Sheikh Ali slain, and that Humáyun had resolved to lead out his troops and attack the Mírza in the field, that very day. The Mírza, apprehensive of the efforts of men driven to despair, and hoping that the Emperor would now at length be disposed to make peace, did not, for the three following days, draw out his troops as usual.

At the end of that time, Shah Husein sent Báber Kuli, one of his chief officers, on a mission to the Emperor's camp. Humáyun, as the Mírza had foreseen, was now determined to quit Sind. An agreement was speedily concluded. The Emperor, on the one hand, agreed to quit the territories of Shah Husein, while Shah Husein, on the other, consented to supply him with thirty boats to convey his effects from the present camp, and with 100,000 mithkals in money\*, 2000 loads of grain, and 300 camels, to be delivered to him at the village of Runái, when he had crossed the Indus, to enable him to proceed on his route to Kandahár. These terms being arranged, the Mírza gladly furnished him with a bridge of boats to cross the arm of the Indus at Jún. And, accordingly, on the 10th of July, Humáyun marched with his whole army from the camp which they had so long occupied, and crossed the river in two days. The conditions agreed upon were faithfully and joyfully observed by Shah Husein. The provisions and cattle for transport were brought to Runái, and divided among the troops; and from thence the

\* Some historians omit the money, which is mentioned in the Tarikh-e Sind.





camp moved on to Sehván, where Humáyun made every thing ready for leaving Sind, after having, on the whole, tarried two years and a half in it and the adjoining country.\*

\* The transactions in Sind and the Rájpút desert are recorded by Abulfazl, Akbernáma, ff. 50—2. in the Taríkh-e Akberi, ff. 154—6. Tar. Niz. f. 192. Ferishta follows briefly, vol. ii. p. 91—5., and the Tar. Bedáuni, ff. 179—182. ; Jouher, who was with the Emperor, records them in his 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12th chapters. His account, however, being written from memory at

the distance of many years, though lively, does not furnish dates, and perhaps sometimes transposes events. Abulfazl, who wrote from excellent reports, though able, is laudatory, and too desirous to conceal the faults of his patron's father. The Taríkh-e Sind, ff. 161—165. is valuable, as occasionally giving the Sindian Story.



## CHAPTER I.

## HUMÁYUN'S RESIDENCE IN SIND.

## SECTION III.

## HUMÁYUN'S ROUTE FROM SIND TO SÍSTÁN.

RECENT STATE OF AFGHÁNISTÁN. — KÁMRÁN IN KÁBUL. — ASKERI IN GHAZNI. — KÁMRÁN'S EXPEDITION TO BADA KHSHÁN. — HINDAL IN KANDAHÁR. — EMBASSY OF KÁMRÁN TO SHAH HUSEIN — MET BY HUMÁYUN. — DIFFICULTIES OF HIS ADVANCE TO KANDAHÁR. — HOSTILE PREPARATIONS OF ASKERI. — HE ADVANCES TO TAKE HUMÁYUN. — HASTY FLIGHT OF THE EMPEROR. — ARRIVAL OF ASKERI. — AKBER TAKEN, AND SENT TO KANDAHÁR. — HUMÁYUN FLIES TOWARDS SÍSTÁN. — TEMPORARILY DETAINED BY A PARTY OF BELÚCHES. — PROCEEDS THROUGH THE GERMSÍR. — ENTERS SÍSTÁN.

## BOOK V.

A. D. 1543,  
A. H. 950

Recent  
state of  
Afghánis-  
tán.

Kámrán in  
Kábul.

Askeri in  
Ghazni.

WHEN Humáyun gave up all thought of re-entering Hindustán at the head of an army, by effecting the conquest of Sind, he unwillingly turned his thoughts towards Kandahár, which was part of the dominions of his brother Kámrán. That prince, after separating from the Emperor at Khusháb, when compelled to abandon the Penjáb to Shír Shah, had retired to Kábul, where he assumed all the insignia of an absolute and independent king, and made the prayer for the prince be recited, and the coin struck, in his own name, thus renouncing even the nominal supremacy of Humáyun. He bestowed the government of Ghazni on his brother Askeri, who accompanied him in his flight; the government of Kandahár was held by Kerácha Khan.



Kámrán's  
expedition  
to Badakh-  
shán.Hindal in  
Kandahár.

Mírza Kámrán, not long after his return to Kábul, marched across the Hindu-kúsh mountains, to chastise Mírza Suleimán, the ruler of Badakhshán, who refused to acknowledge him, or to renounce his allegiance to the Emperor, defeated him in battle, compelled him to submit, and deprived him of a portion of his territory. On his return, finding that Kerácha Khan had invited Hindal Mírza from Sind, and had delivered up to him the country of Kandahár, he raised an army, and marched towards that capital, which he besieged for six months, when Hindal, finding that resistance was vain, agreed to surrender the place, and coming out to meet his brother, resigned himself into his hands. Kámrán bestowed the government of Kandahár on Mírza Askeri, and carried Hindal Mírza to Kábul as a prisoner; but after sometime bestowed on him the district of Jui-Sháhi, now Jelálábád, in jágir.\*

Embassy of  
Kámrán to  
Shah Hu-  
sein;

Mírza Kámrán, eager to draw still closer the bonds of union between himself and the ruler of Sind, who had acknowledged him as his superior Lord, sent Mír Alla-dost a man eminent for his piety, and Abdal Wáháb, who belonged to the family of Sheikh Púran, the great Saint of Sind, as ambassadors, to ask the daughter of Shah Husein in marriage. After Humáyun had crossed the Indus, and begun his march towards Kandahár, he heard, when near Sehván, that these ambassadors were not far off; and they also, hearing of his approach, threw themselves into that town. Humáyun sent a message to Alla-dost, asking to see him; but the envoy returned an excuse, pretending that the people among whom he was would not suffer him to quit it. Leaving the banks of the Indus, Humáyun and his followers now proceeded towards Fatehpúr-Gandava. After leaving that place, their route lay through a

met by Hu-  
máyun.Difficulties  
of his ad-

\* Akbernáma, ff. 55, 56. The Tar. Bedáuni says, that he gave him Ghazni (probably a mistake), but

afterwards took it from him, and made him reside in Mouza-Derwishán, f. 181.

A. D. 1543.

vance to-  
wards Kan-  
dahár.

tract of country, for some days' march desert and waste, and afterwards rugged and mountainous. The guides given them by Shah Husein, who had no desire that he should become acquainted with the country, were careful not to conduct them to the best springs or wells \*, and the troops suffered much from having only brackish water, or none. To add to their distress, the road was infested by banditti, as it has been in all ages; they were chiefly Balúches, who, singly or in bands, hovered around, and plundered, without mercy, all that fell behind in the line of march. Jouher tells us that, having fallen somewhat behind, he was attacked and wounded, and the water vessels under his charge carried off, almost in presence of the Emperor. The plunder and distress were general; and, as much time had been spent on the march, and the year was on its decline, the country, which in summer is exposed to the Simúm, and the blasting winds of the desert, was now subject to such excessive cold, that the travellers' broth, we are told, was hardly poured out of the kettle, when it became a plate of ice. Even the men of most note were ill provided with clothing, to resist the severity of the cold, to which they were here exposed. As an example of their unprovided condition, the Emperor, who happened to have a fur cloak, made it be divided, giving the outside, as a most acceptable gift, to Biram Khan, and the inside, or lining, to an officer of the household. After a toilsome journey, most probably through the Bolán Pass, they reached the district of Shál-Mustung, near the northern limit of Baluchistán, and about a hundred and fifty miles from Kandahár, on which it was dependent.

