BOOK V.

90

so as to prevent the possibility of any one sharing a portion of it. Humáyun, when he alighted, seeing that there was no place for him, was about to seat himself on the ground. Háji Muhammed Kushkeh, a Moghul, observing this, took off the ornamented cover of his quiver, tore it open, and spread it out for his Majesty to sit on. Humáyun, pleased with this attention, asked him who he was. He answered, "A Moghul." "You will come into my service," said the Emperor. "I am unworthy of that honour," replied the Moghul. "My master is now in your Majesty's service. Who am I? When he is promoted, I may hope to come in his place. Till then, I am dust." He afterwards became a distinguished officer.*

The twelve thousand cavalry that were to be placed under the nominal command of Sultan Murád Mírza, the Shah's third son, then an infant, were Kizelbáshes of the Túrki tribes. Bidágh Khan Kajar was named his Atálík † or Protector. Shah-kuli Sultan Afshár, the governor of Kermán, Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sístán, his brother Husein-kuli, and a number of other officers and Amírs, were ordered to co-operate. The Shah told Humáyun that he would add three hundred Korchi Kháseh ‡ (of his own bodyguard cuirassiers), ready to obey any order of his Majesty, as if he had been their religious guide. Meanwhile, the whole auxiliary force were allowed to go to their homes, in order to prepare themselves for meeting

* Jouher, p. 72.

+ Sáleh va Atálík.

[‡] Tar. Alim-arái Abási, f. 43. These Korchi were " beh rísh-sefídi Kachel Shah, va Bírdi Istájlo," i. e. had Kachel Shah and Bírdi Istájlo for their grey-beards (or commanders). The chiefs of the Túrki and Afghán tribes are called Rísh-sefíd, or Grey-beards. These troops being from Túrki tribes, their commanders went by this national title. The Osmanli troops are still divided into *kettles* or companies, because originally when they were fractions of tribes, each company had one kettle for cooking their food in common, a custom which they still observe: and they attach the same point of honour to preserving their kettle, that regular troops do to preserving their colours. the Emperor, in due time, on the banks of the Helmend. CHAP. II. The Emperor, having intimated a wish to visit Tabriz, and Ardebíl, and their Holy Places, before setting out, sent back the Empress and family, and his camp, under the command of Háji Muhammed Khan Koka, towards Sebzáwár, on their way to Sístán, while he himself, with a few attendants, made a march of about four kos from Takht-e-Suleimán, on the route to Tabríz.

The Shah, who had now regained his good humour, asked the Emperor to give him an entertainment in his quarters in the Indian fashion, and to use the Indian cookery. A royal banquet was accordingly prepared, which seems to have begun with music, and strong drinks were early sent round. This was followed by a presentation of presents.* The Shah, having asked who should divide them, the Emperor told him, whoever he might name. The Shah imposed that task on Khwája Moazem, the Empress Hamída's brother, who placed one tray of rare and valuable curiosities before the Shah, and another before the Emperor; the rest he divided to each according to his rank. The dinner followed, at which we are told that the Indian dish, kicheri †, unknown in Persia, was honoured with particular approbation. After dinner, the camp moved on to Miána I, while the Emperor accompanied the Shah, whose camp also moved forward, and after reaching his pavilion, remained there about an hour, to avoid a heavy fall of rain. When the rain ceased, Shah Tahmasp rose, and bidding God bless him, presented him with two apples and a knife, desired his brother Behrám Mírza to attend him to his camp, and, taking a ring off his finger, and putting it on Hu-

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* Sachek.

+ " Among these foods," says Jouher, " the Hindustáni rice-pilau mixed with dal, was approved of; for in that country they make their pilau with hens' eggs bruised." Jouher.

‡ At Ardebil, a nephew (sister's son) of Tahmasp was betrothed to a daughter of Maasum Beg, Was this Khwája Moazem?



BOOR Y.

\$29

máyun's, they parted. Humáyun and the Mírza, followed by a large suite, rode on. The Emperor, cutting one of the apples in two with the knife, presented one half to Behrám, in token of unceasing regard, and himself ate the other. When they came in sight of the Emperor's tent, the Mírza drew in his reins, and took leave. Humáyun presented him with a diamond ring, telling him it was a keepsake which he had got from his mother, and added many expressions of regard and esteem.*

Humáyun prepares to set out for Kandahár. The Emperor, now left to himself, travelled onwards, and visited Tabríz, Ardebíl, the cradle of the Sefvi family, and its tombs and holy places, especially the tombs of Sheikh Sefi, the ancestor of the race, and of Sheikh Ismáel the Shah's father; after which he returned back nearly to Kazvín. Here the Shah, who was on his way to that city from his summer quarters, observing his tents, inquired whose they were. Being told, he expressed his surprise that the Emperor was not yet gone, and sent to desire that he would make a march of twelve farsangs, about forty-five miles, without delay.

Humáyun rejoined his main camp at Sebzáwár, where he found that his wife Hamída Begum had given birth to a daughter. Having given directions for taking the Begum, with the camp and heavy baggage, by the direct road through the desert, by Tabas, he himself proceeded to revisit Meshhíd, where he again

* The state of moral feeling in Persia is strongly marked by an incident that occurred at Kila-Ders. Four horsemen who were seen to come from the descrt, openly attacked and murdered Yákúb Seferchi, the Emperor's butler. Being pursued and overtaken, they turned round and asked, "Why do you follow us? What we did was by orders of the Shah." It appears that the Shah having made the Emperor a present of some swords, Hasan Ali, an Ishek-Agha, chamberlain, abstracted one of them. Yákúb, having discovered this,informed the Emperor. Hasan Ali, in revenge, told the Shah, that Yákúb had spoken contemptuously of the Persian *táj* or cap. Hence the order to murder him.

circumambulated the hallowed tomb of Imám Ali Reza, CHAP. II. and received back the bow and bowstring that he had left suspended on the gates of the shrine, a circumstance which afforded him much delight, as a proof that the holy Imám was favourable to him. At Meshhid he was detained about a week by a continued fall of snow, when he went on to Tabas, whence he proceeded to Sístán, where he found the young prince, Sultan Murád Mírza, and the royal troops assembled, and ready for action.*

Here Humáyun must have seen, with no small plea- Remarks on sure, his dependence on the court of Persia about to ment by the cease. The real circumstances of his reception in that country were very different from the representations of them that have been given by the official and general historians of Persia and India. "The reign of Tahmasp owes much of its celebrity," says the late historian of Persia, "to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Humáyun, when that monarch was forced to fly from India, and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have, in all ages, boasted of their hospitality, and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of the country to a superiority over others, in the exercise of this national virtue. The arrival of the fugitive Humáyun presented an opportunity of a very singular nature for the display of this noble quality; and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All the means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest; and they were liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne.

* Akbernáma, ff. 56 - 61.; Tab. Akb. f.157. ; Tar. Niz. f. 195. ; Jouher, c. 15. 16. ; Bayezid, ff. 10-12. Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 154-6.; Khafi Khan. The narrative of the author

of the Tar. Alim-Arái Abási, adds few circumstances to the narrative of the Indian historians, and chiefly adopts the views of Abulfazl, ff. 42, 43.



his treat-Shah,

BOOK V.

Tahmasp merited the praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations; but his own feelings must have been gratified by the applause of his subjects, every one of whom felt elevated by the munificent hospitality with which his sovereign treated the fugitive Emperor of India."*

This eulogium of the eloquent and generous historian is founded on the representations of Abulfazl, Ferishta, and the writers who follow them, all of whom, in spite of some hints and unexplained allusions of Abulfazl and Nizám-ed-dín Ahmed, agree in lauding the munificence and generosity of the Persian prince. But the simple narrative of honest Jouher at once destroys all these delusions. While it confirms the accounts of the external honour and parade with which Humáyun was received in his progress through the country, it presents a most unfavourable idea of his reception at court, and of the conduct and character of Shah Tahmasp himself. He seems to have been a haughty, narrow-minded, intolerant bigot[†], intent, in every instance, on displaying, in the most ungenerous manner, his superiority over the

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. ii. pp. 508, 509.

† " The bigoted attachment of this prince to his religion, was shown by his conduct to an English merchant, accredited by a letter from Queen Elizabeth. That great and active Sovereign, desirous of extending the commerce of her kingdom, encouraged Mr. Anthony Jenkinson to visit the distant Court of Persia. An English writer states, that a pair of the king's slippers were sent to the envoy, lest his Christian feet should pollute the sacred carpet of the holy monarch; and that after he came to the presence, the first inquiry Tamasp made was, not regarding the object of the mission, but the belief of the ambassador, whether he was a Gaur, or unbeliever, or a Mahomedan ? The Englishman replied, he was neither an unbeliever, nor a Mahomedan, but a Christian ; and added that he held Christ to be the greatest of prophets. The monarch, to whom he was deputed, said, that he was in no need of the aid of infidels, and bade him depart. He did so ; and a man followed him from the hall of audience, till he was beyond the precincts of the court, sprinkling sand on the path he walked over : an action which could only be meant to mark the sense which the Mahomedan prince had of the uncleanness of the person that he had suffered to approach him."---Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. pp. 511-513.

unfortunate prince who was his guest, and on persecuting him into a conformity with his own religious opinions. And, in so far as he was not influenced by the intercession of his generous sister, he finally decided on restoring the exiled prince to his kingdom, merely by a calculation of the immediate benefits he was himself promised in return. Nor need this surprise us. The picture of pure and splendid generosity which the contemporary historian of Akber would gladly exhibit, to smooth the humiliation and elevate the importance of the father of his patron, is one which we should in vain expect to see realized in a court so little refined, so selfish, and in many respects so barbarous as, with all its pomp and splendour, that of Persia then was. Indeed it was not likely to be realized either in a country like Persia, or under a prince like Shah Tahmasp. The narrative of Jouher, incorrect and artificial as it is, is one of many instances of the inestimable value, for historical truth, of even the meanest contemporary rocord.

The exact extent of the concessions made by Hu- and his own máyun to the Shía prejudices of his patron we cannot ascertain; neither he nor the historians of his reign were anxious to dwell upon them; but they were, evidently, considerable, and appear to have shed a doubt over the purity of his Sunni principles for the rest of his life. He had adopted the bonnet of the Shias; he acknowledged that he had made approximations towards the doctrines of that sect. He had heard the reasonings of its doctors; he affected to be convinced, in certain points, by their arguments; and if he did not, as is probable, sign his assent to the leading articles of their faith, he had certainly read in public the formula of their belief. In later times he employed many Shias in his service, among others Biram Khan. We find him sometimes taunted by his brothers, as one tainted with the Shia heresy; and, after his death, the same charge was brought against his memory. The proba-

behaviour,



A. D. 1544.

bility is, that the circumstances in which he was placed in Persia led him, at that time, to affect an approbation of the Shía tenets, that he did not feel; and, in aftertimes, his pride may have prevented him from making such an explicit avowal of his religious sentiments, as was expected by the bigoted Sunnis, among whom the latter part of his life was chiefly spent.

The proceedings of Humáyun in Sind and Persia may perhaps appear to have been detailed at too great length. But as some of them have been misunderstood, and others misrepresented by former writers, I have ventured to dwell upon them, for the purpose of giving what seemed to me a fairer and more correct idea of their real nature.





CHAPTER III.

HUMÁYUN IN AFGHÁNISTÁN.

SECTION I.

HUMÁYUN'S CONQUEST OF KANDAHÁR AND KÁBUL. - EXPE-DITION TO BADAKHSHÁN.

HUMÁYUN INVADES KANDAHÁR. - AFFAIRS OF HIS BROTHERS. - THE GERMSÍR SURRENDERED TO HUMÁYUN. - CAPTURE OF BÍST. - PRE-PARATIONS OF KÁMRÁN. - AKBER REMOVED TO KÁBUL. - SKIRMISH NEAR KANDAHÁR- WHICH IS BESIEGED BY HUMÁYUN. - MISSION OF BIRAM KHAN TO KÁBUL, - IRRESOLUTION OF KÁMRÁN. - PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE OF KANDAHÁR. - DEFECTION OF KÁMRÁN'S CHIEF NOBLES .- DISTRESS AND DESERTIONS IN THE GARRISON .- SURRENDER OF THE TOWN, WHICH IS GIVEN OVER TO THE SHAH'S OFFICERS. - PERPLEXITY OF KÁMRÁN. - AFFAIRS OF BADAKHSHÁN. - ESCAPE OF YADGAR AND HINDAL. - ISOLATION OF KAMRAN. - DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE PERSIANS AND IMPERIALISTS. - HUMÁYUN SUPPLIES HIMSELF WITH HORSES BY PLUNDER. - UNCERTAINTY OF HIS COUN-SELS. - HE SEIZES KANDAHÁR. - DIVIDES THE DISTRICT AMONG HIS NOBLES. - SETS OUT FOR KÁBUL. - IS JOINED BY HINDAL, YÁDGÁR, AND OTHERS. - ADVANCE OF KÁMRÁN. - DESERTIONS TO HUMÁYUN. - KÁMRÁN SENDS AN EMBASSY - ESCAPES TO GHAZNI. - HUMÁYUN OCCUPIES KÁBUL - AND RECOVERS AKBER. - KÁMRÁN FLIES TO SIND. -CONGRATULATORY EMBASSIES TO HUMÁYUN .--- YÁDGÁR MÍRZA IMPRI-SONED. - HUMÁYUN SETS OUF FOR BADAKHSHÁN. - YÁDGÁR MÍRZA PUT TO DEATH. -- THE ARMY OF BADAKHSHAN DEFEATED BY HU-MÁYUN. - THE COUNTRY SUBMITS. - DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF HU-MÁYUN. - KÁMRÁN RECOVERS KÁBUL. - HUMÁYUN MARCHES ONCE MORE AGAINST IT.

WHEN Humáyun arrived in the province of Sístán, he CHAP. HI. found the Persian troops that had been sent to his assistance, cantoned over the country. They were A. D. 1540.

STOT. I.

Hamávun

A. n. 1545. invades Kandahár. nominally under the command of Murád Mírza, the third son of the king of Persia, and an infant of two or three years of age; but were in reality commanded by Bidágh Khan, of the Túrki tribe of Kajar, from which the present royal family of Persia is descended. Humáyun, in compliance with the wish of Shah Tahmasp, as soon as he arrived, collected and reviewed the troops. He found them in high order, and instead of 12,000 cavalry, and 300 korchis, or royal horse-guards, that had been promised, the muster proved that they amounted to at least 14,000 horse. After remaining about a fortnight in Sístán, he put his troops in motion, and entered the dominions of his brother.*

Affairs of his brothers.

It will be recollected that, at this time, Mírza Kámrám held the undisputed possession of Kábul, Ghazni and Kandahár, on one side of the mountains, as well as of Badakhshán, Kunduz, Kishem and other provinces, beyond them. His brother Askeri was governor of Kandahár. Hindal, another of his brothers, who, after abandoning Humáyun in Sind, had been besieged and made prisoner in Kandahár, though nominally, perhaps, governor of Júi-Sháhi, was now under surveillance or free custody, and lived privately at the palace of his mother, Dildár Begum, at Kábul. Yádgár Násir Mírza, his cousin, who, as we have seen, had been compelled to leave Sind, was now also at Kábul, but suspected, and carefully watched.

It has been mentioned that Kámrán, after his return from Hindustán, had marched to Badakhshán against Mírza Suleimán, who refused to acknowledge his authority; had defeated him, and deprived him of part of his dominions. No sooner, however, did Suleimán learn that Kámrán had marched to besiege Hindal in Kábul, than he collected a force, and recovered the districts which had been separated from his princi-

* Akbernáma, f. 61. ; Jouher, c. 16.

pairty. This compelled Kámrán, on his return from CHAN Kandahár, to cross the Hindu-kúsh mountains a second time. The hostile armies met at Anderáb. Suleimán was again defeated, and took refuge in Kila-Zefer, in which he was blockaded by Kámrán, to whom a great part of the territories of Badakhshán submitted. After a brave defence, Suleimán was compelled by famine to surrender. He was thrown into prison, along with his son Mírza Ibráhím. Kámrán appointed Kásim Birlás to be governor of Badakhshán; and, leaving with him a force supposed to be sufficient to maintain it in tranquillity, returned to Kábul, carrying with him the A. H. 949, captive Mírzas. For a whole month after his arrival, Jemádi II. the city was in a state of continual festivity; and, from 17. Sept. this period, he is said to have given himself up to in-28. dolence and voluptuous indulgence, paying little attention to the concerns of government, or to the complaints of his subjects.*

Nor were these the only royal personages whom he held in custody. We have seen that when he parted from Humáyun near Khusháb, on the Jelem, he was joined at Dínkot, on his way to the Indus, by Muhammed Sultan Mírza, the grandson of the great Sultan Husein of Herát, and by his sons, Ulugh Mírza and Shah Mírza. As these princes had also become objects of suspicion, they had been kept out of employment, and now dragged on an idle life at Kábul.

Nothing, therefore, could, to appearance, be more prosperous than the situation of Kámrán. But his power was unsocial, guarded by suspicion and jealousy, not by the affection even of those nearest to him. He was a sovereign in whose success none of them felt a pleasure and a pride, as if it were their own; and it rested, therefore, on a narrow and a sandy foundation.

As Humáyun, advancing from Sístán, entered the The Germ-

The Germsir surrendered.

* Akbernáma, ff. 55, 56.; Tab. Akb. f. 154.



BOOK V.

Capture of

dominions of Kámrán, he was met near Laki, a fort on the right bank of the Helmend, by Abdal Hai, the governor of the Germsír, who approached him as a suppliant, wrapped in his winding sheet, with his quiver hanging from his neck; asked forgiveness for his former undutiful conduct, and surrendered the pro-vince into his hands. He was graciously received, and honoured with a command.

A detachment was now sent, under Ali Sultan Taklu, one of the auxiliary chiefs, to reduce the important city and fort of Bist, which lies near the confluence of the Arghandáb with the Helmend, and is the chief city and the key of the Zemín-dáwer. The Persian general having been killed by a matchlock shot soon after the siege began, his followers, who were Túrks of the Taklu tribe, placed his son, a boy of twelve years of age, in the command, and carried on the siege with renewed vigour. The place was soon compelled to surrender, when the principal officers, and most of the soldiers of the garrison, joined Humáyun. Kámrán, who had long dreaded an invasion from

Preparations of Kámrán.

Akber to Kábul.

the territories of Persia, had placed all his frontier fortresses in a state of defence. On hearing of the Emperor's return towards Sístán, his first concern was to remove the infant Akber, Humáyun's only son, from Kandahár, where he still remained under the care of He removes Askeri's wife, and of the nurses and household appointed by his father, and to bring him to Kábul. For that purpose he despatched one of his confidential officers, accompanied by a brother of Khizer Khan, the great Hazára chief, to bring the young prince from the castle of Kandahár. When they reached that place, and had explained the object of their mission, they found Mírza Askeri's ministers divided in opinion as to the policy of giving him up. Some advised that the child, attended by an honourable retinue, should be sent back to his father, who had now arrived on the

SECT. I.

Frontier, as being the best means of conciliating the CHAP. III. injured and offended Emperor; while others maintained that things had gone too far for Askeri to think of obtaining any sincere forgiveness, and that, therefore, the great object now was not to throw away the favour of Kámrán. This advice prevailed, and though it was already the depth of winter, which in that country is particularly severe, the infant prince, and his sister, Bakhshi-bánu Begum, were sent off for Kábul, in the midst of rain and snow.*

Kámrán was apprehensive of a rescue, on which account he had selected a chief of the Hazáras to conduct the party, as the road between Kandahár and Ghazni was partly inhabited, and had always been infested, by robbers of that tribe. That the princes might not be known on the road, Akber was addressed as Mírak, the princess as Bacheh.; On reaching Kilát, the party passed the night at the house of a Hazára. But the prince's rank was not easily concealed by attendants, who adored him; and, next morning, the master of the house expressed his persuasion that the child under his roof must be the young Akber. Khizer Khan's brother, on hearing these suspicions of his host, lost no time in resuming his journey, and hurried on to Ghazni, whence, without delay, the infant prince was conveyed to Kábul, where he was lodged with his grand-aunt Khanzáda Begum, the favourite sister of

* The nurses and other personal attendants who were with the young prince at this time, continued in his service for some years, and, in the next reign, both they and their children rose to high distinction. The two nurses were Mahum Anka, the mother of Adam Khan, and Jiji Anka, the mother of Mír Azíz Kokiltash. The whole household was under the superintendence of Shemsed-din Muhammed Ghaznevi, the

husband of Jiji Anka, and a man of talent, who afterwards made a figure in history, by the title of Atka Khan. It was he who helped to save Humáyun from the Ganges, after his defeat near Kanauj. "Anka" signifies a nurse ; "Atka" a nurse's husband. Their children are " kokiltashes."

+ These terms signify "the young Mir," and " the child."

VOL. II.

A. D. 1545. Skirmish near Kandahár ;

Moharrem 2. March 16.

which is besieged by Humáyun, Moharrem 7. March 21,

Báber, by whom he was watched with the tenderest care.*

Meanwhile a report having reached Humáyun on the Helmend, that Mírza Askeri was about to leave Kandahár, and to flee with all his treasure to Kábul, he pushed forward a strong party, composed partly of his Persian auxiliaries, partly of his own adherents, that he might either prevent his leaving the place, or overtake him, should he have escaped. The news proved to be false; but the party, having vauntingly approached too near the town, were received with a discharge of artillery by which many of them were killed and wounded. Mír Jemíl, one of the chief officers of the garrison, and brother of Bápus, a chief of great distinction, sallied out to improve this advantage, and was so successful, that he sent back to assure Askeri, that if he would lead out to his assistance the remaining force that was in the castle, the enemy must be completely routed. Askeri, however, supposing that the confusion was only a feint on the part of the invaders to lead him into an ambuscade, declined to move, so that the allied troops were enabled to draw off and effect their retreat, though with very considerable loss.

Five days after this affair, the Emperor reached the vicinity of Kandahár. He immediately proceeded to mark out the ground for the trenches and batteries, the charge of which he assigned to different officers. As the garrison was very strong, there were daily skirmishes and single combats, in sight of the two armies, and severe losses were sustained on both sides. The siege drew out into length, and the imperial camp began to suffer from scarcity of provisions. Just at that time they received intelligence that Rafía, a fosterbrother of Kámrán, was encamped behind a hill that

* Akbernáma, f. 62.
 * Akbernáma, f. 63.; Tar. Ni Jouher, c. 17.

Tay on the banks of the Argandáb, towards Zemín- CHAP. III. dáwer, with a large body of Hazáras and Nukderis, whom he had collected. Biram Khan, having marched with a detachment of Persian auxiliaries and of the Emperor's adherents, came upon them by surprise; and, after a short action, in which Rafía was taken and his force dispersed, gained possession of the camp, and returned back in triumph, with a large provision of stores, arms, grain and cattle found in it. This, for a time, restored abundance within their own lines.

As, however, the garrison still held out obstinately, Mission of Humáyun, apprehensive of the result, and anxious to Kábul. bring Kámrán to any reasonable terms, resolved to despatch Biram Khan as his ambassador to Kábul. When that brave and able man reached the pass of Roghni and Abistáda, on his way to Ghazni, he was assailed towards nightfall by a band of Hazáras who blocked up the road. He attacked them without hesitation, and, after a sharp combat, forced a passage, and slew several of their number. As he approached Kábul, he was met with much ceremony by a procession of men of note, and Kámrám gave him an entertainment at the Chárbágh palace, where he delivered his credentials. He was allowed to see the young Akber, at the palace of Khanzáda Begum. This was natural; but he was also permitted to visit Hindal Mírza, who was in a kind of free custody at his mother Dildár Begum's house; and Suleimán Mírza, the prince of Badakhshán, and his son Ibráhím Mírza, though detained as prisoners outside of the fort, were brought to the Shehr-árá gardens to meet him. He also waited upon Yádgár Násir Mírza and Ulugh Mírza, attended indeed, as in the former instances, by confidential persons appointed by Kámrán to watch him. Yet he contrived not only to deliver letters, presents and messages from the Emperor to most of them, but was able to remove their apprehensions, and to prepare

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SECT. I.

BOOK V.

808

Irresolution of Kámrán.

them for attempting to escape, and to return to their allegiance to Humáyun. He, in like manner, employed his insinuating eloquence with many of the chief nobles about the court, and led them not only to expect pardon, but to indulge in hopes very favourable to their future fortunes, if they joined the Emperor. During all this time, Kámrán was agitated by contending passions, and quite unable to make up his mind to any decided line of action. He saw that he was unable to bring into the field an army that could cope with that of Humáyun, supported as he was by his Persian auxiliaries; but he continued to procrastinate, not resolute to resist his brother, but, at the same time, not willing to resign his own power. At last, after having detained Biram Khan six weeks in Kandahár, he consented to his taking leave, and sent under his escort Khanzáda Begum, professedly to prevail upon Askeri to give up Kandahár, as it was pretended that that prince would not obey Kámrán's order, but really to encourage him in his defence by the hope of relief; or, should he fall into the hands of his offended sovereign, at least to secure his pardon by her influence with the Emperor.*

Progress of the siege of Kandahár. The siege of Kandahár, meanwhile, went on but slowly. The place was strong, and Mírza Askeri was indefatigable in his exertions. The danger reasonably to be apprehended from treachery in such a civil war he obviated by constantly shifting the posts of the garrison, and keeping all on the alert. At the beginning of the siege, the confederate army had attacked the place with much ardour. But the siege had been long, and their losses considerable. The Kizelbáshes had entertained hopes that, as soon as Humáyun, the son and heir of the great Báber, entered the territory of his father, the whole of the Cahghatái nobles and tribesmen would flock to his standard. They now found themselves disappointed, as not a man of note

* Akbernáma, f. 64. ; Tar. Niz. f. 196.

had yet repaired to his camp, and there was no ap- char. III. pearance of revolt in his favour in any part of the country. They saw no prospect of final success; so that the Persian leaders, disgusted with the service, and serving unwillingly under a foreign general, began to talk of returning home, as from a fruitless enterprise. Alarmed at a state of feeling so fatal to all his hopes, Humáyun made some desperate efforts, and one night, by a resolute advance from head-quarters, effected a lodgment, and erected a battery within a stone cast of the old town. The Kizelbáshes, roused by this able and gallant operation, pushed forward on their side, and nearer approaches were made everywhere. Askeri, filled with apprehension, asked for a cessation of hostilities, till the arrival of Khanzáda Begum, who was known to be then on her way to Kandahár, and in whose mediation he professed to place great reliance.

In consequence of these negociations, Humáyun, rather imprudently, relaxed his operations for some days, which Askeri employed, with unabating industry, in repairing the works that had been injured, and in adding new ones. On Biram Khan's arrival, Khanzáda Begum was allowed to enter the fort, that she might prevail upon her nephew to surrender. But this he refused to do, and she was not, or pretended that she was not, permitted to leave the castle. The siege was resumed with redoubled vigour.

At this crisis, however, the affairs of Humáyun Defection began to assume a more favourable aspect. Intelli- rán's chief gence arrived that Kámrán, who had advanced to nobles. relieve the place, had retreated, and the effects of Biram Khan's residence at Kábul also became manifest. Ulugh Mírza, the son of Muhammed Sultan Mírza, has been mentioned as one of the princes whom Kámrán kept in a kind of state custody at Kábul, for more security changing his keeper weekly. In the

× 3



BOOK V.

course of these changes the Mírza came into the custody of Shír-efken Beg, who himself had some reason to be displeased with Kámrán. A plan for escape was formed between the prisoner and his keeper, in which Fazil Beg, Monaim Beg's brother, Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, and other chiefs of distinction, were led to take a part. They set out together privately from Kábul, and after many fatigues they all joined Humáyun, except Kásim Husein, who, having separated from them in a dark night, had lost his way among the hills, and fell into the hands of some Hazára banditti. But he also came in, a few days afterwards, on foot, weary, plundered and half naked. All the fugitives were heartily welcomed, and placed in commands. Not long after, Dawa Beg, a Hazára chief, declared for Humáyun, and joined him with a part of his tribe; and, ere long, letters were received from many of the leading men of Kábul, full of protestations of attachment. These events spread joy over the camp, and re-animated the wavering Kizelbáshes, who now redoubled their exertions against the beleaguered town.

Distress and desertions in the garrison.

In proportion as the spirits of the besiegers rose, the hopes of the besieged declined. Regular information of what passed in the town was obtained by means of letters fixed to arrows, which were daily shot into the camp. By them the besiegers were encouraged to go on, the garrison being represented as reduced to extremity. Such, indeed, was at length the general distress, that many of the garrison, not only soldiers and artillerymen, but even officers and men of rank, began to desert, letting themselves down from the walls by ropes. Khizer Khan, the great Hazára chief, among others, despairing of a successful resistance, leaped from one of the battlements, and was received below by some of his faithful tribesmen, and carried off on their shoulders to a hill in the neighbourhood.* The escape * Koh-lika.

of a man of so much importance was known in the CHAP. III. camp early next morning, and he was pursued. He hid himself in the hole of a rock, close to which his pursuers passed. One of them laid hold of the skirt of his cloak, which was probably made of the skin of some animal. He drew it in, retaining his breath; and his pursuers, thinking it had been the tail of some wild beast, passed on. On the approach of night, he crept from under his rock, and succeeded in gaining a place of safety.*

Deserted by his garrison, his officers, and even surrender his nobles, Askeri could no longer hope to preserve of the Kandahár, and, therefore, began to take measures for his personal safety. He sent his aunt Khanzáda to Humáyun, and through her, after the siege had lasted upwards of five † months, a surrender was negotiated. On the 3rd of September, A. D. 1545, he left the fort in Thursday the train of the Begum, on foot, attired as a suppliant Jemádi II. and, according to the custom of the time, having a sword suspended from his neck; and was conducted by Biram Khan into the presence of the Emperor, who received him sitting in state in his Derbár, surrounded by his Chaghatáis and Kizelbáshes. The Emperor, from respect to the intercession of the Begum, and the near relationship of the offender, desired the sword to be taken from his neck; and, after Askeri had made his submission, commanded him to be seated. He was followed by Kámrán's chief Amírs and officers, to the number of thirty, who were brought in with their swords and quivers hanging from their necks, and their winding-sheets in their hands. Some were consigned to prison, others were released. A grand feast succeeded; in which the occurrences of the siege were talked over, and, with the usual appliances of music

† The Tar. Bedáuni has three * Akbernáma, ff. 64, 65.; Tab. Akb. f. 158. ; Tar. Bed. f. 183. months ..

BOOK V.

and wine, the party was prolonged till the morning light. When the general enjoyment was at its height, and even the Mírza had forgotten his care, one of Humáyun's attendants placed some papers before him. In a moment the Mírza's countenance changed; his gaiety was gone. They were the letters which he had addressed to the chiefs of the Balúches, and of the other tribes, when the Emperor was crossing the desert; and their contents left no doubt of the full extent of his evil disposition. The wretched prince was ordered to be detained in custody, but to be brought to court from time to time, that he might visit the Emperor.*

Jemádí II. 26. Sept. 4.

Next day Humáyun, accompanied by the chief Persian officers, entered the fort. Bidágh Khan claimed that the fort and all that it contained, especially Askeri Mírza and the treasure, should be made over to his master, in terms of the treaty. The Emperor expressed his readiness to give up the fort and its stores, but refused to surrender Askeri, and denied the Shah's right to the treasure; but, at the same time, expressed his readiness to present it to the Persian monarch, as a gift. He waited to see the treasure-chests brought out and examined; and after they had been closed and sealed with his seal, and that of the chief Persian commanders, he returned to the camp. Even already, mutual jealousies and fears had begun to prevail. Under the influence of these, the Kizelbáshes lost no time in sending off the treasure to prevent any attempt to sieze it. They persisted in demanding that Askeri Mírza should be given up to them, as a hostage for their safe return, and even threatened to seize him by force. The Emperor, alarmed at a pretension which might have been fatal to his repose, at once to secure his prisoner, and to make a demonstration of his own force, collected

* Akbernáma, f. 65.; Briggs's Ferishta, pp. 157, 158.; Tab. Akb. f. 158.; Tar. Bed. f. 183.

the whole of his old followers, and the adherents by CHAP. III. whom he had been recently joined, divided them into troops, and reviewed them under arms. This alarmed the Persians, who saw his rising power with suspicion and dread, but they no longer persisted in their demand. The Chaghatáis, and such of the townspeople as chose to leave the place, had three days allowed them in terms of the capitulation, during which they could leave it uninjured, with their wives and families. On the fourth, it was given up by Hu- It is given máyun to the prince Muhammed Murád Mírza, in con- shah's formity to his treaty with the Shah; while the Em- officers. peror himself moved to some distance, and took up his head-quarters at the Chárbágh of Báber *, on the banks of the Arghandáb, where he enjoyed himself for some time after his fatigues, receiving daily accessions of number from the adjoining provinces. †

The news of the fall of Kandahár, and the pro- Perplexity bability of the speedy approach of the imperial army of Kamran. to attack Kábul, distressed and confounded Kámrán. He ordered the young prince Akber to be removed from the palace of Khanzáda Begum to his own, and committed him to the care of Kuch Kilán, throwing into prison the former faithful guardian of his infancy, Shems-ed-dín Muhammed Ghaznevi, better known as Atka Khan. He held a council to concert the measures of precaution required by the crisis, especially as to Badakhshán, in which quarter he was apprehensive of troubles. Amirs of Abdal Khálik, who had been his tutor, and Bápus, shán, a nobleman who seems, at this time, to have been his chief minister, advised him to concilíate Suleimán Mírza, the late ruler of that country, now his prisoner, and to restore him to his government, by which means he might secure both his friendship and co-operation. Fortunately for Suleimán, Mír Nazer Ali, and some

* The Khulja Bágh. Jouher. † Akbernáma, f. 65.; Jouher, c. 17.

SECT. I.

Badakh-

BOOK V.

other nobles of Badakhshán, who were discontented with the existing government, had, a short time before, formed a conspiracy, and succeeded in surprising Kila-Zefer. They had also taken prisoners Kásim Birlás, Kámrán's governor, and the other officers left by him in charge of the country, of whose conduct they loudly complained. At the same time, however, they wrote to inform Kámrán, that they had no wish to renounce his authority; that, if he would send back Mírza Suleimán, they would place the country in his hands; but, should he refuse, that they would put their prisoners to death, and surrender the kingdom to the Uzbeks. Kámrán, alarmed at this danger, thought it prudent to comply with their request ; and accordingly released the Mírza, who, soon after, set out to return home, accompanied by his son Ibráhím Mírza, and his mother, Khurram Begum. But they had only reached Pái-Minár, a populous village not far from Kábul, at the bottom of the hills, when Kámrán, repenting the step he had taken, despatched a messenger to recall the Mírza, pretending that he had some important information to communicate at a personal interview, after which he might resume his journey. Suleimán, justly suspicious of the object of this sudden recall, returned for answer; that as he had taken leave in what the stars had indicated as a propitious moment, he was unwilling, by any retrograde movement, to destroy the efficacy of this fortunate conjunction; but that, whatever commands the king might be pleased to honour him with, should receive the most implicit obedience. Without loss of time, he then hurried forward to Badakhshán, where he seized the reins of government, and speedily forgot his treaty and his promises. *

Escape of Yádgar and Hindal, During the distraction caused by these proceedings, Yádgár Násir Mírza found means to escape from the * Akbernáma, f. 65.

custody in which he was detained; so that of all the CH Mírzas, his relations, who had lately been in Kámrán's court, none was left, but his brother Hindal Mírza alone. Him he now found it convenient to flatter and soothe; and he was not sparing of promises to bring him over heartily to his interest. Hindal, dissembling, appeared to be the dupe of all his protestations. It was settled that he was to be admitted into a partnership in the kingdom; and that one-third of all that Kámrán then possessed, or that the princes might thereafter, by their joint efforts, acquire, was to be assigned to him. This agreement being concluded, Hindal was sent after Yádgár, with whom he had always been intimately connected, that he might compel, or prevail upon him, to return back. But no sooner had he reached Pái-Minár, than, finding himself safe among the mountains and defiles of the Hindu-kúsh range, he turned away to the west-ward, and like those who had preceded him, set out to join Humáyun.

The desertion of the last prince of the imperial Isolation of blood who had been left with him, and of so many Kámrán. Amírs as accompanied them, threw Kámrán, for a time, into a state of deep dejection. The apparent facility with which so many princes, who had been guarded as prisoners with so much jealousy, effected their escape, is inexplicable, except on the supposition that Kámrán had become unpopular with his Amírs. He now complained that he felt himself forsaken, and had not one being in the world, in whose counsel he could trust, or on whose fidelity he could rely. His temper was not such as to invite frank or unpleasant communications. In his prosperity, he had been surrounded by flatterers, who had cherished his self-conceit by their base and selfish adulation. In his adversity, in spite of the change of circumstances, he listened with such impatience to a different language, that it was dangerous to use it : and those who were disposed to offer

CHAP. III. SECT. 1.

BOOK V. A. D. 1545.

i ssensions between the Persians and Imperialists. him sound counsel, were deterred, no less by the immediate danger of the task, than by their want of confidence in his ultimate firmness and prudence in acting on their advice. He was thus left without any safe or honest friend; and, committing error after error, the numbers of his adherents daily diminished, and the moral influence of his government was totally gone.*

Humáyun, after the surrender of Kandahár, was desirous to have pursued his success, and at once to have marched against Kábul, but found his army too weak to venture on such an enterprise. The Persians considered the whole object of the expedition to have been attained, with the occupation of Kandahár. By that event a new kingdom was conquered for the Shah. The Turkomán and Kizelbásh Amírs, fatigued with the long campaign so far from their own country, had returned home, some with, others without leave, so that hardly any but Bidágh Khan, Abul Fateh Sultan Afshár, and Súfi Wáli Sultan, were left to support the young prince Murád; and they showed no disposition to march farther, in support of a foreign prince. With a total want of good faith, and an entire blindness to the future, they displayed, however, sufficient activity in harassing their new subjects, who hated them as foreigners and oppressors, and detested them as heretics. Complaints from persons of every rank were daily brought to the Emperor, who was unable to afford any redress. He had left the immediate vicinity of Kandahár, and advanced first to Hasan-Abdál, and next to the Gumbez-Sufeid. The Kizelbáshes, now as jealous of their allies as of Kámrán, and desirous that they should move away to a still greater distance, took measures to cut off their supply of provisions. In spite of the season, for winter was at hand, and the Chaghatais complained loudly of the severity of the cold, it became necessary again to move, and the Persians

* Akbernáma, f. 65.

refused to allow them either to winter in the town, or to hut themselves in the vicinity of Kandahár. But no movement could be made without horses or draught cattle, which they did not possess.*

About this time, a certain proportion of the Persian Humáyun troops having been placed in garrison in the fort, their himself horses were sold to some merchants, who intended to with horses by plunder. convey them to India, and were then picketed on the outside of the town. These Humáyun, urged by his necessities, resolved to seize. Leaving his camp at Sufeid Gumbez, he himself moved to Bába Hasan Abdál, whence, after mid-day prayers, he pushed forward a strong detachment, who, before afternoon prayers, reached Kandahár, came upon the merchants by surprise, and carried off to his camp seventeen hundred horses; which, after supplying the wants of himself and of his household, he divided among his followers. The merchants to whom they belonged, waiting upon the Emperor with their complaints, could get no redress or compensation, but his bond for the full price, to be paid when the state of his affairs allowed; a security not likely to be negotiable in the bazar, either at Kandahár or Delhi.

Still, however, it was difficult to put the army in motion, as the season was severe, and Humáyun possessed no place of strength, in which the wives and families of himself and his followers could be left in safety. To obviate this difficulty, he besought Bidágh Khan to appropriate a few houses in Kandahár for their reception; a request, however, with which the Khan declined to comply.

This delay was attended with disagreeable conse- Uncertainty quences. The confidence in Humáyun's fortune, which of his counhis troops had entertained, began to fail. Several of sels. Kámrán's officers, who had been in Kandahár, but had subsequently entered the Emperor's service, escaped

* Tar. Bed. f. 183.

supplies



CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

BOOK V.

from the camp, and fled to Kábul.* The scarcity went on increasing. It was now seriously proposed by some of Humáyun's Amírs, to hazard every thing; to make an attempt to surprise Kandahár; and, if successful, to justify their conduct to the Shah in the best way they could, and engage to restore it to him as soon as the Emperor had gained possession of Kábul and Badakhshán. From following this plan he was diverted by some of his council, who argued that, should the attempt be made and fail, he lost both Kandahár and the Shah, whom he thus converted into an open enemy; in which case he would be left without one ally, or place of refuge, in the world. Another proposal made at this trying moment was, to pass over into Badakhshán and there join Suleimán Mírza. But the difficulty of a winter march among the mountains and defiles of the Hazáras and Aimáks, in crossing the Paropamisan range, joined to the total want of a place of security, in which to lodge their families and baggage which they must leave behind, made them abandon that idea as quite hopeless.

He seizes Kandahár, Just at this crisis, Muhammed Murád Mírza, the young Persian prince, died. Those who had charge of him being desirous to conceal this event, no notice of it was sent to Humáyun, to whom, however, the news was secretly conveyed. As, by this change of circumstances, the co-operation of the Persian auxiliaries seemed to become more doubtful than ever, while one obstacle of delicacy was removed, Humáyun, in despair, returned to the idea of gaining Kandahár in any way, trusting to be able to justify the act to the Shah after it was done.

This plan was warmly supported by Háji Muhammed Khan Koka.[†] The Emperor, while he objected to any

† He was the son of Bába

[•] Among these were Abdalla Kushkeh, a man who made a figure Khan and Jamíl Beg. in Báber's time.

open attack, was willing to get possession of the town, CHAP. HI. could it be carried by stratagem. This Háji Muhammed undertook to effect. Accordingly, in furtherance of the plan, notice was sent to Bidágh Khan, that the army was on the point of marching for Kábul, but that, as the Emperor wished to be free from the trouble and risk of carrying Askeri Mírza along with him, he was desirous of leaving him in safe custody in Kandahár. Bidágh Khan, who had all along earnestly desired to have the Mírza in his power, agreed without hesitation. This preliminary step being arranged, various parties were sent from the camp by night to different sides of the town, especially to three of the principal gates. About dawn, Háji Muhammed, who led the first division, leaving his ambuscade, attended by a few servants only, contrived to enter one of the gates, along with a string of camels, that were carrying hay and provender, at that early hour, into the town. The officer at the gate challenged them, and insisted on turning them back, no Chaghatái having for some days been allowed to enter. Háji Muhammed maintained that he came by Bidágh Khan's permission, to bring into the fort Askeri Mírza, who was to be left there. This story Produced no effect on the officer, who proceeded to shut the gate and turn him out: upon which Háji Muhammed, drawing his sword, attacked him, and cut off his arm. The Háji's followers, who were close at hand, now rushed in, but were bravely opposed by such of the Persians as ran to the spot on hearing the uproar, and a sharp conflict ensued, which continued till Ulugh Mírza and Biram Khan, having effected an entrance at another gate, came to the assistance of their friends. The Kizelbáshes, overpowered, retreated into the citadel. Such as remained behind in the town were pursued, and put to death by the enraged citizens. About noon, Humáyun himself made his entry into the city, and was received with shouts of joy. He sent



BOOK V.

32

to inform Bidágh Khan, that the measures, which he had unwillingly taken, had been rendered necessary by that nobleman's unjustifiable conduct in concealing the death of the young prince Murád Mírza, who, Humayun alleged, had been entrusted to his care, and by other unfriendly acts. Bidágh Khan, who was not prepared to sustain a siege, having, in the course of the night, thrown down a part of the back wall of the citadel, marched off unmolested towards his own country, loudly expressing his indignation at the treachery and ingratitude of his allies. Biram Khan was appointed governor of Kandahár, and ambassadors were sent to Shah Tahmasp, to assure him that, though Bidágh Khan, having acted contrary to his Majesty's intention, had been dismissed from the command, his faithful subject Biram Khan, who had succeeded him, was ready to obey all the orders of his master, the Shah. Tahmasp seems to have found it prudent to acquiesce in this arrangement, and a number of the regular Persian troops, especially the Korchis, continued in the Emperor's service.*

Divides the district among his nobles, Humáyun, thus master of the kingdom of Kandahár, proceeded to divide its different provinces among his adherents. The Zemín-dáwer he bestowed on Ismáel Beg; Kilát, on Shír-efken Beg; Shál, on Haider Sultan, who died soon after; the district of Tírí, which lies among the Hazára hills on the Helmend, on Ulugh Mírza, except some districts of it, the revenues of which he bestowed, by way of pension, on Háji Muhammed. To some of his followers he gave jágírs; to others, according to a custom of the times, he gave up some of the richest and most obnoxious of his prisoners,

 Akbernáma, f. 66. Tar. Níz.
 ff. 196, 197. Tar. Bed. ff. 183, 184.;
 Jouher, c. 17, 18.; Bayezíd, ff. 16
 —18.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 157— 159. † Some of these assignments would appear to have been made at rather a later period.

from whom he allowed them to extort such sums as CHAP. III. they could; which was often done by cruel severities.

While the minds of the Emperor and his chief officers were engrossed by these proceedings, Askeri Mírza contrived to escape. A few days afterwards an Afghan arrived in the city, and gave secret notice that the Mírza was concealed in his house; but, with that regard to external appearances which, with some of the Afghán tribes, seems to constitute their point of honour, far more than substantial fidelity, besought the Emperor to seize the fugitive prince in such a way that the informer might not be compromised, as privy to his being retaken. The Emperor accordingly sent Shah Mírza, and Khwája Amber, his steward, who took the unhappy Mírza from under a mattress, beneath which he was hidden, and brought him to the presence. Humáyun spared his life, we are told, from his desire to conform to the dying advice of his father Báber, to be merciful to all, but especially to his brothers; and gave him into the custody of Nadím Kokiltash, one of the confidential servants of his household.*

The Emperor, now possessed of a place of strength, sets out for had become master of his movements, and was eager that no time should be lost. Leaving his own family, and the families of his followers, in the citadel of Kandahár, though winter had arrived, he set out for Kábul; but, instead of taking the more open road of Kilát and Ghazni, these towns not having yet come into his power, he followed the course of the Helmend, which, penetrating through the hill-country, leads to the high mountains of the Koh-Bába, close upon Kábul. When

* Akbernáma, &c. as above. Abulfazl places the acquisition of the Turkomán horses at this time. and makes the heads of the caravan, afraid of being plundered, voluntarily offer them, on condition of getting bonds to be paid, when the

Emperor conquered Hindustán, to which he consented. This, no doubt, is a sort of official representation. The ewer-bearer's account, however, is the more probable one, and he was, at the time, with the Emperor.



Kabul.

VOL. II.

A. D. 1545.

Is joined by Hindal, Yádgár and others.

BOOK v. the army arrived near Tírí, Dawa Beg, the Hazára chief who had lately acknowledged him, and whose clan inhabited the neighbouring districts, met him with his tribe, all the headmen bringing horses and cattle, which they presented to the Emperor; and, as the country around had many fine straths and valleys, a halt of some days was made, to restore the health of the army, which had suffered in the unhealty climate of Kandahár. Here Khanzáda Begum, his aunt, and Báber's favourite sister paid the debt of nature. Here also Yádgár Násir Mírza, with Monaim Beg, and soon after Hindal Mírza and Terdi Beg, who had escaped from Kábul, as has been mentioned, joined the Emperor. Their arrival excited much joy, and was followed by that of many others, both Amírs and soldiers, who now hastened to return to their allegiance.

The army once more moved forward, but, in the course of its march, was again attacked with sickness, and numbers died. This induced Hindal to propose in council, that the army should return to Kandahár for the winter, and that early in the spring, when all the necessary stores and munitions of war were in readiness, it should commence its march in full strength upon Kábul. The Emperor made no remark while the council was sitting; but having, probably, become sensible that, in the former part of his reign, he had given too much license to his brothers, after it was over, he sent him a verbal message, through Mir Syed Birkeh, to intimate that he had begun his march for Kábul before he had heard of the escape of Yádgár Násir Mírza, or of Hindal's intention to join him; that he had since seen nothing to make him change his plan, for, as to hardships, they were inseparable from war; that if the Mírza needed repose, the Zemín-dáwer was at his service for the winter, and that, in the spring, he might join the imperial array, after the war was over. The Mirza apologized for his indiscretion, and promised

in future to be more guarded, both as to the time and CHAP. HI. manner in which he offered his advice.

Among those who now waited upon the Emperor, as the camp again advanced, was Jamíl Beg, the brother of Bápus, whom Kámrán had selected as Atálík or Guardian for his son-in-law, Ak Sultan, the governor of Ghazni. He brought Ak Sultan along with him, and was graciously received; his desertion from Kandahár was easily forgiven, and he privately negociated a pardon for his brother Bápus. Many of the Amírs of Kábul had sent to invite the Emperor to push on. When the army, emerging from the mountains, reached Advance of Yúret Sheikh Ali in the territory of Pughman and Arkendi, near Kábul, Mírza Kámrán, informed of their approach, sent Kásim Birlás, with a body of troops, to impede their advance; and Kásim Mokhlis, his Master of the Ordnance *, was ordered to carry forward the artillery, and plant them in the Julga-douri, to be ready for action. At the same time, all the inhabitants of the adjoining country, with their families, were ordered to be brought into Kábul. Kámrán, having repaired the fortifications, and strengthened the garrison of that city, marched from his capital, full of confidence in his army which was numerous t, one portion of it consisting of a body of four or five thousand horse, completely appointed and clad in armour, while Humáyun's force was comparatively small and illprovided. Kámrán took his ground 1, not far from the body which he had sent in advance, and there exercised and reviewed his troops. When Humáyun heard that Kásim Birlás had occupied the Khimár pass, which lay directly in his line of march, he sent on Háji Muhammed Khan, with a strong detachment, who attacked him with vigour, dislodged him, and cleared the pass.