Here they encountered difficulties of a different de-

Hostile pre-  
parations of  
Askéri.

\* Such is the account of the con-  
temporary writers, and from the  
Mírza's character it is not improb-  
ble. But the difficulty of the

march through such a country  
might, of itself, account for many  
of the hardships endured by the  
Emperor.





scription. Two of the Emperor's servants, who preceded the camp, were carried off from a spring at which they had alighted, by scouts sent out by Jilál-ed-dín Beg, an officer of Kámrán's, who was stationed in that quarter. One of the two, however, contrived to make his escape, and, rejoining the Emperor, related both his own adventures, and such circumstances as he had learnt from the conversation of the party that had taken him. By this accident, Humáyun discovered that his brothers were aware of his approach, that their hostility was unabated, and that Askeri was not far off. Renouncing, therefore, his intention of proceeding to Kandahár, he turned off towards Mustung. Some of his followers, however, asked permission to go on to Kandahár, which he granted; and, at the same time, wrote a letter of remonstrance and advice to his brother, which he entrusted to one of them to deliver.

When Humáyun was leaving Sind to march against Kandahár, Shah Husein, desirous of counteracting his plans for retrieving his affairs, had despatched expresses to Kámrán and Askeri, to inform them of his movements. Kámrán instantly sent orders to Askeri at Kandahár, to put that city in a state of defence, and himself to waylay and seize Humáyun, at whatever risk. Askeri Mírza, having executed the one part of his instructions, had now advanced considerably on his way to execute the other. The Amírs, who formed his court, were, however, far from being unanimous in their opinions. Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, Mehdi Kásim Khan, and others, advised him not to move against the Emperor, lest that prince, driven to desperation, should take refuge in Persia, a step which might be followed by the most ruinous consequences. Abulkhair was of a different opinion, and enforced the necessity of seizing Humáyun, and to this opinion Askeri inclined. In the morning after the consultation, therefore, the Mírza marched forward on his route towards Shál-Mustung,

He advances to take Humáyun.

A. D. 1543.

(in which direction he learned that the Emperor, who was not far off, had proceeded,) in hopes of surprising him. After advancing a kos or two, having by this time got into a waste and intricate country, he inquired if any of his followers was acquainted with the road. One Chupi Beháder, an Uzbek, who had been in Kásim Husein Sultan's service, but in this expedition had joined the troops immediately under the Mírza, said that he knew it thoroughly, having often travelled it back and forward. "True," said the Mírza, "you had a jágir in this quarter," and ordered him to ride forward, to reconnoitre along the road, and report what he saw. The man remarking to the Mírza that he rode but a sorry pony\*, the Mírza directed Tersún Birlás, one of his attendants, to dismount and lend him his horse, which was stout and swift; and Tersún obeying very reluctantly, was sharply chidden by the prince.

Chupi, who had formerly served under Humáyun in Hindustán, having mounted his fleet steed, rode for some time at a moderate pace, till he had reached the pass of Pekh, in a valley formed by the hills, when, being out of sight, he set off at full speed, and did not halt till he reached the imperial camp, when he alighted at the door of Biram Khan's tent, and at once informed him of the danger that was at hand. Biram Khan, without delay, hastened, by a private road, to the Emperor's pavilion; and speaking from behind the kanáts or screen, informed him of the imminent danger with which he was threatened. Humáyun starting up, proposed, with his usual spirit, to meet the attack in arms: but the Khan at once convinced him that, from Askeri's overpowering superiority in numbers, there was no hope but in retreat. The Emperor upon this, indignantly exclaiming, "Are Kandahár and Kábul for ever to be the cause of contention between me and my un-

\* Yábú.



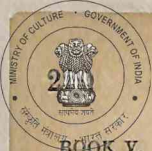


worthy brothers?" despatched Khwāja Moazem and Biram Khan, instantly to bring the Empress Hamída Begum, and her son, the infant Akber, who soon arrived. A hasty requisition for horses was addressed to Terdi Beg and some other Amírs, who made difficulties. But no time was to be lost; the foe would soon be upon them. Hamída Begum was hurriedly placed on horseback. It was decided that Akber, who was only a year old, would be unable to support a rapid journey in inclement weather, through a desert and waterless waste, and he was left behind under the care of his usual attendants. Humáyun then hurried away, accompanied by only forty men, twenty-two of them persons of note, and two ladies. All the rest of the party, with the whole tents and baggage, were left behind.\*

Hasty flight  
of the  
Emperor.

\* Akbernáma, f. 53.; Tab. Akb. f. 156.; Tar. Niz. f. 193. Such is the account given by Abulfazl and followed in the Tab. Akberi. The narrative of Jouher is somewhat different. The night before, when Humáyun reached Shál-Mustung, he took up his quarters in a garden, where a man accosted him, and asked if he knew any thing of Mírza Askeri. The Emperor said, that he did not, but would be glad if he would communicate any information he possessed. The stranger desired to speak to him alone, and all the imperial attendants, except Jouher, being removed, informed Humáyun that his son, one of the Mírza's servants, had just arrived alone; that he had left the prince in the hills, at the pass of Pekh, only five kos off, and that, before two watches of the morning were over, Askeri would arrive, for the purpose of seizing his Majesty. This information induced the Emperor to leave the garden and rejoin the camp.

Humáyun, having breakfasted on whatever was at hand, said his morning prayers, and being much fatigued with his long journey, lay down, and fell fast asleep. His people dispersed on various employments. "At noon," says Jouher, "a man came full speed from the wilds, and asked for H. M. He was in great haste. The servant said, 'Leave your horse here, and go in.' He would not leave it, but twisting the bridle round his hand, entered the tent. H. M. was asleep. He was waked, and asked the man, 'Do you bring any message?' The man answered, 'No,' but added, that Mírza Askeri was coming in a hostile manner. H. M. asked 'What is your name?' He answered, 'Chupi Beháder, by tribe an Uzbek, and I am sent by Kásim Husein Sultan.' His Majesty said, 'It is true,' sent for Biram Khan, and asked his advice. He advised H. M. to set off instantly. H. M. said, 'We must fight them.' Biram Khan answered, 'We are few: they are



## BOOK V.

A. D. 1543.

Arrival of  
Askeri.