* Mir-Atesh.

20,000 men ; that of Humáyun to † The army of Kámrán is said 4000 or 5000. to have amounted to 18,000 or ‡ Bágh-e-Guzergáh.



Kámrán.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1545. Desertions to Humáyun. As there was now the near prospect of a battle, Mírza Hindal asked, and got permission, to lead the van.

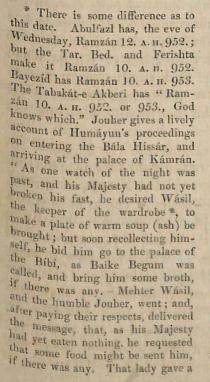
The imperial army, having cleared the defile of Khwája Pushteh, halted in the territory of Arkendi. Here Bápus, one of the chief Amírs of Kábul, was brought by his brother Jamíl; and Shah-berdi Khan, who held the districts of Gurdíz, Bangash, and Naghz, also arrived and joined the imperial camp. They were joyfully received. Every night parties deserted from the Mírza's army, and joined the Emperor. Bápus strongly urged Humáyun to push on without delay, while the general sentiment was so strong in his favour, and the enemy, from the daily desertions, knew not whom to trust.

Kámrán sends an Embassy. Kámrán Mírza, now equally alarmed at the hostile demonstrations of the enemy, and the defection of his own followers, found himself compelled to devise means to gain time. He sent forward two men, respectable for their sacred character, who were instructed to make humble offers of submission on his part, and to entreat the Emperor to cease from active operations. They met Humáyun, when he was scarcely a mile from the enemy's camp, and prevailed upon him to halt. But soon after, suspecting that Kámrán's sole object in opening this negociation, was to gain time for effecting his escape, he advanced towards the Mírza's camp with seven hundred lancers. As he rode along, he was met by Mosáhib Beg, the son of Khwája Kilán Beg, Kámrán's Amír-al-omra, at the head of a procession of all the other Amírs of Kámrán Mírza, who came to make his own submission, and to offer their's. Their submission was accepted; but, as it was so tardy, they were not admitted to the presence, and were subjected to fines.

Escapes to Ghazni, On reaching the camp, Humáyun found that Kámrán had escaped into the citadel of Kábul; that his

* Ním-kos, half a kos.

troops were in confusion, and beginning to break up; CHAP. III. and that numbers had already fled. Kámrán did not venture to remain long in the citadel, but some hours after sun-set, when it was dark, taking along with him his son Mírza Ibráhím, his wives and family, made his escape, and took the Pani-Hissár road towards Ghazni. Humáyun sent Bápus, with a body of his most trusty Humáyun men, to occupy Kábul, and to preserve it from pillage; and, when afterwards informed of Kámrán's flight, he despatched Mírza Hindal to pursue him. He himself Ramzín 10. entered Kábul on the evening on the 10th of Ramzán* (Nov. 15th), in the midst of a general illumination, and was delighted once more to embrace his son Akber, now about three years of age, whom he found covers Akin perfect health. The Bála-Hissár, or Citadel, made



curry of beef, and a sirawal of cow's tripe that happened to be ready dressed. No sooner did his Majesty put his spoon into the dishes, and see that they were beef-curry and cow's tripe, than, laving down the spoon, and sighing, he burst into a complaint, exclaiming, 'O Mírza Kámrán ! and had you indeed come to such a length, as to make the fare of Bibi Jiu, that asylum of chastity, to be only cow's flesh, and cow's stomach? Could you not have reserved one single sheep for her in your kitchen? And yet this asylum of chastity is the very person who brought here the bones of our venerated father, and placed them in his tomb. Could not we, four sons of him whose abode is in heaven, have done something better among us?' In a word, he drank a single cup of sherbet, and put off breaking his fast till the morrow." Jouher, c. 19. Burnes informs us that, in Turkistán, none but the lower classes eat beef. Burnes's Travels, vol. iii. p. 159.



SECT. J.

occupies Kábul.

Nov. 15.

And reber.

¥ 3

BOOK V.

no resistance; and Kábul, and all its provinces south of the Hindu-kúsh range, submitted to him. He published a general amnesty, and spent the winter in the citadel, busily engaged in settling the civil and financial affairs of the country, and in administering justice. The mother of Akber having arrived in the spring from Kandahár, under the escort of Yádgár Násir Mírza, the circumcision of Akber was celebrated by a magnificent festival, at the conclusion of which the Emperor bestowed khiláts and rewards on the most distinguished of his adherents. The government of Ghazni was conferred on Hindal; and Ulugh Mírza, who had returned from the pursuit of Kámrán, was confirmed in that of Zemín-dáwer, which had been given him in addition to Tírí and the adjoining districts.

Kámrán flies to Sind.

Congratulatory embassies to Humáyun.

Meanwhile Kámrán, having escaped from the pursuit of Hindal who was not anxious to seize him, approached Ghazni, but was refused admittance into the town. He now threw himself on the protection of Khizer Khan Hazára, who carried him, first to Tírí, and then to Zemín-dáwer, whence, after some vain efforts to fix himself in that country, he was finally compelled so take refuge in Sind. †

During this period of tranquillity, the Emperor received the congratulations of several of the neighbouring princes, on his having recovered his father's throne. An embassy from Shah Tahmasp, at the head of which was Valad Beg, was magnificently entertained, though it made little progress in the grand object for which it was sent — the restoration of Kandahár to the Shah. A similar embassy from Mírza Suleimán, the prince of Badakhshán, was less favourably received, as the Mírza declined the Emperor's invitation to wait upon him, or, in other words, declined acknowledging his immediate authority. Mír Syed Ali, a chief whose influence was

* Akbernáma, f. 66-70.; Tab. her, e. 18, 19.; Ferishta, vol. ii.
 Akb. ff.158-160.; Tar. Niz.ff.197, pp. 158-160.; Tar. Bed. ff. 184, 198.; Bayezid, ff. 17-22.; Jou-185.

great and extensive among the Afghans and Balúches, CHAP. III. also waited upon the Emperor at this period, and received the government of Duki *, dependant on Hindustán on which it borders, and not far from his own residence. Lawang Balúch, another of the principal Balúch chiefs, having also acknowledged the Emperor, was rewarded with the country of Shal and Mustung. These chiefs, we are told, no sooner received these honours, than they took their leave, fearing that the air of the city, and the habits of city life might affect the health of their followers, accustomed only to their own wastes and wilds.

Yádgár Násir Mírza, Humáyun's cousin, had not Yádgár been long returned from escorting the imperial house- prisoned. hold from Kandahár, when he was charged with entering into new intrigues and cabals, with Askeri Mírza and others, against the Emperor. Humáyun had probably brought with him from Persia a resolution to beat down all who could be his rivals, and, in particular, to reduce the power of the princes of the blood, which, in the former part of his reign, had been productive of so many mischiefs. But he seems to have proceeded with unusual caution, probably to carry along with him the approbation of the old and powerful nobles connected with his family, and of his followers in general. Thirty distinct articles of accusation were brought against Yádgár, some of them for instances of disrespect to his Majesty; but the leading one was that, when in Sind, Shah Husein Mirza had offered him Bheker on condition of his deserting the Emperor, to which he had agreed, whereby the Emperor had been obliged to retire into Irák. On the present occasion, witnesses were examined, and evidences taken, in a manner, of which we find few examples in Asiatic history; and he is said to have been convicted by the testimony of

* Duki was probably dependant on Multán.

BOOK V. A. D. 1546.

impartial men of veracity, as well as of his own accomplices. Some parts of the accusation he denied; as to others he was silent. He was found guilty; and Humáyun informed him, through Kerácha Khan, that since, after being so often pardoned, he had engaged anew in rebellious intrigues, he must expect no farther favour. He was accordingly thrown into prison in the Bála-Hissár, in a house near that in which Askeri was confined.

Humáyun sets out for Badakhshán.

Beginning of A. H. 953.

Yádgár Mírza put to death.

Humáyun, being now the undisputed sovereign of the countries to the south of the Hindu-kúsh range, turned his attention to such provinces, on the north of these mountains, as still acknowledged the supremacy of Kábul. These, besides Badakhshán, consisted of Kunduz, Khost, Anderáb, and some other districts lying between the mountains and the Amu. Not content with Badakhshán, Mírza Suleimán had wrested from Kámrán these provinces, which formed no part of that principality, and seemed little disposed to part with them on the requisition of the Emperor. In the spring of 1546, therefore, Humáyun, resolving to chastise him, marched out of Kábul, and encamped in the Yúret-Chálák. To prevent intrigues in his absence, he resolved to carry Askeri along with him. But after he had proceeded as far as the valley of Kárábágh, aware of the danger of leaving behind him so restless and turbulent a spirit as Yádgár Násir Mírza, he resolved, in the words of his historian, 'to release the body of that prince from the pains of existence, and to put himself at ease.' He sent an order to that effect to Muhammed Ali Taghái, whom he had left governor of Kábul. "How should I put to death the Mírza," said that good man, "I, who never killed a sparrow?" The Emperor, upon this, devolved the duty upon Muhammed Kásim Mochi, who strangled the Mírza with a bowstring. He was buried on a rising ground opposite to the gate of the citadel, near a piece of water; and, after a piece, his remains

were taken up and carried to Kazvín, where they were CHAP. III. deposited in his father, Násir Mírza's, tomb.*

Humáyunt, having crossed the mountains, reached The army Anderáb, where, at the village of Tírkerán, he found Mírza Suleimán with a considerable army, strongly feated by Humáyun. entrenched, and prepared to check his advance. The Emperor, determined to force his position, sent on Mírza Hindal, with Háji Muhammed Khan, Kerácha Khan, and a strong body of troops, himself following to support them. The advance made a gallant attack on the fortified camp, as soon as they reached it; but the Badakhshán archers, who were posted behind the trenches, did great execution, and killed or dismounted numbers of the assailants. Among those who most distinguished themselves on this occasion, were a party of the Persian Korchi, or cuirassier body-guard, who accompanied the ambassador, and took a part in the action. The contest was long doubtful, till a party of hardy veterans, by a desperate effort, forced their way across the ditch, surmounted the trench, and sabred the archers behind it, who had done such execution. In a short time after this success, the whole army of Badakhshán was broken and put to flight. Suleimán, abandoning his new territory, fled along the Bángi river and by Nárín, Ishkemish and Talikán, towards the broken glens of Khost. Mírza Beg Birlás, who had commanded his archers, and some others of his principal chiefs, surrendered to Humáyun. The Aimáks who were made prisoners were dismissed, uninjured. Hindal

* Akbernáma, f. 69.; Bayezíd, f. 22.; Tab. Akberi, f. 160.

[‡] Sometime before setting out on this expedition, on leaving a drinking party after midnight, Humayun happened to stumble. His butler (Mír Sámán) Khwája Jiláled-dín Mahmúd, expressed his regret that his Majesty should have taken any thing that exposed him

to such accidents. Struck with the observation, he renounced the use of intoxicating mixtures (hashia), and sent to tell the Sadr, and other chief men of the law, who had been of the party, that the advice should have come from them. He is said to have adhered to this resolution to the end of his life. Bayezid, ff, 22, 23.

SECT. I.

of Badakhshán de-

BOOK V.

The country submits.

Mírza was sent in pursuit of the fugitives; while Humáyun himself advanced by the pass of Sháshán into the valley of Khost, where he spent some days in the amusements of fishing and fowling, for which the place is celebrated, as well as for its fruits. The country around submitted, and Suleimán was compelled to seek shelter beyond the Amu, in Kuláb, and the upper districts of Khutlán.*

Affairs being in this prosperous state, Humáyun moved to Kishem, where he spent three or four months, and divided among the Amírs his late conquests. Badakhshán and Kunduz he gave to Mírza Hindal; the collectorate of Khost was given to Monaim Beg, and that of Talikán to Bápus. The more effectually to settle the country of Badakhshán, to secure the quiet of the peasantry, and to rest the army, Humáyun resolved to pass the winter in Kila Zefer, towards which he directed his march. But on arriving at the village of Sháhdán, between Kishem and that town, he was seized with a violent illness, which, for two months, prevented him from leaving the place. At the beginning of the disease he was for four days insensible. Reports of his death, or of its near approach, were, in consequence, spread and believed. Officers of every rank left their posts, and consulted together as to the line of their future conduct. Among the rest, Mírza Hindal himself left his government of Kunduz, and advanced from Rostak, where he had been, up the Kokcha river, one of the chief branches of the Amu, on which Kila-Zefer stands, prepared to assert his right to the vacant throne. Signs of disorder and insubordination appeared on every side. The Amírs of Suleimán, who had fled into the higher districts of the mountains, gaining confidence, began to descend, and overrun the country. At this trying crisis Kerácha Khan, the prime minister, con-

* Akbernáma, f. 69.; Bayezíd, ff. 25, 26.; Tar. Niz. f. 197.

Pangerous illness of Humáyun.

LIFE OF HUMATC. Intered himself with great decision. Mírza Askeri, from CHAP. HI. SECT. I. removed into his own tent, and placed him there in custody. He himself, and the Amírs most devoted to Humáyun, pitched their tents close to the imperial pavilion, from which all persons were excluded except the wife of the Emperor, the royal physicians, and one or two confidential servants of the household. Kerácha was indefatigable in his attentions. The disease reached its crisis on the fifth day. While the Begum*, who watched by his sickbed, was engaged in pouring into his mouth the juice of pomegranates, which she squeezed from the fruit, to her surprise and delight he opened his eyes, and asked her, how affairs were going on. Being informed that all was in a state of perturbation and alarm, he sent for Kerácha Khan, and desired him to make haste and let it be known, that he was now convalescent. At the same time letters were despatched to Kábul by Fazil Beg, to announce the amendment of his health, so as to prevent any commotions there; and fortunately that officer reached the capital early in the morning, a few hours after the news of the Emperor's illness had arrived. In the camp, as soon as the Emperor's recovery was known, Mírza Hindal hurried back to Kunduz, and all the other officers returned to the stations which they had left. The partizans of Mírza Suleimán dispersed, and returned home. When Humáyun was well enough to bear the motion, he was carried in a covered litter to Kila Zefer, where his health and strength were rapidly recruited. Here he bestowed on Shir-efken, the son of Kuch Beg, the districts of Kahmerd, Zohák, and Bámián, and sent him to take possession of them; promising that, when he returned

* Jouher, c. 19. says that it was Begi of the Harem is represented by Bayezid, f. 27. as having been

most useful. Abulfazl makes Mir Chuchak Begum, who watched by Birkeh the person who was with his bedside: Bíbi Fatima, the Urdui- him, and who received his orders, f. 69.



BOOK Y.

A. D. 1546.

to Kábul, Ghurbend should be added to his jágír. In a short time, the Emperor was so far recovered as to resume his favourite amusement of hunting. His protracted residence beyond the mountains, however, alarmed the Uzbeks, who possessed Bálkh and the countries on the west; and they employed themselves in preparation to repel the attack, which they believed was meditated.*

Kámrán recovers Kábul. But while every thing seemed to proceed so prosperously, the equally unexpected and unwelcome news arrived, that Kámrán, assisted with troops and money by his father-in-law, Shah Husein Arghún, had once more returned into the territory of Kábul, had gained possession of the capital and of the young prince, and that, among other noblemen who had joined him, was Shír-efken, who had so lately profited by the Emperor's liberality.

This news was a severe blow to Humáyun. It put an end to the hopes he had fondly cherished, of at once marching into Hindustán, and promised another long and doubtful war with his brother, whose power and means of offence were much increased, by his having in his possession, not only the Emperor's son Akber and the rest of his family, but the wives and families of all his principal Amírs, who had been left at Kábul as a place of security. To add to Humáyun's other difficulties, it was then the depth of winter, and the lofty Hindu-kúsh mountains, difficult to be crossed even in summer, but then covered with snow, were interposed between him and Kábul. He instantly concluded a treaty with Mírza Suleimán, by which the kingdom of Badakhshán was restored to him, as he had enjoyed it under Báber; and leaving Mírza Hindal governor of all the other provinces beyond the mountains, Kunduz, Anderáb, Khost, Kahmerd, Ghuri, and their dependencies,

* Akbernáma, ff. 69, 70.; Tab. Akb. f. 160.; Jouher, c. 19.; Bayezíd, f. 27.

he set out from Kila-Zefer to march for Kábul. At CHAP. III. Talikán, on the Ferkhar river, he was detained several days by the violence of the rain and snow. As soon as Humáyun they abated, he went on to Kunduz, where he was against it hospitably entertained by Hindal, in the garden of once more. Khosrou Shah. Several of his Amírs, however, anxious for the fate of their families in Kábul, deserted from the camp; so that Humáyun himself and his remaining officers, seeing that the troops desponded, and were wavering, were compelled to go about among them to confirm them in their allegiance, by re-animating their hopes, and by promises of reward.* After the Muhammedan festival of the Korbán, he again set out, and proceeding by Chehárder, a town on the road to Khulm, ^{Zukajeh 10}. began to ascend the hills, though the quantity of snow A.D. 1547. that had fallen was such, that the roads were blocked up, and they were compelled to make a path by ramming in down, so that the horses and camels could move over it. In spite of every difficulty they surmounted the defiles of Shibertu and the pass of Rakík, and halted at Khwája Syaran, ready soon to attack Kábul itself.

* Akbernáma, f. 71.; Tab. Akb. f. 161.; Jouher, c. 20.





CHAPTER III.

HUMÁYUN IN AFGHÁNISTÁN.

SECTION II.

CAPTURE AND LOSS OF KÁBUL BY KÁMRÁN. HIS SUBMISSION.

kámrán in sind. — leaves sind on humáyun's illness. — surprises ghazni and kábul. — his cruelties. — humáyun advances against him. — is deserted by many nobles. — resolves to attack kábul. defeat of kámrán's general. — humáyun takes the outer fortifications. — progress of the siege. — brutal conduct of kámrán. — his distress and submissive applications. — he escapes. flies to badakshán, and thence to the uzbeks. — humáyun enters kábul, which is plundered. — sends in pursuit of kámrán. who returns with an army from bálkh. — and attacks badakh shán. — humáyun moves to meet him. — revolt in his camp. — the rebels escape to kámrán. — the governor of badakhsitán declares for humáyun. — his advance. — repulse near talikán. — the fort invested. — submissive offers of kámrán. — hi surrenders. — his reception by humáyun. — humáyun settles his northern dominions, and returns to kábul.

BOOK V.

л. п. 1547. л. н. 953. Kámrán in Sind, But it is now necessary to explain by what means Mírza Kámrán had been able to effect so great a change in his circumstances. We have seen that, when formerly compelled to abandon his capital by night, he attempted to seize Ghazni. Being disappointed by the vigilance of the garrison, he had taken refuge with Khizer Khan Hazára*, who received him with every mark of distinction, and conducted him first to Tírí, among the Hazára

^{*} Kámrán had given his daughter to Khizer Khan's son.

LIFE OF HOMAN OF Zemín- CHAP. III ed-dín Ali, a son of Mír Khalífa, who not only defended the forts against the invaders, but was successful in harassing them in the open country. Humáyun, as soon as he learned that Kámrán had appeared on the Helmend, having bestowed the government of Zemíndáwer on Ulugh Mírza, despatched him and Yádgár Násir Mírza to that province, at the same time issuing orders to Biram Khan, who was at Kandahár, to join the two Mírzas, and to pursue Kámrán without loss of time. These orders were ably executed; and the Hazáras no sooner heard of the approach of the Mírzas and the governor of Kandahár, than they abandoned the low country, and retreated into their highland wilds. Kámrán, thus left without farther hopes of success, was glad to fly, through the country of the Balúches, to Bheker, where he was well received by Shah Husein Arghún, whose daughter had for some time been betrothed to him. Shah Husein assigned him a residence at Páter; and he soon after married Chuchak Begum, who continued faithful and attached to him in all the vicissitudes of his future life.

Kámrán had been little more than three months Leaves Sind settled at Páter, when, the news of Humáyun's expedi- un's illness, tion against Badakhshán, followed by the report of his illness, having reached him, he resolved to try his fortune in the country of Kábul. His father-in-law, who was not displeased at the departure of so restless and ambitious a prince, afforded him every aid that he could desire; and Kámrán soon set out from Sind accompanied by a thousand chosen horse. After he had passed through the Balúch country, and arrived near Kilát, he fell in with a party of Afghán horsedealers, whom he plundered ; and, seizing the horses, distributed them among his followers, most of whom thus became



A. D. 1547. Surprises Ghazni,

33

and Kábul

possessed of a led horse. This enabled him to advance rapidly on Ghazni, which he entered by surprise, having had a previous understanding with some of the inhabitants. The governor, Záhid Beg, he put to death, and carefully cut off all communication with Kábul. Emboldened by success, he pressed on for that city, accompanied by his Sindi troops, and, preceding the news of his own return, reached it early in the morning. On taking possession of the gates, he found that the governor Muhammed Ali Taghái was gone out to take the warm bath. The Mírza made him be brought forth, undressed as he was, and sabred him on the spot. The city and citadel, with all the Emperor's family, fell into his hands without resistance. He went to reside in the Bála-Ark or Bála-Hissár. The young prince, Akber, who had already been exposed to so many changes of fortune, he treated with tenderness, but again removed him from the care of Mir Atka, and placed him under the charge of his own servants.

His cruelties,

Whether from irritation of temper or from policy, he now indulged in acts of extreme severity and cruelty. He blinded Fazail Beg and Mehter Vakíla, whom Humáyun had sent to forward the preparations for his intended expedition against Hindustán. He put to death, or imprisoned, many others of Humáyun's most faithful adherents. Hisám-ed-dín Ali, the son of Mír Khalífa, chancing about this time to return from Zemíndáwer, the government of which he had resigned to Ulugh Beg, was seized by the Mírza, who, in revenge for the repulse he had received from him in that province, ordered him to be torn limb from limb. By great exertions he succeeded in detaching many of the chief men of the country, and among others Shir efken, from their allegiance to Humáyun. He spared no efforts to collect an army and every munition of war; and in a short time he was once more acknowledged in

the districts dependant on Kábul and Ghazni as the CHAP. III.

Humáyun, meanwhile, informed of what was passing, Humáyun, having pursued his painful march over the snow and against through the defiles of the mountains, proceeded for the him: Abdereh pass. Shír Ali, one of Kámrán's most active officers, crossing by Zohák and Ghurbend, had taken possession of the Abdereh defile, which he had fortified to check the Emperor's approach, but, unable to oppose Mírza Hindal and Kerácha, who led the advance, re. treated, when they marched towards Zohák to attack him. As soon as the Emperor's army had passed the defile, however, he returned by a circuitous road, and, hanging on their rear, took such baggage, stores, and stragglers as fell behind. When the Emperor reached Charikárán, in his descent towards Kábul, a new deser- and is detion took place. Many of his followers, filled with serted by many noapprehension for their families in Kábul, and among bles. them some men of rank, such as Iskander Sultan and Mírza Senjer Birlás, Báber's nephew, making their escape from the camp, found their way into the town. Humáyun, seeing the danger to which he was exposed if this spirit continued, called a council, and invited all his officers to deliver their opinions with unlimited freedom. It was there agreed that, as Kámrán had shut himself up in Kábul, and did not seem disposed to hazard a battle, it was advisable to march past the town to Bori and Khwájā Pushteh, where the army would be better off, and could have supplies in abundance. In pursuance of this plan, every thing was ready for the march, and the Emperor was about to mount his horse, when it occurred to him, that if he passed the city as proposed, it would be imagined that he intended to leave it behind, and go on to Kandahár; in which case the greater part of his men, who

* Akbernáma, f. 70.; Taríkh-e Sind, f. 167.; Tab. Akberi, f. 160.



BOOK V.

Resolves to attack Kábul.

Defeat of Kámrán's general. had families in Kábul, would take that opportunity of deserting; and that, therefore, it was better at once to attack the town. If the Mírza hazarded a battle to preserve it, 'twas well; if not, that, at least, desertion would be prevented, and the troops placed under cover. Háji Muhammed was, therefore, sent on, with the advance, by the Minár pass, while the Emperor took the Páyán pass, on the direct road to the city.