Just as Humáyun was setting out, Mír Abul Hasan, the Sadr, who had been sent forward by Askeri to attempt to detain the Emperor, by engaging him in conversation, arrived, and proceeded to deliver some complimentary messages on the part of the Mírza. Humáyun, however, set off, without paying them any attention. Askeri came in sight some time after, and pushed forward a body of troops to surround the camp, intending to cut off all communication with it on every side, and to prevent any one from escaping. But he soon learned, with regret, that Chupi Beháder had brought news of his approach, and that the Emperor had already escaped, and fled into the desert. He placed a guard, to cut off all intercourse between the two camps. Mír Ghaznevi (afterwards Atkeh Khan), under whose care the young prince had been left, presented himself, and was graciously received, the Mírza expressing his regret that Humáyun had gone away; loudly professing that his sole object in coming was to wait upon the Emperor, and to do him every service. He, at the same time, sent a camel with fruit for Akber's use. But he repaired the same evening to the imperial tents, and, throwing aside all shame, took possession of the baggage, all of which he narrowly examined, causing a list of the articles to be made in his own presence. He, at first, received with civility Terdi Beg and Humáyun's other Amírs, when they waited on him; but next day, they were delivered into custody, and soon after subjected to heavy exactions, many of them perishing in the tortures inflicted on them to extort a discovery of their real or supposed h. The young prince was received with every mark of affection and tenderness, and carried to Kandahár by Askeri, who delivered him to the charge of his wife Sultánun Begum; but without taking him from the

Akber sent  
to Kanda-  
hár.

coming in great force," &c. Abul-fazl had seen Jouher's narrative. It does not appear whether Nizám-ed-

dín Ahmed had. It carries with it an air of probability.





immediate care of Máham Anka, Jiji Anka, and Atkeh Khan, who had been appointed by his parents to nurse and watch over him. Sultánun Begum's affection for him was sincere, and like that of a mother. The young Akber was brought to the Bála-Ark, or Citadel of Kandahár, on 15th of December, A.D. 1543.\*

Ramzán 18.  
Dec. 15.

Humáyun  
flies towards  
Sistán.

Meanwhile Humáyun, and the small party of fugitives that accompanied him, after galloping off from their camp, soon reached the desert waste. Day failing, was succeeded by a night of uncommon darkness. Biram Khan, it is said, proposed to Humáyun to take advantage of it, to turn back, and come upon the camp by surprise; adding that, from his knowledge of Askeri's frivolous and selfish character, he was assured that they would find him sitting in the midst of his clerks, busy in examining the contents of the chests and packages, which the Emperor had left behind: that the probability was, that the troops would make little resistance, or would even join them. Humáyun acknowledged that the enterprise was a feasible one, but said that he was now cured of ambition, and had made up his mind to proceed, through Persia, to the holy city of Mekka.

But, though they do not seem to have been pursued by Askeri, their danger was not yet over. They kept on their course towards Sístán. One night, after a long march, the barking of a dog was heard. The Emperor had hardly time to observe, that some habitations† must be at hand, when a party of Balúches met, and stopped them. They spoke in their own language, which was not understood: but fortunately one of the ladies, who was with the Emperor's suite, was herself a Balúch‡, the wife of an officer in his service. She was employed to interpret, and it appeared that they were followers

\* Akbernáma, ff. 53, 54.; Tab. Akb. f. 157.; Tar. Niz. ff. 193, 194.; Jouher, c. 13. It does not appear that Terdi Beg and the other Amírs were asked to attend Humáyun in his flight into Sístán.

† Nizám-ed-dín calls this fort, Kila Háji Bába, f. 194.

‡ She was the wife of Hasan Ali, Ishek-agma (chamberlain).

A. D. 1543.

Temporarily detain-  
 ed by a  
 party of  
 Balúches.

of Malek Khati, a Balúch chief, whom Abulfazl styles the Captain-General of the banditti of the desert. This leader being at that moment absent, his people, on finding that it was the Emperor, insisted that the little troop should not pass onward without their master's leave.

The Emperor was obliged to comply, and entering the fort, the freebooters salaamed to him respectfully, spread a carpet on which he and Hamída Begum sat down, and supplied the wants of the party with all the hospitality of the desert. When day began to dawn, as the Emperor was engaged in his morning prayers, Malek Khati, who had been sent for, returned.

The Emperor's peaceable entrance into the fort, which gave him the character of a guest, had roused the robber's sense of honour. Saluting the Emperor, and making the usual polite inquiries after his health, the chief informed him, that three days before, an order from Kámrán Mírza had reached him, commanding him not, on any account, to suffer the Emperor Humáyun to pass that way, but to seize, and make him prisoner. "But," added he, "now that your Majesty has visited me, on my head and eyes be it. Yet it is better that you should ride on, and I will myself conduct you to the borders." Humáyun gladly assented. The party was again put in motion, and proceeded about fifteen kos, guided and accompanied to the confine of his territory by the Malek, who there took his leave.

Proceeds  
 through the  
 Gernsír.

On losing the escort of his robber host, Humáyun entered the Gernsír\*, which lies between Kandahár and Khorásán, and at that time depended on Mírza Kámrán. Though a very unwelcome guest to Abdal Hai, the governor of the country, who remained faithful to the Mírza, and even punished some of his servants who assisted the Emperor, he was, however, received with a certain degree of respect, and supplied, though scantily,

\* Gernsír signifies warm country, and here denotes the low tract of land lying on the Helمند.





with such necessities as the country afforded. It happened that Khwája Jilál-ed-dín Mahmúd had been sent into the district by Askeri to collect the revenue. Humáyun opened a communication with him, and succeeded in bringing him over to his interest; so that the Khwája waited upon him, and presented his Majesty with a large set of tents, besides horses, camels and mules, and such sum of money as he had collected; a most seasonable and acceptable supply, in his present distressed circumstances, to the Emperor, who bestowed on him what was then little more than a title, the office of Mír Sámán, Sirkár Kháseh (keeper of the imperial stores).

The Germsír of Kandahár, in which Humáyun lingered for some days, was subject to that country, but lay close upon Sístán, a province that belonged to the King of Persia, and into which, by merely passing the Helمند, he could easily fly. His unhappy and destitute condition preyed upon his mind. Worn out by his sufferings, feeling the vanity of past enjoyments, which had vanished from his grasp, and left behind nothing but regret, and willing to turn his eyes from the deary prospect before him; with a feeling common to Musulmans in adversity, he talked of devoting the remains of his life, in some sequestered solitude, to meditation and prayer. But the remonstrances of his adherents, powerfully supported no doubt by his hankering after the enjoyments of that world, which he believed that he was desirous of abandoning, soon recalled him to more active exertions. Desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of the King of Persia, the hereditary friend of his family, he addressed to him a letter, in which he explained his situation and his wishes, and despatched it by the hands of Chupi Beháder. He would willingly have remained in the Germsír, till an answer arrived, but Abdal Hai sent to announce to him, that Mírza Kámrán had despatched a large body of men

Shawál 1.  
Dec. 28.



A. D. 1543.

Enters Sís-  
tán.

from Kandahár, in quest of him; that, if he remained, nothing could prevent his falling into their hands, and that his only hope of safety lay in passing into the adjoining province of Sís-tán, where, under the protection of the King of Persia, he would be free from danger. Seeing, therefore, that he could nowhere be safe in the wide-spreading dominions of his father, Humáyun unwillingly crossed the Helمند, and encamped in the Persian territory, by the side of the lake into which that river empties itself. He was hospitably and honourably received and entertained by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor.\*

Humáyun did not willingly abandon the territory which he considered as his own, to enter that of the Shah of Persia, a bigot, who was the chief of another sect of Musulmans from that to which he and his forefathers had adhered. But he had not a spot on which he could safely place his foot. Kámrán seemed to have come in his place, and by the extent of his dominions to have become the representative of the Chaghatái dynasty. He was master of Kábul and Ghazni, of Kandahár, Khutlár and Badakhshán. Shír Shah ruled, with absolute power and acknowledged talent, the empire that had formerly been his, and, in addition to it, the Penjáb, and the countries beyond the Indus, which he had wrested from Kámrán. In Upper and Lower Sind, Shah Husein Arghún was absolute master. Driven from every spot of which he had lately called himself master, and viewing, with the deepest dread, the possibility of falling into the hands of his brother, he resolved to abandon the kingdoms of his father, and threw himself on the dubious and untried generosity of a stranger.

\* Akbernáma, f. 53.; Tabak. Akberi, ff. 156, 157.; Tar. Niz. f. 194.; Jouher, c. 13. On the few adherents who accompanied Humáyun in his flight from Mustang

to Gernsír, Humáyun seems to have bestowed the name of *Chuli*, men of the desert, and to have always treated them with special regard.





## CHAPTER II.

## HUMÁYUN IN PERSIA.

HUMÁYUN'S RELUCTANCE TO ENTER PERSIA. — HIS RECEPTION AND OCCUPATIONS IN SÍSTÁN. — SETS OUT FOR HERÁT AND MESHHÍD. — REGAL ENTERTAINMENT BY THE SHAH'S ORDERS. — STAY AT HERÁT AND MESHHÍD. — PROCEEDS TO JOIN THE SHAH. — SENDS FORWARD BIRAM KHAN AS ENVOY. — TREATMENT OF THE AMBASSADOR AT KAZVÍN. — HUMÁYUN AT KAZVÍN. — DEPUTATION FROM THE SHAH. — INTERVIEW OF THE SOVEREIGNS. — HUMÁYUN AT THE PERSIAN COURT. — INTOLERANCE OF TAHMASP. — GRAND HUNTING PARTY. — INTRIGUES AGAINST HUMÁYUN. — JEALOUSIES OF THE SOVEREIGNS. — ATTEMPTS TO CONVERT HUMÁYUN TO THE SHÍA SECT. — LEAGUE BETWEEN HUMÁYUN AND TAHMASP. — PARTING FESTIVITIES. — HUMÁYUN PREPARES TO SET OUT FOR KANDAHÁR. — REMARKS ON HIS TREATMENT BY THE SHAH—AND HIS OWN BEHAVIOUR.

It was not without great reluctance that Humáyun came to the determination of abandoning his own dominions, and trusting himself in the power of a foreign prince, who had pretensions to some part of his territory, and was a bigoted adherent to a sect of Moslemism, different from that to which he himself adhered. But he had only a choice of evils left, and he submitted to what he deemed the least.

On entering Sístán, he was received with the greatest respect and hospitality by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor. Humáyun, at first spent much of his time in the amusements of hunting and hawking, waiting till an answer should be returned to the letter which he had addressed to the Shah. He afterwards advanced farther into the province, when the governor brought his mother and wives to entertain the empress. Many of Humáyun's late followers, who had been carried to Kandahár, escaped, and, by degrees, joined him in

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1544,  
A. H. 950.  
Humáyun's  
reluctance  
to enter  
Persia

His recep-  
tion and oc-  
cupations in  
Sístán.

Sístán. Many visitors of note waited upon him out of respect, or from curiosity. Among those most acceptable to him, was Husein Kuli Sultan, the governor's brother, who had come from Meshhíd, to visit his mother and brother, before setting out on a pilgrimage to Mekka. As he was a man of piety, of learning, and of speculation, Humáyun questioned him minutely as to the tenets of the religious sects that then divided Persia, and especially as to the grand division into Shías and Sunnis, a subject which had become of the deepest importance to the fugitive prince. Having one day asked him, what was his own opinion as to the difference between the sects, Husein Kuli answered, evasively but with address, that he had for a long time meditated on the conflicting tenets of these sects, and, during the last five years, had read all the books written by both parties; that the Shías maintain that to curse and ban the three first Khalífs, is an act of piety, and agreeable to God; while the Sunnis hold, that such conduct is the mark of an infidel: but that, for his part, he conceived that, if a man conscientiously believed that by doing a certain act, he was meriting the favour of God, this never could mark him out as an infidel. Humáyun was pleased with the argument, and with the whole style of Husein Kuli's conversation, and pressed him to enter his service; but Husein Kuli excused himself, on the plea of having made all his arrangements for setting out on the great pilgrimage, though he promised to join him on his return from the Holy cities.\*

Among those who joined Humáyun from Kandahár, were Háji Muhammed Bába Kushkeh and Hasan Koka, both foster brothers of Kámrán, who strongly urged him to march into Zemín-dáwer—at that time a province of Kandahár—assuring him that Amír Beg, the

\* Akbarnáma, ff. 57, 58.; Tar. Niz. f. 194.; Mem. of Bayezíd, ff. 2, 3.





governor, would join him, as well as the governor of Bíst and many others, and that the defection was likely to be so general that in a short time he would certainly be master of Kandahár itself. But Ahmed Sultan, the Persian governor of Sístán, who had not yet received orders from his court, in what manner he was to conduct himself towards the Emperor, seems to have taken an alarm on receiving some hint of this plan, and instantly waited on Humáyun to remonstrate with him on the subject, advising him to reject the proposal as in many respects objectionable, and offering to proceed with him at once to Irák and the Persian court. To this proposition, perhaps equivalent to a command, Humáyun signified a modified assent, and, to quiet the suspicion of the governor, excluded for some time from his presence Háji Muhammed, the author of the project that had given so much offence. Instead, however, of proceeding post with Ahmed Sultan by the direct but desert road of Tabas, Humáyun expressed a wish to visit Herát, of the magnificence of which he had heard much, as well as the holy shrine of Meshhíd. This being agreed to, he set out, attended by Ahmed Sultan, for Herát, and proceeded, by the fort of Awék in Sístán, to the town of Farra.

Sets out for Herát and Meshhíd.