When Mírza Hindal came near Deh-Afghánán, one of the suburbs of Kábul, he was met by Shír efken at the head of a body of Kámrán's best troops, and an action ensued, bravely supported on both sides. Some of the Emperor's men, however, broken by the impetuosity of the attack, at last turned and fled. Humáyun, who was at a little distance, observing this, and seeing Mírza Hindal still gallantly maintaining his ground with the handful of men left with him, was on the point of galloping to his succour, when Kerácha Khan begged to be allowed to lead the reinforcement. The Khan charged with much vigour, and himself engaged Shirefken hand to hand. Shír-efken, who was a distinguished swordsman, discharged upon him three furious blows in quick succession, all of which he warded off with his sabre. Shir-efken then let fall a fourth, but missing his aim, was thrown forward on his horse; upon which Kerácha, pushing on his charger, unhorsed him, and took him prisoner.* Háji Muhammed, mean-

* This is related differently by different writers. Bayezíd says, that when Shír-efken heard of Humáyun's approach, he was in the bath, and drunk ; that, without informing Kámrán, he set out to engage the enemy: that near Bába Shesh-per he met the enemy's pickets: that Syed Ali, a Korchi, there attacked him, seized him by the waist, made him prisoner, and carried him to the Emperor: that Kerácha Khan insisted he should be put to death; that a quarrel arose between Shah Mírza, Ulugh Mírza's brother, and Jemíl Beg, the brother of Bápus, as to which of them had made him prisoner; and that, upon the testimony of the soldiers, the prize was given to Jemíl Beg. Probably these commanders claimed a right to whatever was gained by their retainers. Bayezíd, f. 30.

while, arriving with his division by a different road, CHAP. III. and attacking the enemy in flank, they fled in every direction. Humáyun showed a disposition to have spared Shír-efken; but Kerácha and other officers remonstrating upon the bad example of pardoning a deserter and rebel of such rank, his head was struck off on the spot, in the Emperor's presence. Without loss of time, Humáyun followed the retreating troops towards Kábul, and advancing by the Khiábán, an avenue and pleasure-ground leading to the Iron-Gate*, a part of his troops pressed on the fugitives with so Humáyun much ardour, that they entered the outer inclosure takes the along with them. Mírza Khizer Khan, the Hazára, and fications. the Arghún auxiliaries, believing all to be over, rode off, and took refuge among the neighbouring Hazáras, so that the outer enclosure of the city was taken without farther resistance, Shir Ali retiring into the fortified town. Most of the prisoners taken in this action were put to death. ;

The Emperor, having established his head-quarters Progress of the siege. at the Koh-Aakabein (Eagles' Hill), which commanded the town, planted his artillery, and commenced a cannonade upon it. Kámrán, who, for some time, had expected to be besieged, had placed both the town and citadel in the best posture of defence, and had a strong garrison within the walls. This enabled him to make daily sallies, for the purpose of interrupting the operations of the besiegers, which led to many desperate rencounters. In one of these, Háji Muhammed Khan, while engaged in marking out ground for trenches, was attacked by Shír Ali, and severely wounded in the right arm. He was rescued by his own men, and, being unable to walk, was carried to his quarters, where for some time he remained dangerously ill. A

* Derwáza-Ahenein-† Akbernama, ff. 70, 71.; Tab. 18-20. Akb. 160, 161.; Tar. Niz. ff. 197, 198. ; Jouher, c. 20. ; Bayezid, ff.

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outer forti-

the siege.

BOOK V.

report of his death reaching the Emperor, an officer was sent to take charge of his portion of the trenches. This so much hurt the old veteran that, ill as he was, he ordered his horse, and rode out to visit them, in consequence of which over-exertion he had a severe relapse. Mírza Sanjer, who had so lately deserted from Humáyun, was run off with, during a sally, by his horse, which carried its rider to the Bágh-e-Benefsheh^{*}, where its former owner had lived. He was taken, and carried before the Emperor, who sent him to prison.

The town and citadel were too extensive to admit of their being fully blockaded by the besiegers. Even at an early period of the siege, a few men of rank deserted from Kámrán; but as it continued, and scarcity began to prevail, numbers, seeing no prospect of relief, made their escape, and for the most part joined the Emperor. When the siege had lasted for some time, a large caravan from the north reached Charikárán, bringing about five hundred horses and much valuable property. Kámrán, informed of its arrival, directed Shír Ali to take a detachment and plunder it. Some of his officers objected to this, as Humáyun, they said, would not fail to send a party to pursue them; so that, either the detachment would be unable to reach the caravan, or, if it did, would be unable to get back to the town, in which case no benefit could be derived from the sally. Kámrán, however, persisting, the detachment set out, surprised the caravan, and bore off the booty. Humáyun got notice of their march and its object. But as several hours had already elapsed since they left the fort, instead of making a vain attempt to overtake them, he put his whole troops in motion to block up the roads and guard the fords, so as to prevent their regaining the town. This was done so vigorously and successfully, that Shir Ali, when he returned, found it impossible to effect an entry in any quarter; so that

* Violet gørden.

he was compelled to retire to a distance, and wait for CHAP. III. an opportunity of throwing himself into the place by surprise. A grand sally from the fort was at length concerted, under cover of which a way might be opened for his troops to regain the fort. But, after desperate efforts, the besieged were repulsed, chiefly by the steadiness of a small body of matchlock-men, and forced to fall back, with a great loss in killed and wounded. Shir Ali, after this repulse, losing all hope of being able to enter the town, made for Ghazni, but was pursued, overtaken, and defeated at the Sejáwend pass, his followers dispersed, a considerable part of the merchandise and horses plundered from the caravan, recovered, and a number of prisoners taken. When the pursuing party returned to the camp, Humáyun sent for the merchants who had been plundered, and delivered up to them whatever they could identify as having belonged to them: an act of justice which, in those times of rapine, made a most favourable impression, and was afterwards very beneficial to his affairs. This act of generosity was accompanied by one of a very different description. The prisoners that had been taken, about thirty in number, were led out in front of the trenches, opposite to the city gate, and there put to death, in presence of the besieging army and of the garrison. This act of cruelty marks the decided turn that had taken place in the spirit of the war, which, from various causes, as is but too common in civil wars, had, for some time past, been gradually assuming a character of great ferocity.

The relations of such as had suffered in this execu- Brutal con-tion hastened to Kámrán, and loudly demanded retaliation for the blood that had been spilt. Though he had himself been the aggressor, and shown the example, the demand was in accordance with his irritated feelings. The relations of such as had been employed in the transaction were seized, and subjected to a cruel

SECT. II.

. D. 1547.

BOOK v. revenge. Bápus had been ordered by the Emperor to superintend the late execution. Kámrán, under pretence of retaliation, gave over that nobleman's wife to the rabble in the bazar, to be dishonoured, and murdered his three sons, who were between the age of three and eight years, throwing their dead bodies over the walls, towards that part of the trenches where Kerácha Khan and Mosáhib Beg commanded. The sons of these two last mentioned Amírs he caused to be tied to stakes, and exposed suspended by ropes from the castle wall, at the same time intimating to their unhappy parents that they must either join him, or make the Emperor raise the siege, or at least open for him through their lines a passage, by which he might leave the fort, otherwise that their children should be treated as those of Bápus had been. Kerácha, who was then Humáyun's prime minister, made answer aloud in hearing of the troops, to Kámrán's men who were on the battlements - that his children must all meet death in the course of nature, and in the allotted time: that they could not fall better than in the path of duty to their benefactor : that his own life belonged to his sovereign, from his allegiance to whom nothing should make him swerve; "but," added the minister, "if Kámrán will return to his allegiance, my life, which at any time I would gladly give for that of my children, shall be gratefully devoted to his service." Humáyun gave his brother to know that, should he carry his threat into execution, he and his son must expect the same fate, as soon as the city fell. Kámrán, however, made the wife of Muhammed Kásim Khan Mochi, with some other females, be suspended by the breasts from the battlements, and continued to rage, with odious brutality, against the helpless and unoffending children and wives of his enemies.

As the cannonade still continued, Kámrán, to check the fire of the besiegers, is said to have ordered the young prince, Akber, to be exposed on that part of the CHAP. III. wall where the fire of cannon and musquetry was hottest. If we do not, with Abulfazl, allow that Sambal Khan, the Emperor's master of artillery, wondered from what unknown cause the hands of his artillery and matchlock-men trembled; why the bullets took a crooked course, and why their matches did not communicate their usual fire, yet we must detest the being who closed a scene of dastardly cruelty towards his innocent prisoners, by exposing his infant nephew to such a risk. The firing, however, ceased.*

The siege had now continued so long, that the chiefs, who were in the Emperor's interest, began to join his camp from a distance, from Zemín-dáwer, Kandahár, Kilát, and Badakhshán. They all had stations assigned to them, so that the blockade was completed all around, and every day became closer. Kámrán, now much straitened, began to feel apprehensions for his own safety. He sent the humblest and most submissive His distress confession of his past errors to Kerácha Khan, beseech- and submising him to intercede with his offended brother, whom cations. it was now his supreme wish faithfully to serve; and

24

* It is difficult anywhere to find instances of flattery so gross as the greater part of Abulfazl's account of the infant years of Akber. Akbernáma passim. 'The Emperor, who wished to be thought invested with a supernatural character, did not discourage such representations, but rather favoured any artifice that could add weight to the belief. The story of Akber's being actually exposed on the walls is related by Abulfazi, as well as by Nizám-eddin Ahmed, Tar. Niz. f. 199., who mentions that Mahum Anka interposed her body to preserve him from danger, in which he is followed by the Tar. Bedáuni, Ferishta, and in general all subsequent writers. Yet the fact seems doubtful. Bayezid, a contemporary, and on the spot, though he minutely describes the other atrocities, takes no notice of this, ff. 31, 32.; and Jouher, who was also in the camp, only says, in mentioning the cannonade which which was opened from the Koh-Aákabein and returned from the fort, "Mírza Kámrán upon this threatened to expose his Majesty's son, Muhammed Akber, to the fire of the battery. When information of this reached the Emperor, he ordered the cannonade to cease, but his troops to remain in the trenches on every side, and to guard them well." - End of cap. 20.



SECT. II.

A. D. 1547.

Thursday,

Rebi, I. 7.

А. н. 954. April 27.

He escapes.

BOOK v. offering, in proof of his sincerity, to put his life and fortune in the Emperor's hands. Humáyun, with his usual easy good nature, was disposed to forgive him. But Kerácha Khan and Mosáhib Beg, - whether they only foresaw new trouble and fresh intrigues from the Mírza's residence in his brother's court; or whether, according to others, they were alarmed lest their own importance should be gone, were Humáyun to reign supreme, without a rival, -are accused of having privately filled the mind of Kámrán with dread of the danger that awaited him should he surrender to his brother; and, at the same time, terrified him by the information that the Emperor's army was every day growing in strength. As friends, therefore, they are said to have advised Kámrán to make his escape, offering secretly to assist him in passing through the lines. At all events, the Mírza, on the 27th day of April, the night being very dark, left the citadel by a breach opened in the wall, was conducted through the trenches, and made the best of his way for the mountains on foot. Humáyun, on hearing of his escape, sent Mírza Hindal to pursue him. The Mírza overtook him after he had reached the hills, which he found him ascending, mounted on the back of a man. Hindal was about to seize him, but desisted on the earnest prayers of his brother, not to force him back to certain death; and being affected at his deplorable and destitute situation, presented him with a horse, and turned back.*

> * Akbernáma, ff. 71-73.; Tar. Akb. ff. 160, 161.; Tar. Niz. ff. 198, 199.; Jouher, c. 20. and 21.; Bayezid, ff. 30-32.; Tar. Bed. f. 185. ; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 161-163. ; Bayezid affirms that Hindal allowed Kámrán to pass through his lines, that he was recognised and seized, but a sign taken from him, after which he was allowed to go on. Other authorities affirm that Háji Muhammed was sent in pur-

suit and overtook him, when Kámrán exclaiming in Túrki, "Go and say to your father, Bába Kushkeh, it was I that slew him." Háji Muhammed, who was an old soldier and a Moghul, did not push on, but turned back and let him go; Tar. Bed. f. 185. and Tab. Akb. He probably also knew him as a child, being Kokildash to one of the imperial family,

Kamran had concerted with his adherents, that they CHAP. III. should meet him at the hill of Istálíf, in the Kohdaman, north of Kábul, where he was to collect an Flies to Baarmy, and make a new attempt; but, on his arrival, dakhshán, and thence seeing nothing in readiness, he set out again by night to the Uzattended only by Ali-kuli, a Korchi, and proceeded onward by the valley of Senjed. He was met on the way by a party of Hazáras, who robbed him of the little he had left. One of them, however, recognizing the Mírza, he was carried to their chief, who took him to Zohák and Bámián, where he was joined by Mírza Beg, Shír Alí, and a few more, who still adhered to his interest. In the course of a week, they collected about a hundred and fifty horse, with which they went down to Ghuri, which they summoned to surrender. But Mírza Beg Birlás, the governor, declaring his determination to hold the place for Humáyun, the party had begun to pass on, when one of their number, a man of no note, in a rude and blustering manner, abusing the privilege allowed to companions in misfortune, began to rail at Kámrán, exclaiming that, if he was really the son of Báber, and had any sense of honour, he would not allow the governor to escape so easily. Kámrán explained to his restive adherent, that he had neither stores nor implements for conducting a siege, nor were his people in a humour for it. But, at length, stung by the renewed reproaches of the man, he turned back, and by a piece of fortunate temerity, defeated Mírza Beg, who had with him a thousand foot and three hundred horse, and took the place; in which was found a large supply of stores, besides the horses, arms and accoutrements of the troops. Leaving Shir Ali to defend this important acquisition, he pushed on towards Badakhshán, in the hope of prevailing upon Mírza Suleimán, and his son Mírza Ibráhím, to join him. But these princes, who had no attachment to any of the brothers, and were wholly bent on making themselves independent,

A. D. 1547.

Humáyun enters Ká-

bul which is

plundered.

BOOK v. and on securing their country from foreign invasion, declared their determination to adhere to the treaty lately concluded with Humáyun: so that Kámrán, finding no prospect of success in that quarter, was compelled to turn for succour to the Uzbeks, the grand enemies of his race, and marched down to Bálkh, in hopes that Pír Muhammed Khan, the Uzbek chief of that province, might espouse his cause.*

Meanwhile, Humáyun, having entered Kábul, had the satisfaction of embracing his son Abker, whom, as well as all the ladies of his family, he found safe. He, however, gave up the town to be plundered for one whole night by his troops, as a punishment on the inhabitants for allowing their town to be surprised. This, had it been the real cause, was punishing them for the fault of a governor chosen by himself, and for all the subsequent misery which, through his negli-gence, they had endured. But the real motive was, probably, his inability to remunerate his troops in any other way for their long-suffering and privations, before and during the siege. He put to death some Múllas, who had encouraged Kámrán in his rebellion and misdeeds. Being apprehensive that the Mírza might establish himself in Badakhshán, he despatched Kerácha Khan across the mountains, to chase him out of his dominions. That general, accordingly, descending on the northern face of the range, laid siege to Ghuri, which he took, after it had been long defended with gallantry by Shir Ali, who, when it was no longer defensible, effected his escape, carrying the garrison along with him.

Kámrán returns with an army from Bálkh,

Kámrán had not been long at Bálkh, before he succeeded in engaging the governor, Pir Muhammed Khan, in his interest. That chief, and indeed the whole Uzbek confederacy, had seen with jealousy and alarm,

* Akbernáma, f. 73.; Tab. Akb. ff. 161, 162.; Tar. Niz. ff. 199, 200.; Jouher, c. 21.; Bayezid,

f. 32. ; Khol-ul Towáríkh, f. 267. This last calls Pir Muhammed Khan, Wali of Turán.

Sends in pursuit of

Kámrán.



the late visit of Humáyun to the provinces on the Amu. CHAP. III. When he heard, therefore, of Kámrán's approach, to ask succour against his brother, he considered the occasion as a most favourable one for fomenting that discord among the sons of Báber, which hitherto had been so advantageous to the Uzbeks. He received the Mírza with every mark of distinction, lodged him in his own palace, and soon accompanied him back into the country which acknowledged the sovereign of Kábul, at the head of a powerful force. With his aid, Kámrán recovered Ghuri, and took Baklán; and adventurers flocked to his standard from every quarter. Hindal Mírza, who with the troops of Kunduz, had formed a junction with Kerácha Khan and Suleimán Mírza, was unable to resist such an invasion. His army, therefore, soon broke up; he threw himself into Kunduz; Kerácha Khan recrossed the mountains, to bring an adequate reinforcement from Kábul, while the Badakhshán Mírzas hastened back to defend the narrow passes of their own mountains. Pir Muhammed Khan, seeing his ally, Kámrán Mírza, undisputed master of the open country, returned home to Bálkh, leaving with him a strong body of Uzbek auxiliaries.*

The Mírza, availing himself of his good fortune, re- Attacks Basolved to make his first attack on the dominions of Suleimán. For that purpose, he advanced to Kishem and Talikán, whence he detached a body of his Chaghatái and Uzbek troops, under Rafik Koka, to occupy Rostak, a town and district situated on the Kokcha river, within the territory of Badakhshán. Suleimán, collecting the militia of the adjoining highland district of Kuláb or Khutlán, marched suddenly into Rostak, and made a sharp attack upon Rafik, with whom he came up near Kila Zefer. He was, however, repulsed, and compelled once more to take refuge among his

* Akbernáma, f. 74.



BOOK V.

Hamáyun moves to meet him. mountains. Such an effect had the news of Kámrán's success on his old followers and soldiers at Kábul, that nearly 3,000 of them left that place, and joined him in his new adventure.*

No sooner did the Emperor hear of the dangers that threatened him on the side of Bálkh, than he left his capital, and marched to place himself at the head of his troops in the north. He had only reached Ghurbend, in the Koh-daman of Kábul, when he met Kerácha Khan on his way back from his unfortunate expedition. Kerácha, as he crossed the hills, had been plundered of all his baggage by the Aimáks, who, with the Hazáras and other hill-tribes, were the only gainers by these intestine wars. The destitute condition, to which he was thus reduced, made it indispensable for Kerácha to go on to Kábul, there to refit, so as to enable him to take the field; and Humáyun moved from Ghurbend to Gulbehár, where he halted to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, and to await his minister's return. As soon as Kerácha rejoined the camp, the Emperor, intent on his original purpose, again moved on. But, through this ill-timed delay, the season for passing the hills was lost, and in attempting to surmount the passes of the Hindu-kúsh mountains, when they were covered with deep snow, the difficulties and dangers were found to be such, that, after much disorder and loss among the troops and cattle, which plunged, and stumbled, and sank in the snow, the attempt was abandoned, and the army returned to Kábul, to await the return of spring.*

Revolt in his camp. When the season arrived, in which it was practicable to cross the mountains, Humáyun, as he was about to set out, was prevented by an unexpected revolt. The real nature of the intrigues which produced so many revolutions, for a long series of years, in the family of

* Khol. ul Towáríkh, f. 267.

+ Akbernáma, f. 74.

laimur, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to char. discover, even were it of much importance. Some observations are obvious enough. Though much respect was paid to the members of the imperial family, as descendants of Taimur, or of Báber, no one individual of them was viewed with exclusive veneration as the eldest, or legal representative of the dynasty. Any one of them who could command success, could command obedience. The throne of the individual was always, therefore, unsteady. Possession, within the range of the family, brought right along with it. There were no great bodies, of the nobles, of the law, or of the church; no corporations, living beyond the life of man, and maintaining, while they existed, the same uniform spirit and character, that could be opposed to a spirit of change. The towns, though they had wishes and interests of their own, having no municipal government, no correspondence with each other, no central point or council, by which their common interest could be known or pursued, were without power, or influence in affairs of state, and could only show their uneasy feelings by riot or revolt. A few Amírs, with their followers, decided the question, who was to rule. Even among them, there were nobles, but no body of nobility. There was no Senate, or States-General, or Parliament, in which they had a right to take their seat, and where they could consult in common. The king's court was the centre of union, and from the crown all honour flowed to the individual; for dignity was not hereditary. The possession of the ear, or even of the person, of the sovereign was the great object of the ambitious. The great Amírs strengthened themselves, for influence at court, by adding to the number of their retainers; and all in the lower stations who aspired to rise, connected themselves with some powerful noble. The consequence was, that a few of these grand Amírs, by a combination among themselves, or by a sudden coup d'état, could



A. D. 1548.

make and unmake the sovereign. Princes of talent could overrule, and give an useful direction to the power thus accumulated in a few hands; while such as were deficient in political skill, became the instruments, and too often the victims, of this unregulated power. As there were few steady checks to the exercise of power, every governor, as well as every sovereign, was nearly despotic in his own government. In such a state of things, discontent and collision were inevitable.

Some discontent would appear to have prevailed at the court of Kábul among the leading nobles, though we are ignorant of its exact nature and extent. Kerácha Khan was Prime Minister, an office which he had earned by important services. It is probable that in this high station, encouraged by the easy humour and indolence of Humáyun, he may have arrogated too much to himself, and carried matters with too high a hand; and the Emperor could hardly fail occasionally to feel the engrossing spirit of his minister; while, on the other hand, Kerácha was easily inflamed at any obstacle to his authority. The possession of the purse is always the most important part of a minister's power, and any interruption in that power is most sensibly felt. It happened that Kerácha, who had got the Emperor's consent to bestow a trifling sum of ten tumáns * on a particular officer, had himself written the order on the treasury to carry it into effect. When it was presented, Khwája Gházi of Tabríz, the Diwán or Minister of Finance, who had returned from Persia during the late siege, and been appointed to that important office, refused to pay it, and at the same time represented to the Emperor that as he, by the nature of his office, was answerable for the expenses of the army, he could not allow any other person to interfere in his department. The order, when refused, was carried back to Kerácha, who took

In that age this sum might be equal to 80% or 100%

fire, and hastened to complain to the Emperor, but CHAR received no satisfaction. This produced a coolness, and the offended Prime Minister, resolved to carry his point, went so far as to form a party among the Amírs, who demanded that Khwája Gházi should be dismissed. This demand being refused, the cabal were so much offended, as to talk of revolting to Kámrán. To prevent matters reaching so serious a length, the Emperor sent to Kerácha, to assure him of his regard, to attempt to conciliate him, and to desire that matters should go on on their former footing. But Kerácha haughtily insisted as a preliminary, that Khwája Gházi should be given up to him in bonds, to be treated at his discretion, and his office bestowed on Kásim Husein Sultan. To this demand, not more unjust and alarming to a faithful servant than degrading to his master, an answer was returned, not rejecting it with scorn, but, rather jesuitically, reminding Kerácha that he was Vizír, that the Diwán was under his control, and that he might, therefore, easily contrive some future opportunity on which he could call him to account. But even this dereliction of imperial duty and of honour, did not satisfy the incensed Vizir, who, finding that he could not bend his sovereign, resolved to renounce his allegiance; and, in concert with a number of the leading men of the court, among whom were Bápus, Mosáhib Beg, Ismáel Beg Duldi and others, attended by three thousand veteran horse fully equipped, left Kábul by the Pái-Minár pass, seized the imperial herd or stud which was at Khwaja Riwáj, drove it before them, and took their course through the Koh-daman.

Humáyun, utterly unprepared for such a defection, sent orders to the troops that were nearest at hand to hasten to Kábul; and as they arrived, they were sent off in pursuit of the rebels, with orders to impede their progress. Terdi Beg, Monaim Khan, Muhammed Kuli Birlás, and other officers, who adhered to the Emperor,



A. D. 1548.

The rebels escape to Kámrán.

were successively despatched in this manner in course of the day; and at noon, when the hour was at length declared to be fortunate, the Emperor himself set out, and at length overtook and attacked the rearguard of the fugitives near Kárá-bágh. Having pushed them before him, he had got close upon Kerácha Khan, towards the close of the day, on the banks of the Múri, when night interposed. The fugitives, continuing their flight, passed the bridge of Ghurbend, which they broke down behind them; whereupon a detachment, that had followed them up to that time, returned back to Humáyun at Kárábágh. That prince, finding that they had escaped his immediate pursuit, hastened back to Kábul, to prepare for a campaign on the Badakhshán side of the hills, which he now saw would be more necessary, and the event more doubtful than he had expected. Kerácha, on his part, leaving Temir Shagháli in the district of Penjshir, to collect and forward all the intelligence he could procure from Kábul, proceeded by the Upper Hindu-kúsh pass, and joined Kámrán in Kishem.*

Mumáyun collects his forces.

л. н. 955, Jemádi I. 5. June 12. Humáyun, on his return to Kábul, despatched orders to his Amírs in every quarter, to furnish their quotas to the army he was preparing to lead against Kámrán. Among others he invited Háji Muhammed Khan to join him from Ghazni. In the course of about a month, on the 12th of June A.D. 1548, he left Kábul and proceeded to Kárábágh, where he halted ten or twelve days, waiting for his stores and field equipage. Here, to the general surprise, he was joined by Háji Muhammed, whose fidelity seems to have been suspected. Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek also arrived from Bangash, and was gladly welcomed.

It was while they were still at this station that Mírza Ibráhím, Suleimán's son, arrived from Badakhshán.

* Akbernáma, f. 74. ; Tab. Akb. rishta, vol. ii. p. 163. ; Jouher, c. 21. ; f. 162. ; Tar. Niz. 200, 201. ; Fe- Bayezíd, f. 33, 34.

The Governor of Badakhshán declares for blm,

SECT. II.

This was an important event for Humáyun. His anxiety CHAP. to meet the Emperor had made him venture to leave home without escort, and expose himself to the peril of passing through a hostile country. Advancing by way of Perián, when he arrived at the Penjshír territory, he found Temir Shagháli in possession of all the passes. Malek Ali Penjshíri, however, one of the hillchiefs, having joined the Mírza with his tribe and family, they engaged Temir Shagháli, who was killed in the action. Malek Ali, after this, guarded the Mírza through the passes, but could not be prevailed upon to accompany him into the imperial camp. The Emperor, however, sent to express his obligations to him. Mírza Ibráhím was soon after sent back, to inform his father of the Emperor's motions, and to concert with him a plan for co-operating with the army on its arrival at Talikán.

Humáyun, marching from Kárábágh, proceeded by His ad-Gulbehár, whence he sent back Akber and his mother to Kábul, the command of which he entrusted to Muhammed Kásim Khan Mochi. He next advanced through the beautiful valley of Penjshír, which lies in a high situation, close upon the country of the Siáhposh Káfirs, and is famous for its fruits and delightful climate. From Bazárak, a village in the valley, he sent forward some of his officers to ascertain the state of the northern provinces; and, following with his army, surmounted the passes of the Hindu-kúsh, and descended to the banks of the Bángi, one of the chief rivers that rise in the mountains. He found that Kámrán's generals had abandoned Anderáb, on hearing of his approach. He therefore made Terdi Beg push on, that he might seize the families of the rebels, which had been left in Khost. This, if accomplished, would have been a decisive blow in Humáyan's favour; but Kerácha Khan, foreseeing that such an attempt might be made, had despatched Mosáhib Beg to remove them; and just as Terdi Beg AA

VOL. II.

BOOK V.

reached the Khost territory, Mosáhib succeeded in conveying them safe to Talikán.

On reaching the low country, Humáyun was joined from Kunduz by his brother Hindal, who brought with him a prisoner of considerable importance, Shír Ali. This chief had long possessed much influence in the court of Kámrán, whom he had often urged to attack Kunduz, representing it as an easy conquest. He was, at length, entrusted with a force to make the attempt, and had reached the town. But a party from the fort having one night surrounded the house in which he was, and come upon him by surprise, Shir Ali, in trying to escape, threw himself into the river, but broke one of his arms, and was taken. Humáyun received him with distinction, gave him a dress of honour, and restored him to the government of Ghuri. He was a man of great vigour, foresight and activity; but it is not very easy to discover the principle on which officers, at this distracted period, the moment they passed, by desertion or the fortune of war, from one army to another, were entrusted with commands of importance. There seems to have been little steady fidelity, or honour, among the adherents on either side.*

The important conflict between the Emperor and Kámrán, who had received so large an accession of strength by the revolt of the Amírs, was now about to take place. When rather more than the half of July 1548 was passed, Humáyun, encamped in the Aleng Kazan of Anderáb, was joined by the Kázi of Anderáb, with a number of the neighbouring tribesmen[†], and others, who had been followers of Mosáhib Beg. He lost no time, but resolved to attack the enemy while still divided. Putting his troops in motion, and giving Hindal the advance, he marched to lay siege to Talikán, at that time garrisoned by Kerácha Khan and

* Akbernáma, f. 75.; Tab. Akb. † The Tukba, Simchi, and Balúch are specified. Akbernáma.

the rebel Amirs, with a party of Kámrán's troops under CHAP. III. Mírza Abdalla, who were making every preparation to place it in a condition to sustain a long siege. Kámrán himself, with the main body of his army, was lying at a distance near Kishem and Kila Zefer.

Humáyun, trusting to this division of the enemy's Repulsenear force, had ordered Mírza Hindal and the advance to cross the Bángi above Talikán*, and to take up ground on the other side of the river. But the rebel Amírs, aware of the Emperor's movements, had, by express, informed Kámrán of their danger, and added that Hindal and his division could with ease be cut off by a sudden attack. Kámrán had, in consequence, made a forced march of nearly fifty miles t, had arrived near Talikán, and already occupied a rising ground not far from the fort. No sooner, therefore, had Hindal's division passed the river, than Kámrán attacked and broke it, while unsupported by the main body, plundering their baggage, and driving them back in confusion to the side from which they had come.

The Emperor, who reached the river just when this discomfiture occurred, was eager to cross at once, in face of the enemy. But finding that to be dangerous, the bed of the river being full of loose rolling stones, which rendered footing insecure, he was compelled to march about a mile farther up, where the bottom was of firm rock, and there he crossed. Without delay he again moved downwards, to drive Kámrán from the rising ground which he had occupied. As he approached it, he found that a strong party which he had pushed forward had been vigorously assailed and driven back; but, as soon as the imperial standard was seen advancing, Kámrán, convinced that the main body was

A & 2

* Talikán stands upon the Ferkhar river, which joins the Bángi. Both branches, however, seem to be occasionally called Bángi. Below

Talikan the river generally gets the name of the Talikán river. † 25 kos.



Talikán.

BOOK V. A. D. 1548. The fort invested. now at hand, hurriedly deserted his position, and retired into the town with the loss of his own baggage as well as of that which he had taken. Humáyun now plundered and laid waste the surrounding country, and sat down before the fort. Such prisoners as he had taken were put to death. Being anxious, however, to put an end to hostilities, he wrote to his brother^{*}, making an overture for an accommodation, but it was rejected. Batteries were, therefore, erected, and operations begun.

The siege went on for about a month, during which time the Emperor was joined by Mírza Suleimán and his son, with large reinforcements, as well as by Chaker Khan, the son of the late Sultan Weis Kipchak, with a force from Kuláb. Kámrán, meanwhile, finding that he had no prospect of relief from any quarter, as the Uzbeks, rejoiced to see the princes of Kábul destroying each other, refused him any farther assistance, became most eager to open the negociation which he had so lately rejected. For this purpose he shot into the camp of the besiegers, arrows having attached to them letters addressed to the Emperor, in which, by the humblest confession of his offences, and by promises of a change of conduct, he attempted to propitiate his resentment, and proposed Mír Arab Mekki as his mediator. The Emperor having agreed to receive his submission, the Mír was sent into the fort, and, after some conferences, finally concluded a capitulation by which the Mírza,

* Hardly any letters passed in that age between princes in which quotations from favourite poets are not to be found. Humáyun wrote to Kámrún, "O my unkind brother, what are you doing? For every murder that is committed on either side, you will have to answer at the day of judgment. Come and make peace, that mankind may no longer be oppressed by our quarrels." The letter was sent by Nesíb, a diviner, (rammál). Kámrán, having read the letter, was silent; and when the diviner requested an answer, the Mírza only repeated the well-known verse, " He that would obtain sovereignty for his bride, must woo her across the edge of the sharp sword." Nesíb, considering this as his answer, bowed and returned to Humáyun.

Submissive offers of Kámrán,

renouncing his claim to independence, agreed that the CHAP. III. Khutba should be read in the Emperor's name, that the revolted Amírs should be delivered up in chains, while he himself was to be permitted to retire to Mekka. Accordingly the Emperor's Sadr entered Talikán, and on Rejeb. 12, Friday, the 17th day of August, recited the prayer for the prince in his name, in the Grand Mosque. Kámrán, Hesurwith his family, having come out of the town, was conducted by Háji Muhammed to the limits of the imperial territory. He requested that Bápus might be one of the Amírs who were to accompany him in his exile, because, he said, he was his protègé, and he wished to have an opportunity of atoning for the sore injury he had done him. The revolted Amírs were brought as prisoners into the Emperor's presence, and pardoned, probably on a private understanding under the treaty.*

The army was still encamped in a valley on the Rejeb. 17, banks of the Talikán river, when, on the 22nd of August 22, August, the Emperor was surprised to learn that Kámrán was not far off, and on his way back to throw himself on his mercy. When Kámrán left Talikán, he was under the deepest apprehension for his personal safety. But when he had gone a few stages, and heard of the generous reception, which Humáyun and given to the revolted nobles, -as he had no real wish to go to

* The first who was brought in was Kerácha Khan, with his scymetar hanging from his neck. The Emperor made it be taken off, permitted him to make his obeisance, addressed some conciliatory words to him, and then desired him to be seated on his left, below Terdi Beg Khan. The same ceremony was gone through with the others, who had all places assigned them. When Korbán Keráwal, who had been a personal servant of Humáyun's came in, and bowed down with shame, performed the kornish, " And you



August 17.

renders.

too," said the Emperor, . What cause of offence could you have?" Korbán answered, "What can those do, whose face God has blackened?" On which Hasan-kuli quoted the couplet, " He who puffs at the lamp which God has lighted, singes his beard." All the rebel lords, says Abulfazl, but especially Kerácha Khan, who had a very long beard, felt much ashamed. Akbernáma, ff. 75, 76.; Tab. Akb. ff. 162, 163.; Jouher, c. 22. ; Bayezid, ff. 33-37.

A A 3

BOOK V.

the Holy Cities,-he began to imagine that he might still have something to expect from his brother's clemency; an idea that was encouraged by Mírza Abdalla, and others who accompanied him, to whom the pilgrimage was as little pleasing as to himself. After he had travelled about forty miles*, therefore, he turned back, and sent on Bápus to wait upon Humáyun, and communicate to him his most humble petition to be received under his protection. Humáyun at once acceded to his wishes, made every preparation for his honourable reception, and sent out Hindal and Askeri, his brothers, the latter of whom he released from bonds on the occasion, with Mírza Suleimán, and many great Amírs, as an honorary procession, or Istakbál, to meet and conduct him to the presence, with the sound of kettle-drums and trumpets.

Ilis reception by Humáyan,

When Kámrán approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Monaim Khan, who stood by, and passing it round his neck, presented himself as a criminal. "Alas! alas! exclaimed the Emperor, there is no need of this; throw it away." The Mirza made three obeisances, according to the usual etiquette of the court, after which the Emperor gave him the formal embrace, and commanded him to be seated. Kámrán began to make excuses for his past conduct, and to express his regret. "What is past is past," said the Emperor. "Thus far we have conformed to ceremony. Let us now meet as brothers." They then rose, and clasped each other to their breasts, in the most affectionate manner, and both burst into tears, sobbing aloud, so as to affect all who were present. Humáyun, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Túrki, the language of their family, "Sit close

10 Farsukh or farsangs, Tab. Akberi.

FINNIS

to me." A cup of sherbet was brought, of which the CHAP. III. Emperor having drunk the one half, handed it to his brother, who drank the other. A grand entertainment followed, at which the four brothers, who now met for the first time, after a long separation, sat on the same carpet and dined, or, to use the words of the historian, eat salt together. The festival was prolonged for two days, in the midst of universal rejoicing. As Kámrán, from the rapidity and hurried nature of his return, had left his tents behind on the road, the Emperor ordered him to be supplied with a set pitched close to his own, and, at his desire, consented to Askeri's going to stay with him.*

A council was now held about the expediency of an attack on Bálkh. There was considerable diversity of opinion. The army was, therefore, ordered to march on to Nárín, where the road divides, one branch leading to Bálkh, the other to Kábul. The Emperor, meanwhile, turned off with his three brothers to the fountain of Bend-kushá, near Ishkemish, where he spent some days in a party of pleasure. Báber was encamped at this spot, when his cousin Khan Mírza and his brother Jehángír Mírza, came and submitted to him. This event, with the date, Báber had commemorated by an inscription on a flat slab of rock. Humáyun now made an addition to it, to record the meeting and reconciliation of all the brothers.†

On leaving this spot, he proceeded to Nárín, where it Humayun was resolved to defer the expedition against Bálkh till settles his the following year. He, therefore, in the meanwhile, dominions, applied himself to the settlement of his northern dominions. Khutlán, a province beyond the Amu, at that time, as now, generally called Kuláb ;, as far as the

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* Akbernáma, f. 76. ; Tabakát-e-Akberi, f. 163.; Jouher, c. 23.; Bayezid, ff. 35-39. † Ibid.

‡ Kuláb lies beyond the Amu, between Derwaz and Shughnan. Burnes's Travels, vol. iii. p. 275. It is the old Khutlán, or a portion of it.



BOOK V.

frontier of Muk and Karatigin, he allotted to Kámrán Mírza, giving him Chaker Ali Beg Kulábi, the son of Sultan Weis Beg, as Amir-ul-omra to accompany him to his province. He permitted Mírza Askeri to go with Kámrán, bestowing on him the district of Karatigín. These assignments were little more than nominal. Kuláb was considered as dependant on Badakhshán; Karatigín probably was not. Chaker Ali was governor of Kuláb; but, at the same time, was a sort of independent chief, who did not owe much submission either to Humáyun or Suleimán. The Emperor's sealbearer presented Kámrán, when near Nárín, with the perwána, or grant of his new territory, and congratulated him on his appointment. It gave Kámrán but little satisfaction. What "said he," have I not been sovereign of Kábul and of Badakhshán? And is not Kuláb a mere pergana, or district, of the latter? "How can I serve in it?" "I have heard that you are wise," said the keeper of the seals, "and I know you to be so. May I be permitted respectfully to observe, that, after all that has passed, the wonder rather may be, that you have got even this, or any thing." The justice of the observation was felt by Kámrán. He, next day, waited upon the Emperor, was honoured with a khilát, and the investiture of Kuláb, and, accompanied by Askeri and Chaker Khan, set out for his government. Many of Chaker Khan's followers left him, and attached themselves to Kámrán. They army broke up. Suleimán Mírza and his son Ibráhím continued to hold the government of Badakhshán, to which Talikán was added, with Kishem and some other districts. Mírza Hindal retained Kunduz with Ghuri, Kahmerd, Baklán, Ishkemish and Nárín. Shír Ali remained with him as Minister. They all repaired to their governments, while Humáyan proceeded to Khost, and thence to Perián, on his route to the Penjshír pass.*

* Bayezid, f. 39-41.; Akbernáma, &c., as above.

Perián was a fort, which the great Taimúr had built, CHAP. III. when he chastised the infidels of Kittúr. Humáyun, who found it in ruins, resolved to restore it. For that Returns to Kábul. purpose, when the army came up, he divided the work among all his Amírs, each having a particular portion allotted to him to build or repair; and so effectively did the work proceed, that in the course of the ten days that the army tarried there, the fort, with its walls, gateways and defences, was completely restored. The name of the place he changed to Islámábád, the "City of the True Faith." He also made enquiries as to the silver mines in the vicinity, but found that they would not repay the expense of working. Having crossed the mountains, and descending by the banks of the Penjshír river, he halted some time at the Ashterkeram pass; so that it was the beginning of winter before he reached Kábul, and the ground was already covered with snow. After waiting some time for a lucky day, he made his entry into the town on the 5th day of Ramzin 2. October 5. October A. D. 1548.*

* Akbernáma, f. 77.; Tar. Nizámi, ff. 200, 201.; Jouher, c. 23.





CHAPTER III.

HUMÁYUN IN AFGHÁNISTÁN.

SECTION III.

STATE OF KASHMÍR. — EXPEDITION TOWARDS BÁLKH. — REVOLT AND DEFEAT OF KÁMRÁN.

STATE OF HUMÁYUN'S COURT. - EMBASSIES FROM KÁSIIGAR, AND TO PERSIA. - EMBASSY FROM KASHMÍR. - RECENT HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY ---- AND OF HAIDER MÍRZA .--- HE INVITES HUMÁYUN TO KASH-MIR, AND THE INVASION OF INDIA .- HIS CHARACTER AND ADMINIS-TRATION. - POSITION OF KÁMRÁN. - HUMÁYUN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST BALKH. - KAMRAN FAILS TO JOIN HIM. - SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF EIBEK. - DELAYS OF HUMÁYUN. - SUDDEN ATTACK BY THE UZBEKS. --- CONTINUED ABSENCE OF KAMRAN. -- REPULSE OF THE UZBEK AD-VANCE .- HUMAYUN RESOLVES TO RETREAT. - PANIC IN HIS ARMY, ROUT, AND FLIGHT TOWARDS KÁBUL .- HUMÁYUN WINTERS IN KÁBUL. - PROCEEDINGS OF KÁMRÁN, - HIS ATTEMPT ON BADAKHSHÁN AND KUNDUZ. - RETURNS TO KULÁB. - IS DEFEATED BY THE UZBEKS. -EXCITES A REVOLT IN KÁBUL. - HUMÁYUN PREPARES TO SEIZE HIM. ---- IS SURPRISED BY KÁMRÁN. --- WANT OF ZEAL AMONG HUMÁYUN'S CHIEFS .--- FLIGHT AND WOUND OF HUMÁYUN. -- HE IS JOINED BY A REINFORCEMENT. --- PROCEEDS TO THE NORTH, AND PREPARES TO RE-TURN TO KÁBUL. --- CONDUCT OF KÁMRÁN. --- HE OCCUPIES KÁBUL. ---ADVANCE OF HUMÀYUN. - HIS COMPACT WITH HIS CHIEFS. - THE ARMIES OF HUMÁYUN AND KÁMRÁN MEET. - HUMÁYUN ENDEAVOURS UNSUCCESSFULLY TO NEGOTIATE .--- ORDERS AN ATTACK .--- DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF KÁMRÁN. - HUMÁYUN RE-OCCUPIES KÁBUL.

BOOK V.

A. D. 1548, A. R. 955, State of Humáyun's court. DURING the following winter Humáyun had a short interval of leisure, which he employed in settling the internal affairs of his dominions. His greatest danger evidently lay in the unsettled temper and tendency to intrigue of his great Amírs.

Kámrán had long governed Kábul with absolute

power; and the nobles and the people whom he had ruled, probably regarded his right to the crown as at least equal to that of his elder brother. He felt himself by no means secure, even in his own court. In some degree, at least, to guard against the dangers by which he was surrounded, he resolved to remove to a distance Kerácha Khan and Mosáhib Beg; the former of whom had been Minister to Kámrán and to himself; the latter the son of the late Khwája Kilán; both of them men of sufficient influence and talents, and who, from recent experience, he believed, did not want the disposition to be dangerous leaders in any revolt that should break out. He, therefore, intimated to them that they had his permission to leave his service for a time, and proceed on a pilgrimage to Mekka. They, accordingly, set out on this unwished-for act of religious duty, but lingered in the Hazára country, and in the end, through the mediation of their numerous friends, found means to work on the easy good nature of the Emperor, who forgot their rebellion, and permitted them to return. We have seen that Humáyun, in the earlier part of his reign, had repeatedly suffered from the rebellion of Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons. One of them, Ulugh Mírza, in coming from his government of Zemín-dáwer to join the Emperor (while yet beyond the mountains), being accompanied by Khwája Moazem, the brother of Hamída Begum - a rash, wrong-headed man, who had recently fled from court in consequence of an assassination of which he had been guilty - had been induced by the Khwája to make an attack upon some Hazáras who lay near the road towards Ghazni, in the course of which the Mírza was cut off. Not long afterwards his brother, Shah Mirza, was waylaid and slain near the Minár pass, by a brother of Háji Muhammed, in consequence of some old family quarrel-of-blood. This removed two unquiet and dangerous spirits of high name and pretension.



BOOK V.

A.D. 1548. Embassies from Káshghar and to Persia,

Embassy from Kashmír. Recent history of that country. A. H. 947, A. D. 1540. At this time he received an embassy from Abdal-Reshíd Khan, the son of Sultan Saíd Khan, the chief of Káshgar; and he despatched one to Shah Tahmasp, most probably to deprecate his resentment for still continuing to keep possession of Kandahár, and to keep alive his hopes of its being restored at no distant period.

But the embassy which most interested him was one that arrived from Kashmír from his cousin Haider Mírza Doghlat. It will be recollected that when Humáyun was defeated, and compelled to abandon first Delhi, and afterwards Láhúr, he had resolved to accompany Haider Mírza and Khwája Kilán, in an attempt to conquer Kashmír. When every thing was arranged for that purpose, and the Mírza was waiting for him at the entrance into the mountains of that country, the sudden approach of Shir Shah had spread a general alarm, in consequence of which Khwája Kilán had fled towards Kámrán on the Jelem, and, either faithless to his engagements with Humáyun, or seized and carried off against his will by Kámrán, as was pretended, had accompanied him to Kábul. Humáyun, thus cut off from communication with Haider Mírza, and fearing a design on the part of Kámrán to deprive him of his personal liberty, had proceeded through the desert, and joining Hindal and Yádgár Násir Mírza, marched on in hopes of gaining possession of Bheker and Tatta. Mírza Haider, thus deprived of the reinforcements he had reckoned upon, as well as of the advantage of the Emperor's name, determined to proceed in his enterprise, with such imperfect means as he possessed.

The beautiful region of Kashmír had long been a prey to intestine commotions, chiefly occasioned by the two rival families of Chak and Makri, which contended for the office of Prime Minister under princes, who, whether from nonage or other incapacity, were quite unfit to direct the affairs of such a kingdom. In the course of these contentions, the party of Abdal Makri having

been expelled, had, through the medium of Haider Mirza, applied for assistance, first from Kámrán, and afterwards from Humáyun, while he yet filled the throne of Delhi. The Mírza, who was Báber's cousin-german, was not a stranger to Kashmír. About eight years before, A. H. 939, Said Khan, the sovereign of Káshghar, encouraged by A.B. 1533. the distracted state of the country, had sent his son Sekander Sultan, accompanied by Haider Mírza, at the head of an army of 12,000 men, which advanced from the north by the valley of Lár, and took possession of the capital. This Tartar force committed shábán 9. the devastation usual to barbarous troops, and was soon loaded with booty. Muhammed Shah, the king of Kashmír, and his chiefs, with numbers of the inhabitants, fled to recesses in the surrounding mountains, whence they descended to harass and attack the invaders. Haider, after being nearly three months End of in possession of the country, made a treaty with the shawal, about Kashmirian lords, and their nominal king, by which May 20, it was agreed, that Sekander Sultan should marry that monarch's daughter, and that the Tartar army should return back to Káshghar.

Haider Mírza, after his return to Káshghar, had an and of eventful life. He was finally obliged to quit the country, Mirza. and, passing through Badakhshán, repaired, as we have seen in an earlier part of this history, first to the court of Kámrán, and afterwards to that of Humáyun, whom he attended in his disastrous campaign of Kanáuj, and afterwards in his flight to Láhúr, where he prevailed upon him to attempt the conquest of Kashmir. When he found, however, that Humáyun had taken the route of Bheker, and so abandoned his enterprize of Kashmir, he resolved to prosecute it himself with such means as were in his power, trusting for success to the distracted state of the kingdom, and the assistance of the refugee chiefs and their partizans, by whom he had been invited. He, accordingly, put in motion his troops, which



March 6.

BOOK V.

л. н. 947, Rejeb 22. л. d. 1540. Nov. 22.

л. н. 948,

Rebi II. 20. A. D. 1541.

August 13.

amounted to about 4,000 men. Malek Achi Chak, who then governed the kingdom in the name of Názúk, the nominal king, collected an army of 3,000 horse, and a large body of infantry to oppose him, and took possession of the Karmal pass, to obstruct his entrance into the country. But Haider Mírza, proceeding unobserved by unfrequented routes, after overcoming great difficulties, surmounted, on the twenty-second day of November, the steep pass of Panúj, which Malek Achi had neglected, thinking it impracticable to cavalry; descended on Srínagar, the capital of Kashmír, and without bloodshed or opposition, took possession of it, and of the country. Malek Achi's army, filled with consternation, disbanded, and he himself, seeing no hopes of regaining his ascendency by the strength of his own party, repaired to the court of Shír Shah, carrying with him a daughter of the late king, whom he gave in marriage to the Afghán prince. Aided by Shír Shah, he was enabled to re-enter Kashmir at the head of 2,000 horse. He was soon joined by his adherents, and his force rose to 5,000 cavalry. But Haider Mírza and the Kashmírian chiefs in his interest, attacked, and completely routed the invaders; and the Mírza, in spite of numerous intrigues and factions, beame the ruler of the whole of Kashmír.

Mírza Haider had now ruled Kashmír seven or eight years with all the authority of an absolute prince, though he administered the government at first under the name of Názúk Shah, the native king, and, after the return of Humáyun to Kábul, in the name of that prince, when, anxious to form a still closer connection with the Emperor in his future plans, he deputed Mír Samander on a mission to Kábul. The envoy met Humáyun soon after his return from Talikán. The Mírza in his letters, with every profession of loyalty and attachment, invited his majesty to Kashmír, and gave a glowing description of the charms of its climate, of its

A. H. 955, A. D. 1548. He invites Humáyun to Kashmír, and the iuvasion of India. spring and autumn, with their flowers and fruits, and CHAP. III. of all the delights of that favoured region. But the grand recommendation which he pointed out, was that it would serve as an impregnable position from which His Majesty could pour down his troops for the conquest of Hindustán, an enterprize which he urged him to attempt without delay.