Here news were at last received from the Court of Persia. When Humáyun's letter reached Shah Tahmasp, the son of Shah Ismáel, a young man then about twenty-seven years of age, an event so honourable to the new dynasty of the Sefis as the arrival of the Emperor of India, the representative of the great Taimur, to seek refuge at the foot of the throne of the king of kings, was hailed with delight. The kettle-drum was beat for three days at the royal residence at Kazvín; and a gracious answer was returned to Humáyun by the Shah, containing some complimentary verses from the royal pen to respond to those in the Emperor's letter. Firmáns were addressed to all governors and

His regal entertainment by the Shah's orders.

other chief officers of the provinces and cities through which the Emperor was likely to pass, commanding them to receive and entertain the imperial guest with every mark of honour, and to furnish him and his retinue with provisions, wines, fruits, and whatever else could contribute to their comfort from stage to stage in the whole progress of their journey. In the firmán directed to the governor of Herát, he is enjoined to prepare, for the Emperor's use, five hundred trays of meat of different kinds, besides sweetmeats; and the total number of trays of every description for him and his suite was never to be less than fifteen hundred daily. A thousand men on horseback were always to attend him, who were strictly enjoined to prevent all collisions between the natives of the country and the Emperor's servants.\*

From Farra, where he was rejoined by his own messengers, and by the Shah's ambassadors, who had attended them back from the court, his advance to Herát resembled a triumphal procession. For the space of twelve or fifteen miles before he reached the capital, the whole inhabitants of the nearest towns and villages had been commanded to attend, and line the road; and as he approached Herát, the whole population of the town poured out, and covered the hills and plains, the

\* Akbernáma, ff. 57—9.; Bayezid's Mem. ff. 3—5. The Shah's letter to the Governor of Herát is curious, but is illustrative of the state of Persia rather than of India. It describes the presents for the Emperor, consisting of horses, daggers, ornamented swords, housings of cloth of gold, brocades, &c., as well as directions for his entertainment. Everything is specified: loaves of white bread, baked with milk and butter, tents, table-linen, sheets, changes of wearing apparel, plate, and utensils of all kinds, sher-

bets cooled in ice and water, fruits, grapes, rose-water, amber, and perfumes; the number of trays of meat. The young prince was to make the Hazáras and Nukderis of the adjoining mountains come down, to the number of 30,000, and attend the Emperor on his route to Herát. On every subject, the minutest directions are given. Akbernáma, No. 1. ff. 57—59.; No. 2. f. 119. and seqq. Also Bayezid's Mem. MS. ff. 3—10., from which Abulfazl probably copied it.





trees and house tops, as he passed along. The Amír al omra, Muhammed Khan Sherf-ed-dín Oghli Taklu, the young prince's Atálík or guardian, and the chief officers of the government, received him at the Púl-málán river, and conducted him towards the city; where the young prince himself, Sultan Muhammed Mírza, the Shah's eldest son, and nominal governor of Herát, received him in state, and accompanied him to the palace in the Jehán-ará gardens, where he found a magnificent entertainment prepared for him.\*

Zikádeh 1.  
Jan. 26.

Having visited the palaces, mosques, colleges, monasteries, tombs, and gardens of Herát, then one of the finest cities in the world, and lingered there about a month, he proceeded towards Meshhíd, by the route of Jám, where he visited with reverence the mausoleum † of his Empress Hamída-Bánu's ancestor, Zhindah-fíl Ahmed Jám, a holy man, to whose tomb pilgrimages were made, as to a place of great sanctity. From Jám he went on to Meshhíd, where he was received with the usual procession and demonstrations of respect, by Shah-kuli Sultan Istajlu. Here he remained forty days, and visited the sacred tomb of the Imám Ali

Stay at  
Herát,

Zilhajeh 5.  
Feb. 29.

and Mesh-  
híd.  
A. H. 951,  
Moharrem  
15. April 8.

\* Akbernáma, ff. 59, 60.; Tab. Akb. f. 157.

† "As he visited this tomb by night, the gate was shut. The door-keeper attempted to open it, but the chain was closed, and the Emperor was informed by him that it was impossible to remove the chain. He retired a few steps, but returning; 'O Imám,' said he, 'every person who has ever offered up his vows at your shrine has obtained the object of his wishes; your slave has also come with similar hopes to your tomb, in expectation of succeeding in his request?' Having said this, he laid his hand on the door, when, instantly, the chain was unlocked: it

might even be said it was cut in two: on which his Majesty entered the holy tomb, walked round it, and offered up his prayers; after which, he sat down at an appointed place, and began to read the Koran. The superintendent of the tomb then said to the Emperor, 'If you like, you may snuff the lamp.' His Majesty replied, 'If not too great a liberty, I will do so.' The officer said, 'You have leave.' The Emperor, therefore, took up the scissors, and cut off the snuff of the lamp; after which, having said his prayers, he came out, but commanded that one of the royal bows should be suspended at the gate as an offering." Stewart's Jouher, p. 6.

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Proceeds to  
join the  
Shah.

Reza, which, being a Sunni, he was obliged to do privately: and here he appears to have received the first direct invitation from the Shah to repair to Kazvín. Advancing therefore by Nishabúr, he visited the turquoise mines in the neighbourhood, and then went on to Sebzáwár. Having halted there forty days he resumed his progress, proceeding by Damghán, Bostám, Semnán, and Sefiábád, receiving from time to time as he went along, expresses, which brought him presents of fruit from the court.

The real circumstances of Humáyun's intercourse with Shah Tahmasp cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. Abulfazl, whom historians in general copy, jealous of the honour of the imperial family, merely hints at, or altogether conceals, or perverts, any circumstances which were painful or humiliating to the exiled prince. Succeeding historians, following his authority, have accordingly been loud in their praises of the magnificent hospitality with which he was received. It was not until the publication of the translation of the *Memoirs of Jouher*\*, who attended the Emperor as a domestic servant during his exile, and who tells his plain unvarnished tale, with the unconscious frankness of an aged gossip, on the minutest circumstances of incidents, to which the elegant, but cautious, historian hardly ventures to allude, that it was discovered that Humáyun had much to suffer, and many humiliations to endure. Indeed, even the proud parade of his entry into the chief towns, was less fitted to please a man, however vain, by the borrowed pomp and show with which he was surrounded, than to humble one of a proud spirit, by a public exhibition of his own misery, and his patron's grandeur.

When Humáyun reached Kila Ders near Rei, a

\* The *Tezkereh al Vákiát*, or private *Memoirs of the Mogul Emperor Humáyun*, written in the Persian language by Jouher, translated

by Major Charles Stewart, H. E. I. C. S. Lond. 1832. (Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund.)





letter arrived from the Shah, to inform him that he was at Kazvín, at that time the royal residence, and that the Emperor might now send forward Biram Beg as his ambassador. That able man was a Turkomán, originally a subject of Persia, and had accompanied the army of Najm Sáni, sent by Shah Ismáel to assist Báber in the conquest of Bokhára. He had survived the discomfiture of that army, and had ever since remained in the service of Báber and his son, in which he had risen to high distinction by his bravery, and his sound and practical talents. When Humáyun thought of entering the Persian territory, Biram Beg appears to have become the principal adviser of that monarch. He was, accordingly, despatched to court, with an escort of ten horsemen.

A few days after Biram Beg's arrival at Kazvín, the Shah, a despotic prince and a bigoted Shía, desired him to cut off his hair, and assume the Táj or Persian cap, which was considered as a symbol of adherence to the Shía doctrines. This, Biram Beg, faithful to his duty, firmly, but delicately, declined, alleging that, as he was now the servant and representative of another prince, he was bound to be regulated by his master's wishes. The Shah, who had earnestly desired to gratify at once his vanity and bigotry, by making the ambassador of the sovereign of India assume the badge of his own service and religion, was much offended, but told the Beg that he was at liberty to do as he pleased. Yet to show him his danger, and shake his firmness, the Shah commanded some Chirágh-kúsh heretics, who belonged to a sect that was equally calumniated and hated by the orthodox Musulmans, and who had been long in prison, to be brought out and executed in his presence.\*

Treatment  
of the Am-  
bassador at  
Kazvín.