Nothing could have been more in accordance with the wishes of Humáyun. The invasion of that country, and the expulsion of the Afghan dynasty, had long been the favourite dream of his ambition. But to march across the Indus at that moment was to endanger his kingdom of Kábul and his own existence. Every thing had been arranged for an attack on Bálkh; and as it was of the first importance to settle his territories beyond the mountains, and to secure his other dominions from the intestine dangers to which they were so subject, before he ventured to engage in distant expeditions, he resolved to proceed with the expedition he had undertaken. He, however, returned a favourable answer to Haider Mírza's invitation, of which he assured him he was determined to avail himself as soon as his expedition against Bálkh was over, and his troops ready to take the field for a new enterprise. Such, undoubtedly, was Humáyun's intention. But it was long before he could carry it into effect. He had still many His chareverses to undergo; nor was Haider Mírza doomed to racter and aid him in its execution. That eminent man continued tion. for some time longer to rule in Kashmír. He added Great and Little Tibet, Rájuri* and Pakheli to his dominions. He was a prince of distinguished talent. Finding the country which he had conquered to be in a very wretched condition, he devoted himself assiduously to its improvement, and attempted to restore the industry of his subjects. He encouraged agriculture, invited mechanics and artizans from a distance, and employed them in the construction of public and



* Rájour.

BOOK V.

л. н. 958, л. р. 1551.

Position of Kámrán. private works. Under his care, says Abulfazl, the country became a garden, and the ornament of the world. That historian blames him for the excessive attention he paid to the fine arts, and especially to music, as having occupied so much of his time as to interfere with his attention to public affairs. He was finally slain, about two or three years after the period of which we treat, in a night attack of some native chiefs who had conspired against him, and surrounded the house in which he slept. He was a man of worth, of talent and of learning, and the Taríkh-e Reshídi, a History of his own Times, which he left behind him, is one of the most valuable works of that age.*

The state of affairs at Kábul was not certainly such as would have justified Humáyun in undertaking new and distant adventures. The allegiance of his brother Kámrán was far from being assured, and that prince, who had so long governed Kábul, might be supposed still to have partizans in that country, who could create trouble, should the Emperor march towards Hindustán. Kámrán had already quarrelled with Chaker Khan, and they had come to open hostilities. When invited to repair to Kábul, on the promise of Humáyun to provide him with another principality, the Mírza had declined the invitation. The Emperor had resolved to make a campaign against Bálkh, which he seems to have promised to Kámrán, as his government.

Humáyun's expedition against Bálkh. A. H. 956, A. D. 1549. As soon, therefore, in the following year as the weather permitted, Humáyun summoned his troops to attend him, and left Kábul. The object of the expedition, though probably carefully concealed, was Bálkh. That country had been wrested from the Persians by the Uzbeks, and was held by Pír Muhammed Khan, a young Uzbek prince, who had received and assisted Kámrán when driven from Kábul. Humáyun probably considered the assistance so rendered to his

* Akbernáma, f. 55.

brother, as a sufficient excuse for the attack which he CHAP. III. meditated; while the possession of a rich and extensive territory, that would have given him the command of the whole of the left bank of the Amu down to the desert, was probably his most powerful motive. He sent to warn Kamrán and the other Mírzas in the North, to be ready to co-operate with him, as had been arranged at the end of the preceding campaign. He was detained about a month at Yúret Chálák, not far from Kábul, waiting for Háji Muhammed Khan from Ghazni; and by other business of importance; and while yet at that station, he was joined by Mírza Ibráhím from Badakhshán. The army at length moved to Istálíf, were Abás Sultan, an Uzbek prince who had just married Humáyun's youngest sister*, probably suspecting that the expedition was directed against his countrymen, disappeared without taking leave. Humáyun advanced deliberately by the Penjshír route, waiting to hear that the Mírzas were in motion: and immediately on learning that they were in the field, he marched down to Anderáb, and thence by Talikán to Nári †; and crossing the high grounds between the Bángi and Ghuri rivers by the pass of Nári, halted in the Nilber valley, celebrated, beyond all the valleys of that region, for its beauty in the spring. Here he was joined by Mírza Hindal from Kunduz, and by Mírza Suleimán from Badakhshán, but Kámrán did not make his appearance. Kámrán, though he had quarelled Kámrán with Chaker Ali Beg Kulábi, the son of Sultan Weis him. Beg, the chief of the country, and the minister assigned him by Humáyun, and though he had even driven him out of Kuláb, had, however, kept up a correspondence with the Emperor, assuring him of his fidelity, and of his being prepared to co-operate with him. Trusting to these assurances, Humayun had marched on, expecting

* Gulchehreh-Begum.

VOL. II.

Call State



BB

+ Or Nárín.

BOOK V.

Siege and surrender of Eibek. to be joined by his brother. When he at length found that Kámrán failed to appear, both he and the Mírzas began to feel considerable anxiety. Mírza Ibráhím was sent back, at Mírza Suleimán's request, to provide for the safety of Badakhshán, and to embody a force in that country.

Having arrived at Baghlán *, the Emperor pushed forward the Mírzas Hindal and Suleimán with a strong force to Eibek, a fertile and populous district in the territory of Bálkh, defended by a strong fort. As the detachment approached the chief town, it met Pír Muhammed Khan's Atálík or Minister, who, hearing of the Emperor's approach to the Uzbek territory, had hastened, attended by the chief officers of his government and a large body of troops, to place Eibek and the frontier in a state of defence, and to check the invaders. On his arrival near that town, however, he unexpectedly encountered the Emperor's troops, and, contrary to his intention, was compelled to throw himself into the castle of Eibek, unprovided as it was. Humáyun instantly sat down before the place, and pushed on his approaches with such vigour, that in a few days the besieged, who had neither water nor provisions, asked quarter, which was granted, and the city surrendered. †

Delays of Humáyun. At an entertainent given by Humáyun on this occasion, when the cup had gone round, he is said to have asked Khwája Bagh, the Atálík, what were the best steps to be taken to ensure the conquest of Bálkh. The Uzbek, surprised at the question, after reflecting a little, answered, that being an enemy, he was not perhaps the safest person to consult. The Emperor replied, that Uzbeks were downright honest men, and he knew him to be the frankest of the Uzbeks. The Atálík rising up said, "If you would conquer Bálkh, cut off our heads,

* Or Baklán.

+ Akbernáma, f. 77.; Bayezid, f. 42.

hasten on to the capital, and it will be yours." "You are Musulmans," said the Emperor, " how can I put so many believers to death ?" " If you will not do this," said the Atálík, "I have another proposal to suggest. Pír Muhammed Khan is much directed by me. I will undertake that all the country on your side of Khulm shall be ceded to you; that the Khutba shall be used in your name; and that he will send a thousand chosen men to attend you when you march against Hindustán." This proposal, too, the Emperor rejected. It was generally believed that, had he pushed on at once to Bálkh, after taking Eibek, Pír Muhammed, who was filled with consternation by the blow he had received from the loss of all his best troops and officers, who was himself unprepared, and had received no assistance from the Uzbeks beyond the river, must have submitted at discretion to any terms proposed. Humáyun sent the Uzbek Sultans, Amírs and Bís, or chiefs of tribes, whom he had taken, to Kábul, keeping with him only the Atálík.*

The Emperor halted several days at Eibek, chiefly in sudden atconsequence of his anxiety at the non-arrival of Kám- Uzbeks. rán. At length, however, he again put his army in motion, and advanced towards Bálkh, by the way of Khulm. When they reached Astáneh, the shrine of Shah Aulía, the ground for the camp was taken near a stream that flowed hard by; the Audience Hall had not yet been put in order; the people of the bazar were just come up, and were busy arranging their loads; and the Emperor, who had been on a visit to the holy shrine, was in his private tent, quite unconscious of the vicinity of an enemy, when a loud shouting and uproar was heard in the direction of the camp-bazar. An attack had been unexpectedly made in that quarter. Kabuli, an officer of rank, who had hastened to the rescue, had fallen; and his head was cut off and carried to Bálkh.

> * Bayezíd, ff 42, 43.; Akbernáma, f. 78 BB2



BOOK V.

An Uzbek, Khan Beháder, who had been disabled by a sabre cut and made prisoner, was brought before the Emperor. Humáyun asked him who it was that had made this attack on the camp. The prisoner answered that it was Shah Muhammed Sultan, of Hissár, the son of Berendúk Sultan. The Emperor asked if he was mad. "Sire," said the Uzbek, "he is a young man of high spirit and full of confidence. Since leaving Hissár he has not yet seen Pír Muhammed Khan, and is anxious to signalize himself before entering Bálkh." Humáyun thus learned that the Uzbeks from beyond the Amu were beginning to arrive.

Continued absence of Kámrán, The army, however, continued its march, and next morning advanced towards the numerous canals* and streams that intersect the country near Bálkh. Though the progress of the army had been slow, expecting the arrival of Kámrán, it had now reached Bálkh, and he had not yet arrived. It seemed evident that he had no intention of coming, and a general apprehension was diffused among the troops that he intended, while they were engaged in the siege of Bálkh, to give them the slip, and march once more to Kábul. So that, says Bayezíd, who was then in the camp, they were more afraid of the Mírza than of the Uzbeks.[†]

Repulse of the Uzbek advance, In the course of the day, about afternoon prayers, Mírza Suleimán, Mírza Hindal, and Háji Muhammed Sultan Koka, who had the advance, attacked the advance of the Uzbeks, commanded by Abdalla Sultan and Khosrou Sultan, sons of Sekander Sultan, near the Takhteh-pul, and drove them across the bridge, which they also passed to the Bálkh side of the stream. For his exertions on this occasion Háji Muhammed was honoured with the patent of Khan. The whole army advanced by the canals of Bálkh to within about half a kos from the town, and encamped for the night. A

Júibárha.

† Bayezíd, ff. 33, 34.

council was now called. The general opinion was, CHAP. III. that as Kámrán had not joined, he either had marched, or would march, to Kábul; that the disastrous conse- Humáyun quences which would result from his occupation of that resolves to city must be prevented at all hazards; and that the present was the proper time for retreat, while Abdalaziz, the son of Obeid-Khan, the grand Khan of the Uzbeks, who was now on his march from Bokhára, had not yet crossed the Amu. The danger of Kábul affected all, from the Emperor to the lowest soldier, who had families in that city. It was resolved to retreat, and to take up a position near the entrance of the hills at Dera-Gez, a valley with narrow defiles, which were easily to be defended. From that position they could either march on Kábul, should Kamrán have moved in that direction ; or, if he had not, they could there remain encamped'; reinforce the army by assistance from the Aimák tribes, or by recruits from other quarters; and, as soon as the Uzbek auxiliaries had recrossed the Amu and returned home, march down with renewed vigour and superior advantages to the conquest of Bálkh, and perhaps of all Máwerannaher. At midnight the council broke up, orders were issued for a retreat, and it instantly commenced. The rear was entrusted to Mírza Hindal, Suleimán Mírza, and Husein Kuli Sultan, the keeper of the seal.*

It was morning when the army reached the broken

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* In this account of the proceedings at Bálkh, the account of Baye-2id is chiefly followed ; it is a very probable one, and he was in the camp, and had the means of being well informed. Abulfazl, (ff. 78, 79), who is followed by Ferishta and others, makes Abdal-aziz join before the retreat, and a general action is described, in which the Uzbeks had 30,000 men (Tar. Niz. f. 201.), but were defeated, and driven into

the town. Abulfazl says that Humayun proposed to improve the advantage by an immediate attack, which was not done ; while Jouher ascribes the proposal to Hindal, adding that the Emperor would not allow the place to be attacked that night. This proposal might have followed the success of the advance described in the text, when the kochekbend, or outer fortified enclosure of the town, was entered.

SECT. III.

BOOK V.

Panic in his army.

Rout.

ground on the banks of the river that flows through the Dera-Gez. In the course of the night the Uzbeks had been apprised of the retreat of their enemy, and issued out in force to pursue them. To retreat in order and with coolness in the face of an enemy, is one of the most difficult achievements even of veteran regular troops, but with an irregular army is hardly possible. The imperial soldiers no sooner found that they were on their march for the Dera-Gez, with their faces turned towards Kábul, than, believing that Kámrán was already master of that place and of their families, they were seized with consternation, and numbers of them, separating from the army, made the best of their way home across the hills, in bands or singly. All attempts to arrest or bring them back were fruitless. The panic had become complete. The Uzbeks, who went in pursuit of the retreating army, were not long of overtaking the rear-guard in the morning, when it had reached the Dera-Gez. The Uzbeks charged, and met with a short and slight resistance. It soon gave way and dispersed, the Uzbeks killing or unhorsing all whom they over took. Humáyun was at the time not far off, standing on the other side of the river with a body of his servants. News was brought to him that the Uzbeks were close upon Mírza Hindal, and that Malek Mírza had been taken. He was much distressed. "Mírza Hindal," said the keeper of the seal, "is no child, but a soldier, and will come on the best way he can." Humáyun ordered an officer who was standing by, to go and get word of Hindal. He was himself preparing to cross, when a party of Uzbeks, who reached the opposite bank, discharged an arrow at the Emperor, from an eminence. Bayezíd, who was present, tells us that he held up his shield to protect his Majesty's person; but the arrow struck the Emperor's horse in the breast. It was a favourite horse, which he had got, when at Herát, from the minister of the

young prince. The Uzbeks were, however, driven off, CHAP. III. SECT. III. and the Emperor pursued his retreat. Having advanced a little way, he ordered Husein Kuli Sultan to Flight to-rally the men and form them, so as to resist the Uz- bul. beks. He answered that it would be better to allow those who were now with his Majesty to go on, as they would be unwilling to turn and leave him. " Not a man of them," continued he, "will at this moment mind my orders." "You yourself," said the Emperor, "do not now heed my orders." "Emperor of the world," answered Husein Kuli, "pardon me;" and turned back, saying to the author, " Come you along with me, and let the other servants attend his Majesty." As the fugitives came up, such as Khizer Khwája Khan, Mosáhib Beg, Muhammed Kásim Mochi, Shahem Beg Jeláir and others, Husein Kuli called upon them to turn and fight. But nothing he could say, could induce any of them to stand and help him. "All were striving," continues Bayezíd*, each to get the other's horse, pulling it to themselves. At last the Muhrdár (keeper of the seal) was compelled also to draw off." He overtook Humáyun about noon, who received him most kindly, and praised him in the most cordial manner. The Emperor's adventures for some succeeding days, when he sought to repass the mountains by unknown or little-frequented roads, a prey to thirst, hunger and fatigue, and guided by the barbarous inhabitants, are related in the liveliest and most picturesque manner by Bayezidt, who was a sharer in his flight. At length, by the route of Kahmerd and Ghurbend, he reached the vicinity of Kábul, which he entered on the first day of the fast of Ramzán. In the Ramzán 1. midst of the general rout and panic that took place in the Dera-Gez, some chiefs are mentioned as having distinguished themselves; Hindal Mírza, Terdi Beg,

B B 4

Sept. 23.

* Bayezid, f. 45.

+ Bayezid, ff. 45-50.

BOOK V.

А. р. 1550.

Monaim Khan, Shah Bidágh and Tulik Khan Kochín are particularly named. When the rout was seen to be irreparable, the leaders dispersed, taking different roads. Mírza Suleimán returned to Badakhshán. Hindal, attended by Monaim Khan, found his way to Kunduz. Many of the Emperor's Amírs and officers, among whom was Shah Bidágh, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Atálík and other Uzbeks, who had been made prisoners at Eibek, having been allowed to return to Bálkh, made so favourable a report of the handsome treatment which they had met with, that Pír Muhammed, to show his sense of this conduct, sent back all his prisoners to Kábul, in the most humane manner; a striking instance, when contrasted with the consequences of the recent cruelties exercised at Kábul, how in war generosity produces generosity, while retaliation of injury generates the darkest passions that disgrace human nature.

Humáyun winters in Kábul.

Proceeding of Kámrán. Humáyun, on reaching Kábul, found everything safe, and that Kámrán had never in reality attempted to cross the mountains. He passed the winter in the Bála Hissár of Kábul. Kámrán, meanwhile, whose failure to join his brother had been the real cause of the late discomfiture, resolved to take advantage of the Emperor's misfortunes, to increase his own power. We have seen that he was but little satisfied with the allotment of Kuláb, which had been made to him when he was reconciled to his brother; that he had very soon become embroiled with Chaker Ali Beg, the Minister assigned him by Humáyun, and had expelled him from his province. He, nevertheless, made every profession of allegiance to the Emperor, who, confiding in his promises, had marched to Bálkh, when Kámrán's breach of promise led to the most disastrous consequences. No sooner had Humáyun recrossed the mountains, than Kámrán, who is said, for some time before, to have been carrying on a secret correspondence with several

of his brother's chief Ministers, hastened to improve CHAP. III. the opportunity for his own advantage. Leaving Askeri Mírza, therefore, in Kuláb, he marched to seize the dominions of Suleimán Mírza.*

Suleimán, unable to oppose him, retired from Talikán His attempt without fighting, and fell back upon Kila-Zefer. Kám- shán, rán entered Talikán, which he gave to Bápus Beg, and advanced to Kila-Zefer. Suleimán, placing Ishak Sultan in that fortress, the principal one of Badakhshán, withdrew to the highlands and narrow valleys of the upper country, and waited at the village of Jurm, in an inaccessible position, to see what turn affairs would take in the country below.

Kámrán, finding that nothing could be effected by and on Kunduz. any operations against Suleimán in Badakhshán, marched down to Kunduz. He there attempted to work upon Hindal Mírza by professions of friendship, and by representing their interests as being the same, to enter into an alliance with him, and to desert Humáyun. Hindal, however, did not listen to his proposals, but remained faithful to his allegiance. Upon this, Kámrán laid siege to the place, and pushed on his operations with vigour, while Hindal omitted no exertion in its defence. Kámrán, seeing himself baffled in all his attempts, at last asked assistance from the Usbeks, with whom he entered into a treaty; and a large auxiliary force was soon sent to assist him in the siege. Hindal, being hard pushed by this new and active enemy, had recourse to a stratagem, which seems to be a standing one in Eastern wars. He caused a letter to be written in Kámrán's name, addressed to himself, Proceeding on the supposition that the two Mírzas had made up their differences, and entering into details as to the best plan for overreaching the Uzbeks. The letter was entrusted to a kásid, or messenger, who, it

* Akbernáma, ff. 78, 79.; Tab. Akb. ff. 163, 164.; Tar. Niz. ff. wáríkh, f. 267.; above all Bayezíd, 200, 201.; Jouher, c. 24.; Ferishta,

vol. ii. pp. 165, 166. ; Khol : ul Tof. 42-50. He is very minute.



SECT. III.

on Badakh-

BOOK V. A. D. 1550. was contrived, fell into the hands of the Uzbeks. He was searched, and the letter discovered. The Uzbeks, concluding that the brothers had made a reconciliation to which they were to be sacrificed, alarmed and disgusted, abandoned the siege, and returned home. In consequence of this defection, the operations made little progress.

Returns to Kuláb.

It was about this time that news reached Kámrán, that Chaker Ali Beg had descended from the mountainous country into which he had been driven, and was plundering and laying waste the territory of Kuláb. Askeri, who had marched out to chastise him, was defeated, and compelled to take shelter in the town. By Kámrán's orders, Askeri marched out against him a second time, and was a second time routed. This compelled Kámrán to raise the siege of Kunduz; the rather as he learned that Suleimán Mírza had descended from his mountain retreat, and had formed a junction with Ishak Sultan at Kila-Zefer, of which he had taken possession. Kámrán, detaching a body of troops to check the advance of Suleimán, himself hastened to Kuláb. On his approach, Chaker Beg hurriedly raised the siege, and Askeri marched out and joined his brother.

Is defeated by the Uzbeks. Kámrán, taking Askeri along with him, now marched back to meet Mírza Suleimán. He had reached Rostak^{*}, near which he was encamped, when a large body of Uzbeks under Saíd, who had gone out on a foray, observing a camp at a distance, fell upon it, without inquiring whose it was, and completely plundered it. Kámrán, Askeri and Mírza Abdalla Moghul, with a few of their men, escaped to Talikán. Saíd, on learning the real state of matters, sent back the prisoners and plunder that had fallen into his hands, excusing himself to the Mírza for having, by mistake, carried off his baggage. But the mischief done was irreparable. Kámrán's army was broken and dispersed. Suleimán

Rostak lies on the Kokcha branch of the Amu.

and Hindal, taking advantage of the mischance, ad- CHAP. III. vanced in conjunction against him; while he, seeing that his strength was broken, and that all hope of effecting any thing on the Amu had vanished, made the best of his way to Khost, intending to proceed from thence, over the hills, by the route of Zohák and Bámián, as that on which there was least snow, so as to reach the Hazára country, where he could learn the true state of Kábul; and either try his fate there once more, or retire to Bheker, as circumstances might dictate.*

It is asserted that, all this time, there was a party in Excites a Humáyun's court favourable to Kámrán. It was headed Kábul by Kerácha Khan, Mosáhib Beg, Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek and other Amírs of the very first rank, and was in general composed of those who had already rebelled, who had joined Kámrán, and had finally surrendered along with him at Talikán. Though they had been pardoned, and had accompanied Humáyun in his Bálkh expedition, and now attended him in his court, they had never been restored to favour, and were still in disgrace. They are said to have carried on a private correspondence with Kámrán, inviting him to advance, and assuring him that, from the general disaffection towards Humáyun which now prevailed, they would undertake to restore him to his throne. Of the truth of these assertions, and indeed of the real causes and nature of the intrigues and discontents that produced the many revolutions at Kabul at this era, very little is, with certainty, known. The events of the times have been recorded chiefly by the servants of Humáyun and his son, who are disposed to represent every thing in

* Akbernáma, ff. 79, 80.; Tab. ff. 163, 164.; Tar. Niz. ff. 201, 202.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 166, 167. ; Ferishta says that Humáyun wrote to Ali Shir Khan, one of Kámrán's officers, making him great

promises, to seize his master, and send him prisoner to court. Bayezid, f. 50. gives the command of the Uzbeks to Mir Taulon Uzbek, not to Said.

A. D. 1550.

BOOKY. the most favourable light for that prince, who, with many high and agreeable qualities, was evidently very thoughtless and very impolitic. We may sometimes, from the course of events, infer that suspicions of treachery are alleged to save the credit of the prince. At the same time, that treachery was common, and left little imputation on the character of the traitor, is no less evident from the whole history of the times.

When Kámrán, after his disaster on the Amu, was crossing the mountains, he received communications from the discontented Amírs, urging him to march at once upon Kábul, where they would join him. To lull the suspicions of Humáyun, the Mírza sent him envoys to announce his coming, the object of which he pretended was to ask forgiveness for his late offences, and to submit himself in every respect to the Emperor's orders, relying solely on his never-failing clemency. Humáyun is said to have listened with favour to these pretences, till reminded by his counsellors how little faith could be placed in his brother's representations; and that any new indulgence which the Emperor might grant him, might be ascribed rather to weakness than generosity. Humáyun, therefore, made preparations for intercepting the Mírza, and leaving Kábul to the nominal charge of Akber, under the direction of Muhammed Kásim Khan Birlás, he marched for the hills by Kárábágh and Charikárán, and halted for a time at Ab-Bárán.*

Divides his forces.

А. н. 957.

Humáyun prepares to

seize him.

Here Kerácha and the Emperor's other advisers,-for Kerácha seems still to have had influence, - recommended that the different passes in the mountainous country should be occupied, so as to prevent the Mírza's escape. Abulfazl asserts that this advice was given for the purpose of weakening the Emperor's force. But, if Kámrán was suspected of attempting, with his broken

* Abulfazl says he left Kábul in the middle of 957.

bands, to reach the Hazáras, it was only by some such CHAP. operation that he could have been intercepted. Accordingly Háji Muhammed Khan was sent towards Zohák and Bámián with one strong division, and Monaim Khan towards Sal-Auleng with another. It is affirmed that at this time, Kerácha Khan and the conspirators sent daily reports to Kámrán of all that passed in the imperial camp; and that, when every thing was prepared for the Mírza's success, by the dispersion of the army, he was instructed to turn away from Zohák and Bámián which he had reached, and hastening by forced marches towards the Dera Kipchák, a dependency of Ghurbend, where Humáyun lay with his diminished force, to fall upon him by surprise. It is said that the Emperor's suspicions were lulled asleep by the constant asseverations of those about him, that Kámrán's only anxiety was to throw himself at the Emperor's feet. But the division of the troops for the purpose of intercepting him, shows that this was not altogether relied upon; and it seems clear that Humáyun was not only ill-informed of his brother's movements, but supposed his force to be much less than it really was.

The Emperor had passed up the defile of Kipchák, Is surprised by Kámrán. and was encamped at the upper end of it, when, about nine in the morning, a servant of Mír Asghar Munshi, one of the officers appointed to guard the pass, arrived full speed and out of breath, calling out, "The Mírza is coming," which spread an alarm among the men. Humáyun, being angry, ordered the man's head to be struck off. The troops were instantly armed, and marched for the Dera, or valley. They soon came within sight of the Mírza's advance. When Humávun had got a bowshot within the valley, a hill was seen another bowshot farther off, behind a projection of which the Mírza's advance, under his son-in-law Ak Sultan, had taken their station. The ground in front of this projection was broken and rocky. Hussein



BOOK V. A. D. 1550.