\* The Chirágh-kúsh, or lamp extinguishers, are heretics of the Is-  
málih sect, who are much disliked,  
and their doctrines much misrepre-

It is usual for the kings of Persia, during the warm season of the year, to leave their palaces in the cities on the plain, and to retire to cool summer quarters, high up among the lofty mountains which are so common in that country. Those of the Shah were, this year, between Sultania and Surlik. When Tahmasp set out from Kazvin, he sent directions to Humáyun to remain where he was, till further notice. But he, soon after, sent Babek Beg, to act as the Emperor's Mehmándár; and instructions followed that he should advance to Kazvin, where he was to rest three days, and then proceed on to the camp of the Shah.\*

Humáyun  
at Kazvin.

Jemádi I.  
July or  
Augt. (It  
begins July  
21.)

Deputation  
from the  
Shah.

During the three days that Humáyun resided at Kazvin, he was lodged in one of the royal palaces, and entertained with much splendour. On the fourth day, he set out to join the royal camp, which lay between Abher and Sultania, and travelled all night. In the latter part of the night, he desired his people to look out for water, that he might halt. While they were so employed, news was brought that Biram Beg was at hand. That nobleman soon after arrived, and observed to Humáyun, that he had advanced rather far; but the Emperor said, he could not go back. The Emperor, having said his morning prayers, then went to sleep, but was soon after wakened by the singing of the Persian pioneers, who had begun to work in repairing the road. Having bathed, and dressed himself, he took his seat in his diwán-khána, or presence chamber, as Biram Beg informed him that a large honorary procession was on its way to meet him. Here he received the vakils of the Sultans, the Khans, the Mírzas, and the great Syeds in succession, who were all presented; and then setting out, the Emperor

sented by all orthodox Musulmans. They are occasionally severely persecuted. They have been already mentioned, vol. i. p. 287, *note*.

\* Akbernáma, ff. 57, 58.; Tar. Niz. f. 194.; Tab. Akb. f. 157.; Jouher, c. 14, 15.; Bayezid, ff. 2 —12.





met the Sultans, Khans, Mírzas and Syeds themselves as he advanced along the road. When the King's brothers met the Emperor, BehráM Mírza presented him with a complete dress of honour, and a fiery unbroken steed, the latter, with the polite arrogance characteristic of Persians, for the purpose of putting to the test his skill in horsemanship, on which they pique themselves so much. Humáyun put on the whole of the proffered dress, except the *táj*, or cap, which, bearing the symbol of the twelve Imáms, was considered as indicating an adoption of the Shía faith. He then mounted the horse, which fortunately, to their disappointment, proved very manageable in his hands. The Emperor now again moved on, and was met by the *korchi-báshi* (or commander of the guards), who addressed him with a "salám-aleikum" (on you be peace), a salutation used among equals, and passed on. After him, "a number of inferior people mounted on Kermanian horses came, and made their salute: the object of their being introduced was to prove that all the Persians, whether of high or of low rank, were on a footing with our (Emperor)."\*

The Shah received Humáyun with honour, and placed him on a cushion on his right hand. But his religious zeal was not long of betraying itself. "After making some inquiries concerning his health and the fatigues of the journey, he said, 'You will put on the *táj*' (or Persian cap). Humáyun (taking advantage of the ambiguity of the term) answered, 'The *táj* (crown) is a mark of greatness. I will put it on.' The Shah, with his own royal hands, then placed the cap on the Emperor's head, on which the Shah, and all the Khans and Sultans raised a shout, calling out, 'Alla! Alla!' and bending down their heads, as in prayer, according to their custom. The Emperor then asked that the

Interview of  
the Sove-  
reigns.

Jemádi,  
July, and  
August.

\* Stewart's *Jouher*, p. 64.

Mírzas might be allowed to be seated, but was told by the Shah that such was not the etiquette." An entertainment, served by the Emperor's butler, followed. The two sovereigns ate together. When it was finished, there was another general shout, and prostration, in honour of the coming of so great a potentate to the foot of the royal throne.\* To the spectators in general, it must have appeared as if the Indian prince had conformed to the Persian usages and faith.

Humáyun  
at the Per-  
sian Court.

Humáyun, on leaving the presence, had quarters assigned to him between those of Behrá́m Mírza and Beder Khan, and was attended home by the Mírza. After enjoying the warm bath, he made his hair be cut off, apparently to conform to the Persian costume; and having received three honorary dresses, he put on one of them, and, conforming himself to circumstances with the easy elasticity of his character, passed the rest of the night in jollity and pleasure.

Next day, as the Shah marched for Sultania, Humáyun, having gone out to salute him, was treated with cold neglect and insult. The Persian's arrogance is never displayed more conspicuously than in the advantages which he attempts to gain over an antagonist in the combat of forms, an important part in their diplomacy. Humáyun, much hurt at the slight thus put upon him, as soon as he arrived at Sultania, went straight to the dome of the shrine of Sultan Muhammed Khodábendeh†, the grand prop of the Shíá faith, and there gave vent to feelings of the deepest regret and self-reproach, for having put himself in the power of a

\* Jouher, c. 14.

† Sultan Muhammed Khodábendeh (originally called Aljaptu or Uljáitu), was the son of Arghún and brother of Ezan, whom he succeeded as Emperor of the Moghuls. He was a zealous Musulman, hav-

ing been converted to that religion, when he took the surname of Khodábendeh, or servant of God. He founded Sultania, A. H. 704 (A. D. 1304), and was celebrated for his justice.





prince who could make so ungenerous a use of an accidental superiority.

Humáyun now found that he had placed himself in the power of a keen religious bigot, who was determined to avail himself of the advantage he had gained, to convert at all events his Indian Sunni refugees to the true Shía faith. The means he adopted were generally more marked by violence than conciliation. A large quantity of firewood being one day sent for the Emperor's use, Shah Tahmasp accompanied it with a message, that if he adopted the Shía faith, the Shah would protect and cherish him, but that, otherwise, he would set the fuel on fire, and consume him and his heretical followers in the flames. To this intolerant and insolent message, Humáyun calmly replied that they had come, firmly attached to their religion, and would maintain it: that empire was nothing, for whatever is, is by the will of the Almighty, on whom he had fixed his trust, and to whose pleasure he would submit, whatever it might be. He asked leave to proceed on the pilgrimage of Mekka. The Shah, in reply, sent to tell the Emperor that he was on the point of marching to exterminate the Sunni Osmanlis, and that it did not become him, even had he leisure, to engage in altercation, or to retaliate complaints; that Humáyun had come into his dominions voluntarily, and that he, as sovereign, would not be doing his duty, were he to suffer him to continue to hold his present false and impious doctrines.

Intolerance  
of Tah-  
masp.

It was not easy for Humáyun to decide how he could act with a due regard to his personal safety, in the dangerous position in which he now felt himself placed. While he was in this state of perplexity, Kázi Jehán Kazvíni, a divine of great note, and the Shah's Diwán or minister, waited upon him, and in the course of a long conversation earnestly besought him, as a matter of policy, to comply with the Shah's request.

He represented to him, that he was not a solitary being, for that the consequences of his fruitless obstinacy would affect, not himself only, but the lives of nearly seven hundred helpless Sunnis, his followers, who must share his fate: that the circumstances in which he was placed imposed it upon him as a duty, should he find himself driven to extremity, to intimate his acquiescence, on the reasonable ground that, as he was no longer master of his own actions, he must submit. "But what am I expected to do?" said the Emperor. "Let the specific demands be brought in writing."\*

The Diwán was not long of returning, when he brought three papers from Shah Tahmasp. Humáyun read two of them, which he put aside. He was perusing the third, when the Shah himself, burning with impatience, came to one side of the pavilion, and called out something with a loud voice. The Diwán upon this, addressing the Emperor in a soothing tone, told him that there was no going back, and beseeched him to have regard to the circumstances in which he stood. The Shah himself presented him with the third paper, with his own hand, and read it in his presence. Humáyun would seem to have signed it, though the nature and extent of his forced acquiescence are not very clear.†

For his own royal amusement, and to exhibit to the Emperor his power and greatness, the Shah ordered a grand hunting match near the Takht-e Suleimán‡, one

\* Tab. Akb. f. 158.; Jouher, c. 14.

† Jouher, c. 14., but the account is very confused in the only copy of the original which I have seen, and I am uncertain if I have always caught the sense.

‡ An interesting account of Takht-e Suleimán may be found in Major Rawlinson's notes of his

journey to the ruins of that place. Journey of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. x. pp. 46—57. "In the spring and summer," says that inquisitive and intelligent traveller (p. 56.), "the neighbourhood of Takhti Suleimán is represented as a perfect paradise. The country all around is carpeted with the richest verdure: the climate is delightful,





of the most beautiful spots in Persia. The game, for several days' journey round about, was driven to a central point by the inhabitants of the country, assisted by the troops, and confined by fences or bodies of armed men. The collection of wild animals thus brought together is described as being immense. When all was ready, the Shah and the Emperor first entered to a convenient spot within the ring, and when satiated with the easy slaughter of some of the innumerable animals thus presented to them, the royal Mírzas were next admitted; and after them the chief nobles, among whom were Biram Beg and Hájí Muhammed Koka, and some others of the suite of the Emperor. In the end, persons of every rank were admitted indiscriminately, and the soldiers were allowed to kill and carry off at pleasure. A second ring was formed, some days after, near the Houz-e Suleimán (Suleimán's Lake); and after the hunt or slaughter, there were games of choughán-bázi and kebk-endázi, a kind of horse-shinty, and shooting at a mark, generally a bason, or bird, placed on the top of a high pole, while riding at full speed. After some days had been passed in these amusements\*, Humáyun, desirous of conciliating the Persian monarch, made up a present, consisting of the largest diamond which he possessed, "worth kingdoms,"† and of two hundred and fifty fine Badakhshi rubies, which he sent by Biram Beg, as an offering to the Shah, with a message, that the latter had been brought from

and myriads of wild flowers impregnate the air with fragrance. Indeed, there is not considered a more agreeable yailak, or summer pasture, in all Persia."

\* A circumstance which occurred at one of these hunts illustrates the lax morality of the Mírzas and the servility of the court. Behráam Mírza, the king's brother was on bad terms with Abul-kásim Khalfa,

a Persian nobleman of rank. Seizing a favourable opportunity, the Mírza took a deliberate aim, and shot him with an arrow, during the chase, he died upon the spot. No one dared to mention this murder to the King.

† This diamond is said to have weighed 4 miskals and 4 dangs, Akbernáma, f. 60.; Alem-arái Abási, f. 43.

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Badakhshán expressly for the purpose. The royal jewellers having declared these precious stones to be above all price, Shah Tahmasp signified his satisfaction, and bestowed on Biram Beg the title of Khan, with the alem-standard and kettle-drum; while Hájí Muhammed Koka, who had been successful at the play of keb-k-endázi, was honoured with the title of Sultan. These titles, bestowed by one sovereign on the servants of another, were, at least, of an ambiguous nature, and marked an assumption of superiority on the part of the Persian monarch.\*

Intrigues  
against Hu-  
máyun.

For nearly two months after these events, all intercourse, whether personal or in writing, between the two monarchs, was suspended. For this, various reasons are assigned. It seems that Roushen Beg Koka, and some other Amírs who had been in Humáyun's service, but had afterwards joined Kámrán, returning about this time from the pilgrimage of Mekka, were introduced to the king of Persia. Most of them had quarrelled with Humáyun, who had charged Roushen Beg in particular with embezzling some jewels committed to his charge. In the course of their intercourse with the Shah, they represented Humáyun as quite devoid of the talents required in a king, and affirmed that, had he behaved properly to his brothers, he never need have left his own kingdom. They farther offered, if Humáyun were imprisoned, to lead a Persian army to Kandahár, which they undertook to deliver over to the Shah. A second cause is said to have been the unwillingness of the Persian Turkomán and Túrki officers to serve under Humáyun, whose father Báber, they alleged, had, by his treachery, caused the death of Mír Najm, their countryman and his army, when sent to assist him; and they apprehended that the same fate

\* Akbernáma, f. 60.; Jouher, c. 14.; Tar. Niz. f. 195.; Kháfí Khan, f. 134., says that Biram got

the title of Arjemend Khan, Khan-Khánán. The Alem-arái mentions that of Khan-Khánán.





might probably await themselves if they attended the Emperor. A third reason, more personal to the Shah, is also mentioned. When Humáyun, sixteen years before, after having defeated Beháder Shah of Gujrát, returned to Agra, he had, on some occasion, amused himself with the trial of divining arrows, on twelve of the first class of which he inscribed his own name, while on eleven of an inferior sort he put that of Shah Tahmasp; a circumstance which had been repeated to the Persian prince, who, some time before this, had charged him with the offence. Humáyun acknowledged the fact, but accounted for it by saying that, in what he had done, he had looked only to the relative extent of the dominions of the two princes; his being, at that moment, twice as extensive as those of Persia. "Yes," said Tahmasp, much piqued, "and one consequence of this foolish conceit has been, that you could not govern these your extensive dominions, but have suffered yourself to be driven from them by a set of clowns, leaving your children and family prisoners behind you."—"We are all in the hand of God," said the Emperor, "and must submit to the decrees of the Almighty."