Kuli Sultan, the Keeper of the Seal, Kunduk Sultan brother of Biram Ughlan, Mírza Kuli Choli, Pír Muhammed Akhteh and others bravely pushed on to drive them from their position; but, the ground being steep and difficult, they did not succeed. Pír Muhammed was slain by an arrow. Mírza Kuli's horse fell and broke his rider's leg. His son, who was with the guards, while charging to remount and carry off his father, was also slain. The Muhrdár's horse was wounded, and threw him. Bayezíd, who attended him, brought another horse, and succeeded in remounting him, and in carrying him off to the Emperor's lines.

Want of zeal among Humáyun's chiefs,

The Emperor himself now advanced. When he reached the spot where the slain were lying, Kámrán made his appearance on the projecting hill with his wives and daughters, followed by the rest of his troops. The Emperor's matchlock-men, says Bayezid, did not load their pieces with ball, most of them having been in the service of the Mírza at Kábul. The Mírza's people keeping up an uninterrupted discharge of arrows, most of the horses and men of His Majesty's party were soon wounded. At this period, continues Bayezid, Kásim Husein Khan was on the other side of the river, and had before him a good way by which he might have reached the Mirza's advance, but he made no onset, and stood still. None other of the Sirdars ventured to charge the Mírza. Kámrán, perceiving that they were shaken, marched down the declivity, and pushed on straight for the standards. The standard-bearers, not thinking themselves able to keep their ground, turned and fled: and Kásim Husein Khan with his force fled also.

Flight, and wound of Humáyun. The rout was now general, and Humáyun joined in the flight, returning back the road by which he had come. One Babái of Kuláb, overtaking him,—whether he knew who he was is uncertain,—struck him a heavy blow on his cap * which wounded him behind the ear, and

had raised his sword to repeat the blow, when Humáyun, CHAP. turning round, and looking his assailant sternly in the face, exclaimed, "Wretched rebel!" Babái, from surprise, suspended his blow for a moment, when Mehter Sagái, the wardrobe keeper, afterwards known as Ferkhat Khan, interposed, and Babái drew off. Humáyun was supported, and born away on horse-back. Muhammed Amír and Abdal Wáháb protected his retreat. Humáyun, however, was so severely wounded, and so faint from loss of blood, that, in the course of his flight, he threw off his jabba, a quilted or padded corselet, which he gave to one of his servants to carry. The man, being pursued, soon afterwards threw it away, to lighten himself in his flight; an incident that was afterwards followed by very important consequences.

Humáyun now resolved to push for Zohák and Bámián, where he expected to find Háji Muhammed and his division, who had gone up by the Sirtán pass. As he had become faint, and was unable to bear the motion of his own spirited horse, he exchanged it for a small ambling pye-bald one, offered him by Mír Syed Birkeh, on which he was lifted, and the Mír and Khwája Khizer, riding on each side of him, supported him as he went along. Towards the end of the night, he reached the entrance of the Sirtán pass, having been joined by a few of the fugitives. The cold air and fatigue had by this time much affected him, and he again felt faint from his wound. Mír Birkeh took off his cloak, and threw it over him. It was morning when he gained the top of the pass, where he soon began to feel the heat of the morning sun, and halted by the side of a stream, where he had his wound washed and dressed, and said his ori-Sons: and, not long after, Háji Muhammed Khan ar- He is joined rived with three hundred well equipped veteran horse. by a rein-This placed Humáyun in comparative security.*

Shah Bidágh Khan, Tulik Kochín, * The spirit of defection was still in operation. He one day sent out Majnún and others to the number

BOOK. V.

Proceeds to the north.

As he still suffered much from his wound, he remained for some days in the hills about Zohák and Bámián. Meanwhile, however, he consulted with his Amírs, what steps were most advisable to be taken. Háji Muhammed advised going to Kandahár; others were for pushing on for Kábul, while some were for retiring upon the provinces on the Amu. Shah Muhammed, Háji's brother, was sent down with Háji's men to pass through Kábul, and to proceed to secure Ghazni. Humáyun wrote by him to Akber, to announce at once his defeat, and his safety. Having himself finally resolved to proceed to the northern provinces, he went on to Kahmerd.* On his route, he was entertained by the wandering Aimáks, according to their notions of hospitality. While with them, he learned the approach, first, of one caravan with 300 horses, and afterwards of another with 1700, on their way from the west of Hindustán. Of these Humáyun seized as many as suited his purpose, giving his bond for the amount. From Kahmerd he proceeded by Alenjek, where he halted a week, and then went on, and encamped on the banks of the Bángi. Here, as they were mistaken for a caravan, a voice was heard from the other side of the river, inquiring, what news they had of the Emperor. Humáyun ordered that no answer should be given, but that in return they should ask, Who the enquirer was, -by whom sent, -and what he had heard of the Em-

of ten, on a reconnaissance towards Kábul. Of the whole number Tulik Kochín only returned.

The ewer-bearer relates several amusing anecdotes chiefly regarding the difficulties to which Humáyun was reduced, and to his want of elothing. It was long before they could get for him, wounded as he was, a samiána, or awning fit to cover one person; his coat being clotted with blood, he was glad to get back a cast off coat, which he had given a domestic, by whom it had been worn; his trowsers being spotted with blood, an old woman brought and presented to him a pair of her own silk drawers. "These," said he, "were never intended for man to wear, but necessity has no law;" and he drew them on. He gave the woman a present, with a certificate relieving her from all taxes. Jouher, c. 24.

peror? The man informed them that he was of the CHAP. III. Meshi tribe, and had been sent by Nazeri Sal-Alengi to get news of the Emperor, as a report had reached them that His Majesty had been defeated, had left the field of battle wounded, and had never since been heard of; but that the quilted cuirass, which he wore in the fight, had been found, covered with blood, and carried to Kámrán, who was overjoyed, believing that the Emperor had perished. The man was desired to come over, brought into the Emperor's presence, and asked if he knew who it was. "Can the Grace of God be obscured ?" said he; * on which he was dismissed, and ordered to spread the news as widely as he could; and to desire his master to meet the Emperor when he returned that way.

At Khinjan the Emperor met Mírza Hindal who ac- And precompanied him to Anderáb, where he was joined by Mírza Suleimán and his son Ibráhím Mírza; as well as by all the detachments which had been sent out before the action to intercept Mírza Kámrán; and every preparation was now made for recrossing the mountains to Kábul.†

But it is time to return to Kámrán, whom we left on conduct of the field of battle at the Dera Kipchák. When told that Humáyun was entirely defeated and had fled, he could hardly believe his own good fortune. The defeated troops fled by three different roads; by that of Ghurbend; by the direct road to Kábul, and by the road to Istálíf. Parties were sent in pursuit of them all. Numbers were overtaken and slain, or stript of whatever they possessed. The Hazáras too, ever ready for indiscriminate plunder, infested the ways, stopped

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* This answer is that recorded by Abulfazl. The ewer-bearer merely says that the man did recognize him.

† Akbernáma, ff. 80, 81.; Tar. Nizámí, ff. 201, 202.; Tab. Ak-

VOL. II.

pares to re-

turns to

Kábul,

Kámrán.

beri, 164, 165.; Jouher, c. 24.; Bayezid, ff. 50-53.; Kholáset-ul-Towarikh, f. 267. Both Jouher and Bayezid were in the action.



A.D. 1550.

3/86

all whom they met, and robbed them of their horses, arms, and clothing. Kámrán's flatterers soon restored him to his accustomed presumption. Before he left the ground, Bába Saíd brought in Kerácha, who was wounded. The Mírza addressed him courteously, inquiring if his wound was severe, and soon restored him to his wonted favour and authority. Soon after, Huseinkuli Sultan, the keeper of the seal, a man much esteemed both by Humáyun and his father, was brought in as a prisoner : when Kámrán himself struck him with his sabre, and commanded him to be hewn to pieces in his own presence. Takhjí Beg, another old and respected Amír, shared the same fate. Bába Kulábi arrived with information that the Emperor was wounded; immediately upon which, Yasan Doulat was despatched with a party to attempt to overtake him in his flight. Kásim Husein Sultan, who had taken little part in the action, retired when it was over to a neighbouring hill; from which he was soon after induced to descend, and enter the Mírza's service.

The Mírza proceeded, without loss of time, to Charikár, where a man arrived bringing the Emperor's bloody cuirass, which completed the Mírza's satisfaction. He hastened on to Kábul, and at once sat down before it. Kásim Khan Birlás who commanded in the place, though formerly a servant of Kámrán, determined to hold out faithfully for the Emperor, unmoved by the reports which universally prevailed; till they were confirmed by the bold assertions of the Mírza, and by a sight of the bloody cuirass, which was sent in for him to examine. Convinced by the statements that were made, and by this melancholy confirmation of them, and believing resistance to be now fruitless, he surrendered the town, and Akber became a third time a prisoner in the hands of his uncle.*

He occupies Kábul.

Akbernáma, &c. as above.

Kámrán now lost no time in increasing his army, cu and in dividing the different governments of Kábul among his partizans. His prime adviser was Kerácha. He gave Júi-Sháhi (now Jelálábád) to Askeri, Ghazni to Kerácha, and Ghurbend to Yasan Doulat. He seized all Humáyun's treasures, and, having imprisoned his Diwán, extorted large sums from him. He drew to himself whatever he could, by all kinds of tyranny and extortion; so that, if he enriched his treasury, he impoverished his kingdom.

But he was not left long to carry on these operations Advance of in peace. Three months had not passed when news was brought to Kábul that Humáyun still lived, and was marching from Anderáb, at the head of a formidable army. Kámrán immediately concentrated his army, and being joined by a number of Hazáras and other mountaineers, moved forward to meet him, before he could descend to the low country.

By the time Humáyun had lain about six weeks at Anderáb, he had been joined by many detached bodies of his army, and had collected such a force, that, his wound being now cured, he resolved once more to march over the hills to Kábul; and, it being still summer, to take the direct route of Hindu-koh. There Hiscompact had recently been so many instances of defection and chiefs. desertion, even among Amírs of the highest rank, that, apprehensive of being again abandoned in trying circumstances, as he alleged that he had already been, he resolved to administer to them a test-oath, to secure their fidelity by superstition, as Abulfazl insinuates, since true religion and a sense of duty had been insufficient to retain them in their allegiance. This oath was to be administered to each body of men in the way supposed by them to be most binding upon their consciences; and, by the terms of it, they engaged to follow and obey him, as their prince and leader, faithfully, sincerely and honestly. By this solemn act, he procc2

SECT. III.

Humáyun.

with his

A. D. 1550.

38

posed not only to influence such as took the oath, but to inspire all his friends and followers with confidence. To carry this design into effect, he assembled the Mírzas, Amírs and chief men, who were with the army, and explained to them his purpose. Háji Muhammed Khan Koka, who, says Abulfazl, was deficient both in respect and fidelity, observed that when all had taken the oath as required, it might be proper for his Majesty to take an oath on his part, engaging "that whatever we, his well-wishers, recommend with a view to his interest, and deem indispensable for that purpose, he will consent to, and perform." Mírza Hindal, firing at this suggestion, exclaimed, "Háji Muhammed! what means all this? What are you saying? Never surely did servants address a master, or slaves their lord, in language like this!" Humáyun, however, interposed; "Let it be," said the Emperor, "as Háji Muhammed and the other chiefs desire. Whatever they shall advise for my interest and with good intent, that will I execute." *

When this mutual agreement, unparalleled perhaps in Asiatic history, had been ratified and confirmed, the army marched on. On the part of Humáyun it was an attempt to secure the fidelity of the army and its leaders, under all circumstances. The singular demand of Háji Muhammed, imperfectly explained by contemporary writers, seems to indicate a general want of confidence in the judgment and steadiness of the Emperor, which indeed, if we consider the whole previous course of his history, is not wonderful. Háji Muhammed was a foster-brother in the family, and may, therefore, be supposed to have been sincerely attached to it. But his freedom on this occasion was not grateful to royal ears, and was probably never forgiven. Abulfazl, the Minister of Humáyun's son, always speaks

* Akbernáma, f. 82. Jouher also, c. 25. mentions the incident with some slight variation.

of him with distrust and dislike, though he seems to CHAP. have been one of the Emperor's most efficient servants.

Could any limits have been imposed upon the absolute power of the prince, the present was not, perhaps, an unfavourable crisis. It, in many respects, resembled those situations in which the barons of England extorted charters and concessions from the King. A civil war raged. The monarch had been eminently unsuccessful in his enterprises, had suffered many defeats, and been repeatedly driven from his throne. His talents for government were not of a high class; and his popularity was, probably, not great in his new kingdom. His nobles, who were powerful, had been sufferers by his repeated failures, yet on them was placed his only hope of restoration. They had still much of the Tartar independence, and exercised the right of transferring their allegiance from one competitor to another, as their private interest seemed to require. It was in their power at any time, if not to raise, at least to pull down their monarch. All this made it easy to humble the crown. But when that was done, the result was little favourable to liberty, or to any settled government. The power, which the Sovereign lost, the nobility did not gain. They had no principle of cohesion among themselves. There was no body connected as a peerage, no hereditary rank, nor great ancestral possessions, that secured to certain families a large and regular dependence of followers. There was no Great Council in which they could meet and deliberate, and take common measures for the benefit of their order. Nor was this defect of concert and stability confined to the nobles. In like manner, there was no church. There were many revered Khwájas and Múllas, whose fame and influence was extensive; but it was confined to the individual. There were no assemblies of the church or of churchmen. interposed between the King and the nobles, or between the nobles and the people, acting, by turns, as a pro-CC 3



A. D. 1550.

tection, or a check, to them all. The popular, or municipal, power had no existence. There were no large towns, governed by their own magistrates, and asserting particular privileges,-no corporations, that united large bodies of the lower classes in a common interest, and gave them the means of a common defence. There, was, in reality, no common-weal at all,-no foundation for free institutions. The people had nothing to do with law or authority, but to obey them. Nothing was fixed or stable, but despotism. All power was in the Sovereign, and in the irregular and, as short-lived, so, generally rapacious power of the Amírs, derived from him, founded on his grant, and personal to the individual from whom it could at any time be withdrawn. There were, therefore, no materials, out of which the fabric of liberty could be built. Any power taken from the Sovereign went to particular nobles, and continued equally despotic in their hands. A regular body of laws, free institutions, or permanent protection against misrule, was never dreamt of. The prince was the shadow and representative of God upon earth. If, for any cause, he was deposed, another was substituted in his place, everything else remaining unchanged. The great peculiarity, in the present instance, was, that the great Amírs did not displace the monarch, but placed restraints upon his power. This led, necessarily, to a standing council, which, had not everything else been adverse, might have proved the first step, one element of a better government; for any permanent institution, whatever it may be, that acts as a check upon absolute power, must in its tendency be favourable to liberty, by setting limits to oppression.

The armies of Humáyun and Kámrán meet. Humáyun, having surmounted the northern slope of Hindu-kúsh, descended on the south into the valleys of Penjshír and Ashterkerám. On arriving near Shuter-

gerden, he saw the army of Kámrán drawn up on a hill CHAP. III. right in the line of march.

The two armies being now close upon each other, Humáyun Humáyun, desirous to save the effusion of human blood, unsuccesssent Mírza Shah Sultan *, of the family of the Syeds of fully to ne-Termiz, to the camp of Kámrán to propose a pacification. The men of these holy families were the great negociators of the time, and the respect paid to the sanctity of their character, in the midst of the ravage and rapine that prevailed, often enabled them to alleviate the mischiefs of war. The Mírza was, besides, related to the imperial family. The proposals which he carried were, that Kámrán should acknowledge the supremacy of his elder brother; and that they should unite their armies, and in conjunction undertake the conquest of Hindustán. To this Kámrán consented, but on condition that he should keep Kábul, while Humáyun retained Kandahár. Humáyun sent back his envoy a second time, accompanied by his Sadr, to propose by way of compromise, that the young Prince Akber should be left in the government of Kábul, which, as well as their conquests in Hindustán, should be common to both. Kámrán, it is said, was disposed to have acceded to these terms, but was dissuaded by Kerácha Khan, who insisted on not giving up Kábul, exclaiming, " My head and Kábul;" meaning death or Kábul. A battle, therefore, became inevitable. Humáyun issued orders that the whole army should be ready for action next morning, four hours before sunrise.

Kámrán's astrologers declared that day to him unfavourable for an engagement, and he, in consequence, sought to gain time. While the armies lay thus opposed to each other, Khwája Abdal Simd, and several officers who had been separated from the Emperor at

> * He is called the brother of Mir Birkeh. cc4



gociate.

A. D. 1550.

Orders an attack.

BOOK the surprize of Kipchák, and had taken service with Kámrán, deserted and went back to him, carrying information that there was considerable perturbation and alarm in the enemy's camp. In the course of the day, Humáyun put his troops in motion. He himself took the centre, Suleimán Mírza had the right wing, Hindal the left, Mírza Ibráhím the advance, and Háji Muhammed with some veteran officers, the reserve. Kámrán drew out his troops to meet him, himself taking the centre, and assigning the right to Askeri Mírza, the left to Ak Sultan, his son-in-law, and the advance to Kerácha Khan. "When they came near the enemy," says Jouher, " and there was but a slight space between the two armies, Háji Muhammed Khan advised that the troops should be brought to a halt, and that no fight should take place that day. As there was a compact between the Emperor and his Amírs, he saw no remedy, but ordered Beg Mirek to make the troops halt. At this moment the Mírzas came up and said, that "they were not for encamping ; that the battle must be fought that day; that it was not prudent to wait to be attacked, but better for them to attack Kámrán, and to conquer or die." The orders had been issued, but difficulties occurred; the troops were not prepared to encamp. Abdal Wáháb came, and represented to His Majesty, "The army is now face to face to the enemy. We have no tents to enable us to encamp." His Majesty said, " Let us advance in order. If we are opposed, it is well. If not, we shall take up a position on the banks of the river." The army, therefore, again moved forward." *

Kámrán was posted on a lofty eminence, having the rest of his army hard by. Mírza Ibráhím, who commanded the Emperor's advance, by a desperate attack, seized the heights. He was followed by the Emperor,

Jouher, c. 25.

who ordered the matchlock-men by whom he was at- CHAP. III. tended, to open a fire on the lower ground. Kerácha, moving forward with a body of cavalry, attacked and broke the Emperor's left, and wheeling round, proceeded to charge the right wing, when he was wounded by a matchlock bullet, and soon after dismounted and made prisoner, by a man of inferior rank. As they were leading him from the field, one Kamber Ali, whose brother Kerácha had put to death at Kandahár, coming behind him and taking off his steel-cap, cleft his skull with a blow of his sabre, and cutting off his head, presented it to the Emperor, who afterwards directed it to be placed over the Iron Gate of Kábul, to verify the Khan's words, "My head and Kábul." In Kerácha the Emperor lost a formidable enemy. After a well con- Defeat and flight of tested battle, Kámrán, seeing the imperialists victorious Kámrán. on every side, abandoned the field, and fled, by the pass of Bádbáj, towards the Afghán country. A party under Hindal and Háji Muhammed, which was sent to pursue him, soon returned, having used but little diligence in the attempt to overtake him. Mírza Askeri was taken prisoner. The victors plundered the enemy's camp, and slew numbers of them. Many, who surrendered, were received into the Emperor's service. The victory was complete, and most opportune for his affairs. But what above all delighted him was the arrival of the young Akber, who was brought by Hasan Akhteh, to whose care he had been entrusted, after his father had had reason to fear that Kámrán had carried him off. He affectionately embraced his son, engaged himself by vow to make certain pious and charitable donations, and resolved on no future expedition to separate from him more.

We are told that the Emperor soon after observed two camels loaded with trunks, wandering without drivers on the field of battle. "Let every man take what booty he can find," said the Emperor, " these two



SECT. III.

BOOK V.

Humáyun re-occupies Kábul, camels are my share." When the boxes were opened, he was alike surprised and gratified to find that they contained the very books which he had lost at the rout of Kipchák. Some of the most flagrant offenders were put to death. In the evening, the Emperor had a grand entertainment in the Garden-palace of Charikárán, to celebrate his victory; after which he lost no time in proceeding to Kábul, which he entered next day without resistance.*

The first days after his arrival in that city were spent in rewarding his friends, and punishing his enemies, some of them capitally. Mírza Suleimán, who with his son, had rendered distinguished service, was sent back to Badakhshán, loaded with rewards. Mírza Ibráhím remained some time longer, and, before his departure, was betrothed to Bakhshi Bánu Begum; the Emperor's daughter. Akber got the district of Chirkh in Lohger, as a jágír : and Háji Muhammed Khan was appointed his Minister, with the care of his education. Humáyun spent about a year in Kábul, at this time.

А. н. 958, л. д. 1551.

> * Akbernáma, ff. 82, 83. Tab. Akb. ff. 164, 165.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 202.; Jouher, c. 26.; Bayezíd,

ff. 53, 54.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.; Khol. ul-Tow. f. 269.



CHAPTER III.

HUMÁYUN IN AFGHÁNISTÁN.

SECTION IV.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF KÁMRÁN. DETERMINATION OF HUMÁYUN TO RECOVER INDIA.

WANDERINGS OF KÁMRÁN. - REPOSE OF HUMÁYUN. - NEW ATTEMPTS OF KÁMRÁN. - MEASURES TO SEIZE HIM. - HE FLIES TOWARDS THE INDUS. --- CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF HUMÁYUN. -- TRANQUILLIZATION OF AFGHÁNISTÁN. - HUMÁYUN MARCHES AGAINST KÁMBÁN. - NIGHT ATTACK ON THE IMPERIAL CAMP .- DEATH OF HINDAL .- THE CAMP OF KÁMRÁN SURPRISED. - HE FLIES TO SELÍM SHAH. - HUMÁYUN LAYS WASTE BANGASH .- THE GAKERS OFFER TO SURRENDER KAM-RÁN. - HIS VISIT TO THE CAMP OF SELÍM SHAH. - HIS HUMILIATING RECEPTION, ESCAPE, SUBSEQUENT WANDERINGS, AND DETENTION BY THE GAKERS. -- SURRENDERS TO HUMÁYUN. -- IS DEPRIVED OF HIS EYESIGHT. --- REMAINING INCIDENTS OF HIS LIFE. --- HIS INTERVIEW WITH HUMÁYUN. --- IS DESERTED BY HIS ATTENDANTS. --- PROCEEDS TO SIND AND MEKKA. - DEVOTION OF HIS WIFE. - THEIR DEATHS. -HUMÁYUN PLUNDERS THE COUNTRY .--- DEFECTION AMONG HIS TROOPS. - HE RECROSSES THE INDUS .- REBUILDS AND PROVISIONS PESHÁWER. RETURNS TO KABUL. - FAVOURABLE STATE OF HIS AFFAIRS. - HE RESOLVES TO RECONQUER INDIA.

MEANWHILE Kámrán, after his defeat at Ashterkerám, having made his escape from the field, fled, attended by only eight followers, and found his way through many difficulties and dangers, towards Deh Sebz, a distriet in the midst of the country of the Afgháns. It is to be recollected that, at this time, the Afgháns consisted of a set of independent tribes; or, if they owned

CHAP. III. SECT. IV.

A. D. 1551. A. H. 958 Wanderings of Kámrán,

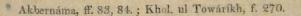
BOOK V.

any submission to Kábul, it was only nominal. They lay chiefly in the tract to the east of Kabul and Ghazni. The wild Afgháns, through whose country Kámrán passed, met him as he fled, and plundered him and his followers of the little they had left. He found himself compelled to cut off his hair and beard; and wandering in the disguise of a Kalender, or religious mendicant, found his way through the hills to Melek Muhammed of Mandráwer, the most distinguished chief of the Lamghánát, to whom he discovered himself, who, out of consideration for the Mírza's former rank and greatness, took a warm interest in his affairs. The reverses of fortune which he had endured, did not deter the Mírza from still indulging in schemes of ambition. He was soon joined by a party of soldiers of fortune, who had escaped from the late defeat, and collected a number of adventurers from the neighbouring country, and from the wandering tribes, so that his force amounted to fifteen hundred men. He was supposed to have extended his intrigues into the court of Humáyun, a suspicion which gave that prince, still but insecurely settled on his throne, no small degree of uneasiness. It so happened that, at this very moment, Háji Muhammed Khan suddenly left the court of Humáyun without leave, and withdrew to his government of Ghazni; a step which the Emperor suspected to be connected with designs in favour of Kámrán; though he affected to talk of this insult as merely a piece of humour. He, however, despatched a considerable force to defeat the new efforts of Kámrán, who, unable to resist, fled from Mandráwer to the upper part of the valleys of Alankár and Alisheng. Being pursued thither also, he next fled eastward into the county of the Khalil, Mehmend and Daúd-zái Afgháns, among whom he arrived in a most destitute situation. The few followers, who had attended him thus far, there dispersed, and scattered

over the country. His pursuers, having followed him CHAP. SECT. IV. as far as Ghaz and Shahidán, returned home.