This was not the only occasion on which Humáyun's expulsion from his dominions had formed the subject of conversation between the two princes. At an early period of their intercourse, Shah Tahmasp, when consoling his guest, who sat at dinner with him, had encouraged him to hope, in his oriental phraseology, that the sword of the Shah would be the key to open for him once more the doors of the kingdoms subdued by his father Báber; but added, that the real source of all his misfortunes lay in the injudicious way in which he had treated his brothers, whom he had rendered independent: that, for his part, he made it a fundamental point of his policy to keep his brothers weak and in subjection to him, and that, unless Humáyun adopted a similar principle, his kingdoms never would enjoy

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repose. After dinner, Behrá<sup>m</sup> Mírza, the Shah's brother, having advanced, according to custom, to present the basin and ewer, Tahmasp observed, "This is the way in which you ought to have treated your brothers;" a remark in which Humáyun, warm from the recent conversation, heartily and pointedly concurred. The Mírza, offended with the tone of Humáyun's assent, never forgave him, became his bitter enemy, and did all in his power to injure him with the Shah, which was rendered the easier by that prince's religious bigotry, and by the virulent feelings, generated by his unsuccessful attempt to convert the Emperor, clearly and decidedly, to his opinions.

Attempts to  
 convert Hu-  
 máyun to  
 the Shíá  
 sect.

Humáyun certainly seems for a time to have been in danger of spending the remainder of his life as a prisoner in Persia, even if his life was safe. Tahmasp is reported at one time to have given instructions to Behrá<sup>m</sup> Mírza to remove out of the way the obstinate Emperor, who was relieved from the dangers that surrounded him, chiefly by the generous intercession of Shah Tahmasp's sister, Sultán<sup>u</sup>m Khán<sup>u</sup>m, who strongly represented to her brother the impolicy, as well as injustice, of using any severity towards an exiled prince who had sought his protection and hospitality; and flattered him with the hopes of removing in due time the stranger's religious errors, and of gaining a royal convert. Humáyun is said to have encouraged these efforts of the friendly princess, by assuring her that he had always been privately well disposed to the Shíá faith, a circumstance from which much of the animosity of his brothers towards him had proceeded. The Sultán<sup>u</sup>m was effectively aided in all her endeavours by Kázi Jehán, the minister, whose piety was purer and more enlightened than that of his master, and who did all in his power to awaken generous feelings in his mind. They found an useful auxiliary in the Shah's physician, Hakím Núr-ed-dín Muhammed\*, who was

\* Or Muharrem.





much with the Shah, and had great influence on his mind, and whose benevolent efforts to assist the unfortunate monarch were never relaxed. Humáyun is said to have completed the favourable impressions made by the princess and her friends on the mind of the Shah, by some complimentary verses addressed to him, the concluding couplet of which, playing upon Humáyun's name, bore that other princes placed their glory in having been under the shadow of the Huma, but that the Shah, greater than all, had the Huma under his. The Huma is an imaginary bird, and the Orientals believe that, on whomsoever its shadow falls, that person is destined to sovereignty.\*

Certain it is that, whatever was the cause, Shah Tahmasp, in the end, changed his conduct. He sent for Humáyun, to meet him at his summer camp. Humáyun went, and had a private conference of several hours, in which it seems to have been agreed, that the Shah was to assist him in recovering Kandahár, Kábul, and Badakhshán; that Kandahár, when taken, was to be restored to Persia, and that the Emperor and his suite were to listen to the instructions of Kázi Jehán on the subject of their religious differences. The Emperor, on returning to his quarters, took a favourable opportunity of assembling his Hindustáni followers, informed them of Shah Tahmasp's promises, which held out to them an early prospect of revisiting their native country. He added that Kázi Jehán would speak to them "on a certain subject." They were all delighted at this change, and lifted up their hands in thanksgiving. As, by the result of the negotiations, which had been probably conducted, on the Emperor's side, by Biram Khan, the temporal interests of the two monarchs were become the same, a compromise seems to have taken place. Humáyun professed to favour

League  
between  
Humáyun  
and Tah-  
masp.

\* Tar. Bed. f. 182.; Khol. ul Tow. f. 265.; Tab. Akb. f. 158.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 154—6.

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the Shíá partialities of the Shah, and the Shah affected to believe that Humáyun and his followers were sincere in their professions. In the whole of this difficult negociation, Humáyun was much assisted by Kázi Jehán, and the royal physician, Núr-ed-dín Hakím. The Shíá divines wrote out the articles of their faith, all of which Humáyun read and assented to, and agreed that the khutba, or prayer for the Sovereign, should be recited in the Shíá form.\*

This reconciliation was followed by a grand ring-hunt, and a magnificent entertainment given to Humáyun near the Takht-e-Suleimán. To prove the sincerity of the new alliance, Roushen Beg and the other officers who had tendered their services to put the Shah in possession of Kandahár, were seized and brought before Tahmasp. Being no longer useful, they were sacrificed as traitors to this union of kings. The Shah gave orders that, their tent-ropes being cut and tied round their waists, they should be lowered down into the deep subterraneous prison in the Diwán of Mehter Suleimán†, there to perish miserably. Roushen Koka, who was the Emperor's foster-brother, found means to write him a letter, imploring him, by the memory of his mother, whose milk they had both sucked, to pardon and intercede for him. Humáyun, with his usual humanity, instantly wrote, beseeching the Shah, in the strongest terms, by the tomb of his father Shah Ismáel, to remit the punishment. "Doubtless," said the Shah, on reading the letter, "Muhammed Humáyun is a man of singular good nature and benevolence thus to intercede for wretches who have attempted to do him the greatest injury;" and ordered the prisoners to be delivered over to him.‡

The whole conditions of this treaty being finally

Parting festivities.

\* Tar. Bed. f. 183.

† Zindán-Mehter-Suleimán. See

Major Rawlinson's Journal as quoted.

‡ Stewart's Jouher, p. 72.





arranged, Shah Tahmasp gave the Emperor a parting entertainment. It was celebrated with great splendour, and lasted three days. Nearly six hundred awnings, and twelve bands of music, were prepared, and the whole ground was covered with carpets. The first day there was a magnificent banquet, and dresses of honour, and sabres enriched with jewels were largely distributed. On the second day, the Shah placed the Emperor by his side, and pointing to the extensive field covered with a spreading camp, told him, that all that he saw, tents, horses, camels, carpets and every thing else, was his, with whatever besides he required: adding that he would send his son, with twelve thousand horse, to recover his dominions. When the whole train and cavalcade had passed in review, in splendid array, the Shah standing up and laying his hand on his breast, said, "O King Humáyun, if there is any defect, let your generosity excuse it."

The third day was devoted to a contest of shooting at the kebek. The night was devoted to a jovial party. Various liquors were put down, and bottles and goblets placed before each guest. No cupbearer was present. Every one filled his cup at his own pleasure. It was morning when the party broke up.

A little incident that occurred on the fourth day, when the camp was about to be broken up, and the two monarchs to separate, is extremely illustrative of the anxiety with which the Persians embrace every opportunity, in their mutual intercourse, to gain an advantage in point of form or etiquette. As Humáyun was completely in Shah Tahmasp's power, any show of respect to him would naturally rather have been ascribed to the Shah's generosity, than interpreted into a concession to the pretensions of the Indian prince. Yet when Humáyun, on this occasion, before setting out, went to take leave of Tahmasp, he found him seated on a small carpet folded up threefold under him,