Humáyun had now a short period of repose, during Repose of which, still farther to confirm Suleimán Mírza in his Humáyun. interest, he asked Shahzáda Khánum the Mírza's daughter in marriage, and she was betrothed to him. Mírza Askeri, still his prisoner, he sent to be guarded in Badakhshán, whence he had permission, which was equivalent to a command, to proceed to Mekka. That prince survived nearly seven years, and died at last A. H. 965, A. A. 1558. between Damascus and the holy city.*

No reverses could damp the ardour with which New at-Kámrán strove to regain his throne. He again began tempts of to collect a new body of adventurers around him. They consisted chiefly of the Khalíl and Mehmend Afgháns, joined by numbers of soldiers of fortune of every description, who flocked to his standard in hopes of plunder or of place, should he regain the crown. With these he soon infested the whole eastern borders of Kábul, and, occasionally, pushed his plundering excursions into the heart of the more level country, retiring with his marauders, when pursued, into the narrow glens and mountain recesses which encompass the greater part of Kábul. Humáyun saw the necessity of Putting a speedy and final stop to these incursions, and was sensible that the only effectual mode of doing so was to follow his enemy into the country that afforded him refuge, wherever that might be. He sent, therefore, to invite Háji Muhammed to join him in this ex-Pedition with the troops of Ghazni. But, hearing in the meanwhile that Kámrán had laid siege to a fort near the Chárbágh, not far from Júi-Sháhi (now Jelálábad), he set out in that direction with the few troops he had with him, without waiting for the reinforcement from Ghazni. Kámrán, hearing of his rapid approach,





A. D. 1551.

raised the siege, and retreated downwards to Pesháwer; whence, making a circuit by Bangash and Gardíz, he proceeded towards Kábul, giving out that it was for the purpose of forming a junction with Háji Muhammed. Abulfazl affirms that that Amír was now entirely in Kámrán's interest, and had invited him to unite their forces for an attack upon the capital. However that may be, at that very time Biram Khan arrived at Ghazni, on his way from Kandahár to Kábul. He was an old friend of the governor's, who received him with much honour, and invited him to a grand entertainment within the fort, intending, says Abulfazl, to have seized him. Biram Khan, who got some intimation of evil designs, feigning an excuse, waived the invitation, and encamped by a stream near the town; where he was visited by Háji Muhammed, whom by his superior art and address, he prevailed upon to accompany him to Kábul. Humáyun, meanwhile, no sooner heard of Kámrán's movements, than he hurried back to defend his capital. The Mírza, after he had arrived within one march of Kábul, hearing that Biram Khan and Háji Muhammed were not far off on their march to join the Emperor, seeing all chance of success gone, turned back, to wander some time longer in the straths and hills of Lamghán.*

* Akbernáma, f. 84. ; Nizám-eddín Ahmed) Tab. Akb. f. 165. and Tar. Niz. f. 203.) makes Humáyun write to Kandahár to request Biram Khan to visit Háji Muhammed and seize him. He also affirms that Háji wrote to Kámrán inviting him to come to Ghazni, when he was ready to acknowledge him as king. From whatever cause, it is clear that the ruin of Háji Muhammed was resolved upon. Perhaps his conduct in the matter of the test-oath was not forgotten. Abulfazl is so much a partizan of the Emperor and of Biram Khan, that we can hardly

expect from him an impartial account of transactions in which that great man was concerned. Háji Muhammed probably stood a little in Biram's way. He had been Prime Minister, and seems to have been laid aside, first for Kerácha, and now for Biram Khan. Whether the disaffection laid to his charge was real, or only a pretext for superseding him, it is hard to determine. If real, it seems strange that he should twice have been induced to go to Kábul. He evidently at this time did not consider his life to be safe. After Biram Khan and Háji Muhammed had reached CHAP. III. Kábul, the latter, when one day entering the city, was stopped at the gate and turned back, with rather a pointed message from the governor. This, added to the manifest jealousy which the Emperor had shown, naturally roused his suspicion that something was in agitation against him. He, therefore, resolved to escape before the Emperor arrived; and, to prevent being detained, instead of proceeding straight to Ghazni, he set out for Kárábágh on the north, under pretence of a hunting party; passed the defile of Minár, and made his way through the hills to Bába Kochkár, whence he hastened, by the Damankoh of Behzadi and Alinder, towards Ghazni.

When Humáyun soon after reached Siah-sang near Measures to Kábul, on his way back to oppose Kámrán, he was met seize Kámby Biram Khan. Finding that Kámrán had retreated, and resolved to follow him wherever he was to be found, that an end might be put to those eternal alarms of which he was the cause,-he issued orders that not a man should leave the camp, or enter Kábul. As he was not at his ease in regard to Háji Muhammed, he despatched Biram Khan to prevail upon him once more to return to the camp, if possible amicably, but at all events to bring him. The Khan, by his prudent and conciliating management, and by engaging for certain conditions which he confirmed by oath, succeeded in mollifying and reassuring the Háji, and finally conducted him to the presence when all the forms of a reconciliation took place.

A few days after this event, the Emperor marched back to the Lamghánát in pursuit of Kámrán. By the time he reached Júi-Sháhi, the Mírza fled through the passes of Kuner Nurgil higher up the Kama River, while his followers dispersed. Biram Khan, now honoured with the title of Khan-Khánán, was sent with a body of troops to pursue him, which he did with so much vigour

SECT. IV.



GI

A. D. 1551. Who flies towards the Indus,

BOOK V.

40

that the Mírza, not finding himself safe in the territory of Kuner Nurgil, went off towards the Indus. Biram Khan rejoined the Emperor at Daka, between Júi-Sháhi and the Khaiber Pass.

It was at this time that the Emperor caused Háji Muhammed Khan and his brother Shah Muhammed to be seized. They were charged with turbulent and rebellious designs, and after the forms of a regular investigation, were found guilty, stript of all their honours and possessions, and when they had been kept a short time in prison, were put to death. Indeed, in the condition in which the countries under Humáyun then were, it was not safe for the prince, after quarrelling with any subject, to leave him powerful. It would have been only affording him the means of aiding a rival with greater effect. Humáyun, influenced probably by the stern, but successful, policy of Biram Khan, seems, at length, to have resolved to quell rebellion, and to punish disaffection with unsparing severity, in every one, from the prince to the peasant. Ghazni and the other jágírs of the two brothers, were divided among the Emperor's adherents.*

The winter Humáyun spent in hunting and festivity, and in settling the neighbouring country. Early in the spring he had the satisfaction of receiving deputations from different tribes of Afgháns, with acknowledgements of submission and tributary offerings. The flight of Kámrán allowed things to assume a better form than they had done for a long period. Biram Khan returned to Kandahár. The countries of Ghazni, Gurdíz, Bangash and Lohger were entrusted to Hindal; Kunduz, which the Mírza had held, was given to Mír Birkeh; Júi-Sháhi to Khizer Khwája Khan. When these arrangements were made, Hindal, leaving Kunduz, repaired to Ghazni. But before Mír Birkeh arrived at

* Akbernáma, f. 84.; Tab. Akb. f. 165.; Tar. Niz. f. 202, 203.; Jouher, c. 26.

Change in the policy of Humáyun

Tranquillization of Afghánistán. Kunduz to supply his place, Mírza Ibráhím contrived cnar. to get possession of it, and it was allowed, if not by $\frac{\text{SECT.}}{\text{SECT.}}$ secret treaty, at least by connivance, to remain in his hands.

It was about this time that Shah Abul-Maali entered Humáyun's service. He was a Pírzáda, or son of a Pír or saintly personage, and claimed to be descended of the Syeds of Turmez who were connected with the imperial family. He was a man of decision and talent, by which, and by the unbounded influence he gained over the Emperor's mind, in spite of his presumptuous and overbearing temper, he rose to high rank and estimation.

But Kámrán, meanwhile, had not been idle. In the Humáyun course of his wanderings, he had contrived to collect marches about him a new and considerable body of adventurers, Kámrán. with whom he advanced, and once more entered Júi-Sháhi, the middle point between the upper and lower country. The Emperor immediately summoned Hindal and the Jágírdárs nearest to the capital, to join his array. They obeyed, and he marched against Kámrán, who, without meeting him, retreated into his usual mountain recesses. When the camp reached Surkháb, however, Kámrán, descending from the hills, made a fierce attack by night on the advance, which lay at the Siah-áb between that town and Gandemak. The troops, though surprised, defended themselves bravely, and maintained their ground; but lost many men, and a great part of their baggage.

Humáyun proceeded on his march, through a broken mountainous country, so close on the hills, and so beset with steep lowering cliffs, ravines, valleys and hill passes, that he was in constant danger of being surprised, or of having the different divisions of his army separated from each other, and cut off by the sudden attacks of an unseen foe. Passing Júi-Sháhi, he advanced as far as Jirbár, a township in the territory of

VOL. II.

Nanginhár, beyond Behsúd, guarding his camp and

BOOK V

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Night attack on the Imperial camp. Zekáda 21, eve of Nov. 20, march with watchful care. On his arrival, he ordered the camp to be surrounded with trenches to prevent surprise, and erected a temporary fort on a rising ground. Two Afgháns brought a report that the Mírza intended, that same night, to attack the camp with a body of Khalíl and Mehmend Afgháns. It was the eve of the 20th of November. The guards were ordered to watch in the trenches, and to be on the alert. About the end of the first watch of the night, an attack was made accordingly. The Emperor was on the rising ground; Hindal in the camp below. The onset was furious, and the contest continued hot for some time, each officer defending his own portion of the works, some part of which, however, the enemy succeeded in scaling, and entered the enclosure. Some men of note were slain ; all was confusion and uncertainty, friend and foe being mixed together and covered by the darkness of the night; when the rising of the moon showed the real state of things, and the imperialists recovered their superiority. The assailants took to flight, but Mírza Hindal had fallen in the fray. "When the affair was over," says Jouher, "and his Majesty inquired for his brother Hindal, no one had the courage to tell him. He then called out aloud from the height; but, although surrounded by at least three hundred persons, none answered. He ordered Abdal Wáháb to go and bring news of the prince. He went, but, in returning, was shot by one of our own matchlock-men, who mistook him for an Afghán, and thus was he added to the number of martyrs. Mír Abdal-Hai was next sent, and brought back the melancholy intelligence, which he communicated by repeating two verses of a poet. The Emperor instantly retreated to his pavilion, where he was overwhelmed with grief, till his Amírs came and consoled him, saying that his brother was blest, in

Peath of Hindal. having thus fallen a martyr in the service of his CHAP III. Majesty."*

It appears that Mírza Hindal, on hearing of the intended night-attack, had carefully visited all his trenches, after which he had thrown himself down in his tent to take some rest, when he was roused by the uproar and alarm occasioned by the onset of the Afgháns. They had attacked the works on every side on foot, with shouts and war-cries; and a body had succeeded in getting over the Mírza's trenches. The night was dark. The Mírza started up, and hastened to meet and repel the assailants, having only his bow and arrow in his hand. His men had hurried away in confusion, to protect their horses from being plundered, so that none of his immediate servants were with him. He soon met an Afghán face to face, and so near that it was necessary to close with him. By main strength he had gained the upper hand, when his antagonist's brother, Tirenda, a Mehmend Afghán, came to his assistance, and slew the Mírza without knowing him. When the battle was over, the Afghán brought the Mírza's ornamented quiver and arrows, unconscious to whom they belonged, and presented them to Kámrán, as the spoils of a man of rank. Kámrán no sooner saw the quiver than he recognised it as his brother's, and, dashed his turban on the ground in an agony of grief. The Mirza's body was left for some time unnoticed, where it fell. After the first confusion, when the troops began to collect, and were returning to assail the Afgháns, Khwája Ibráhím, one of his servants, as the troops which he had joined were passing near the Mírza's tent, saw, in the darkness of the night, a man

* Jouher, c. 26. ; Bayezíd, who was in Monaim Khan's service, relates that the Khan, during the alarm, rode up to the rising ground, and found the Emperor in tears. Having asked the cause, "Have you

not heard," said he, "of the martyrdom of Mírza Hindal?" Monaim replied, "You lament, your own gain. You have one enemy less." His Majesty checked his lamentation. Bayezid, f. 59.



DD2

BOOK V.

in black armour lying on the ground. He did not at first stop, but pushed on towards the Afgháns, till he recollected that Hindal had that evening put on a black cuirass. Turning back, he examined the body. and found that it was the Mírza's. His right hand had been cut off, and some fingers of his left, apparently in an attempt to defend his head; and a cross blow, that had fallen on his mouth, had nearly separated the head from the one ear to the other. With great presence of mind, he lifted up the body, and carried it into the Mírza's pavilion, where he laid it down and covered it with a cloak, ordering the porters to admit no one, as the Mírza was fatigued with his exertions, and had received a trifling wound ; and desired that no noise or bustle should be allowed, that could disturb him. When the enemy was finally repulsed, the Khwája mounted a rising ground, and in the Mírza's name returned thanks to the troops for their exertions which had secured the victory. His conduct was warmly applauded by the Emperor. Hindal's remains were conveyed first to Júi-Sháhi, and, after a time, to Kábul, where they were interred at the feet of his father Báber. He was thirtytwo years of age at the time of his death. Ghazni, the jágír of Hindal, was given to Akber, to whom were also transferred the Mírza's adherents, and the daughter of the deceased prince was betrothed to him.*

* Akbernáma, f. 85; Jouher, c. 26.; Bayezíd, ff. 59, 60.; Tab. Akb. f. 165.; Khol-ul-Tow. f. 270.; Jouher mentions an incident connected with the death of Hindal, which is highly illustrative of that tenderness to animal life, that is common with pious Musulmans. Two days before the night attack, when the Emperor and his brother were returning from chusing a strong position for a fortified camp, they met three deer; "one, Hindal pursued; another Shah Abu-Maali; the third escaped. When Hindal was over against the deer, he shot it with an arrow in such a way that it never moved, but raising its face thrice towards heaven, yielded up its life to God. All who were present were filled with wonder, (it seeming) as if the deer had lifted up its complaint to the Almighty Creator." Jouher, c. 26. Two days after, the Mírza was slain by the Afgháns, "having no other arms to oppose to the enemy but his bow and arrow." He was born in A. 11. 925, and slain 958, being about 33 lunar years of age.

The day after this attack, Humáyun fell back to CHAP. III. Behsúd, where he constructed a fort, and remained all the winter, watching the proceedings of Kámrán, who wandered from one tribe of Afghans to another, attempting to rouse them to espouse his cause. In this position, surrounded by mountains on every side, he was beset by the Afgháns, who prowled round his camp, which they dared not attack, and harassed his troops, plundering and putting to death such of his men as fell into their hands. They often came up close to the works, and upbraided their enemy with cowardice, for not daring to come out, and fight on even ground. These insults Humáyun appears to have borne with a patience not usual to him : but his Amírs and officers, at length, began to murmur aloud. It is not improbable that he was unwilling to risk a winter retreat through the passes between Behsúd and Kábul, and perhaps he had suffered more in the late attack than his historians admit. When the spring returned, and A. H. 959, it was possible once more to act in the wild country of the Afgháns, he thought it best to anticipate any attack they might meditate; and learning that Kámrán lay, at no great distance, with a body of troops that he had collected, he resolved, by a bold attack, to beat up his quarters, and, if possible, to secure his person. With this intent, he set out from Behsúd, and marched the whole night, in the supposed direction of the Mírza's camp. The road was long, and the weather was still piercingly cold. Kámrán had been entertained by all the neighbouring tribes in succession, staying seven or eight days with each. This rambling mode of life rendered it uncertain among whom he might be found. At the end of the night, Humávun halted to rest his troops, and mounted again at peep of dawn. At that early hour, he was fortunate enough to fall in The campot with two of Kámrán's followers, charged with a mission Kamrán surprised, to Malek Muhammed of Mandráwer. From them he DD 3

A. D. 1552.

BOOK V.

was directed to the encampment of the tribe with which the Mirza was to be found, and, hastening on, reached it as the sun rose. They rushed in ere the Afgháns, who amounted to 14,000 fighting men, could recover from their surprise, and put to death all the men whom they met, making prisoners of the women and children, whom they afterwards sold as slaves.* Kámrán made a narrow escape, the assailants entering his tent at one side, while he escaped by the other; but Maksúd, his favourite, who slept in it was taken prisoner. The surprise was complete; the resistance feeble; the booty, especially in sheep and cattle, very large. This disaster was decisive of the Mírza's fate among the Afgháns, who were seized with general dismay, and did not afterwards dare to protect him. He, therefore, fled; but meeting with no succour from the Afghán tribes, crossed the Indus, and, compelled by the extremity to which he was reduced, sought refuge with Selím Shah, the Afghán King of Delhi. Humáyun, no longer apprehensive of any attack from the Afghans, left his fortified camp of Behsúd, and returned in triumph to Kábul. †

He flies to Selím Shah.

End of A. H. 959, and of A. D. 1552. Humáyun lays waste Bangash. Towards the end of the year, the Emperor moved down into Bangash to chastise the Afgháns in that quarter, who had sheltered and assisted Kámrán. As Bangash lies on a far lower level than Kábul, and the winter is consequently much less severe, he was able to carry on hostile operations in that country, while the grounds above were covered with snow. While he himself moved down from the capital, he ordered a second division from Ghazni, under Akber, to co-operate with him by marching on Bangash by the route of Gurdíz. The invaders spread, plundering and laying waste the country on every side, seizing the effects, and driving off the sheep and cattle of the different tribes,

* Jouher makes the prisoners, † Akbernáma, ff. 84-87.; Joumale and female, amount to 12,000. her, c. 27.

into whose territory they came, and especially of the CHAP. 111. Abdal-Rahmáni and Bermzídi Afgháns. Monaim Khan, with a third division of the Emperor's troops, advancing from his jágír of Nanginhár by way of Tíra, attacked the habitations of Fateh Shah, an Afghán chief, who was accused of belonging to the hated sect of Chirághkúsh, and destroyed or plundered his whole property, he himself narrowly escaping, but severely wounded *. To complete the satisfaction which Humáyun enjoyed The Gakers from these successful operations, which wasted the ter- render ritory of his enemy in every direction, he was met by ambassadors from Sultan Adam Gaker, the head of the Gaker race, who brought the important intelligence that Kámrán had wandered into his territories, and that, if the Emperor would visit him, he was ready to acknowledge his Majesty, and to deliver his brother into his hands. Along with the ambassadors came Jogi Khan, a servant of Kámrán's, bearing a letter from that prince, in which he made every protestation of attachment, with expressions of regret for the past, and promises of submission for the future. This was an opportunity not to be neglected. Humáyun was convinced, from long and painful experience, that he never could be personally safe, or secure of executing any of his plans, while Kámrán was at large. Without delay, therefore, he bent his march towards the Indus, which he crossed near Dínkót, on his way to the country of the Gakers.

We have seen that Kámrán, after his camp had been Kámrán surprised in the night-attack, and his allies routed and dispersed, finding that no more assistance could be selim shah. gained from the Afghans, who were confounded by the

DD4

visits the camp of

* Jouher tells us (c. 27.) that Humáyun, while in Bangash, heard one Pekh Mazhabi had made a place for himself in the Bangash territory, and was misleading men : on which

he sent a party to punish him, who made his wives and children prisoners. He may probably be the person mentioned in the text, Mazhabi merely signifying " sectary."



Kámtán,

LOOK V

His humili-

ating reception.

40

blow inflicted on some of their tribes, hastened towards the Penjáb, resolved, as a last resource, to court succour from Selím Shah, the Afghán sovereign of Delhi, and the hereditary enemy of his family and race. That prince was then at Bín, a township of the Penjáb, and engaged in operations against the chief of Jámu when Kámrán's envoy arrived. Instantly perceiving the advantage to be derived from this incident, he joyfully invited him to his court, and, as he approached, sent an honorary procession to receive him. Kámrán saw with disappointment, however, that it was composed of persons of inferior rank, and, that on entering the camp, he was not met by the King. The unhappy prince soon discovered that he was no longer a sovereign, and endured all the painful feelings of degraded majesty, heightened by a sense of his own imprudence, in having thrown himself into the hands of a bitter enemy. When introduced to the presence, he found Selím seated in state, with much pomp, on his throne. Having, either intentionally or by accident, made some delay in approaching the king, he was thrice loudly reminded by the master of ceremonies *, before the whole Court, that he was in the presence of the Lord of the World. As he approached the throne without making his obeisance, the officer who introduced him, seized him rudely by the neck, and made him bend to perform the kornish, proclaiming at the same time that the son of the Makadam, or head-man, of Kábul, had come to make a petition to his Majesty. To add to his vexation, Selím for some time affected not to notice him, and when he did, looking haughtily his way, only half rose from his seat, gave him a passing welcome, directed that his tent should be placed among those of the Mír-zádas, and gave orders to present him with a caparisoned horse, a dress of honour, a female slave and an eunuch. The

* Mír Tuzúk.

late powerful sovereign of Kábul, Kandahár, Badakh- CHAP. III. shán and the Penjáb, felt indignant and humbled, at receiving such treatment from an upstart Afghán. He was permitted to go at large, but was watched as a prisoner. Selím, who had some tincture of learning, and piqued himself on his skill in composing extempore verses, often sent for the Mírza, who was an elegant poet and an accomplished scholar, and contended with him chiefly in metrical composition, an intercourse which invariably terminated in disgust. Kámrán was not long of discovering that the promises made to him were never meant to be kept, and that he had humbled himself to become the mere dependant of an Afghán, whom he hated, and who was his mortal foe. Worn out with petty annoyances also, he became tired of life, and resolved to attempt, at whatsoever risk, to effect his escape.

When Selím had concluded his business in the Penjáb, His escape. he set out to return to Hindustán, carrying along with him the Mírza, whom he continued to flatter with hopes of assistance, which he never meant to render. His intention was to have sent him as a prisoner to some hill-fort, to be reserved as a check upon Humáyun. As the camp approached the Satlej, Kámrán saw that no time was to be lost, and privately despatched Jogi Khan, a trusty servant, to Raja Kambhu, a hill chieftain, whose country was only twelve kos from Máchiwárá, the grand pass over the river, to ascertain if that chief would afford him protection. The Raja promised to receive him : and as soon as the camp had crossed the river at Máchiwárá, the Mírza effected his escape. Having dressed one of his servants in his own sleeping robe, and, in order the more effectually to lull the vigilance of the guards and spies by whom he was surrounded, made Bába Saíd a nobleman of his household sit up reading aloud by his bedside, as if he had lain down to go to rest, he proceeded to disguise him-

BOOK V.

His subsequent wanderings,

and deten-

tion by the

Gakers.

self in female attire, and throwing over him the robe or veil used by Musulman women, which covers the whole body and conceals the shape, having only a small aperture left for the eyes, he walked out of the female tents unsuspected, and having at a convenient place mounted a fleet horse, found his way to the concerted place of refuge among the hills.*

The Raja received him as he had promised, and entertained him hospitably for some time; till, learning that a force was on its march to demand that the Mírza should be given up, unable to resist the power of Delhi, he sent off the prince to another hill-chief, the Raja of Kalúr †, who possessed the strongest place in that quarter, but who soon after, from a similar apprehension of incurring the resentment of Selím, sent him on to Jámu. The Raja of that territory, however, afraid of once more drawing on himself the hostility of the Afghán, from which he had before suffered, would not grant permission to the Mírza to enter his dominions. Kámrán, finding himself thus situated, set out for Mánkót į, where he very narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. He was compelled once more, therefore, to disguise himself as a female, and set out on horseback with an Afghán horse-dealer, who was returning to Kábul. In passing through the Gaker country, he discovered himself to the Sultan, and claimed his assistance to regain his throne. That chief, who had been an ally of Báber's, detained the Mírza as a prisoner at large, at the same time giving information to Humáyun, as has been mentioned, that the Mírza was in his power. Kámrán, finding himself in this desperate situation,

* The Kholáset-ul-Towáríkh says, at Rájeghát 20 kos from Sirkend, f. 283.

† The present capital of Kalúr is Belláspúr on the Satlej. Forster's Travels, vol. i. p. 240. 8vo. ed. The Kholáset calls it Kehlut, and makes him go thence to Nagerkót and thence to Jámu. Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 169. says that he took refuge with the Raja of Nagerkót.

‡ Mánkót lies in the hills between the Rávi and Chenáb. sent Jogi Khan along with the Sultan's envoys, with CHAP. HI. SECT. IV. conciliatory letters to his brother, to attempt to soothe him.

We have seen that Humáyun received these letters while on his expedition into Bangash, and that he immediately resolved to march into the country of the Gakers, and to spare no exertion to get into his hands an enemy, who for many years, had thwarted all his plans, and made a battle-field of his dominions. Having also some views on Kashmír, he sent back from his camp Khwája Jilál-ed-dín Mahmúd, to take charge of Kábul during his absence, and carrying Akber with himself*, to initiate him into business and the art of war, crossed the Indus near Dínkót, and soon entered the territories of Sultan Adam, who, on his approach, began to entertain some fear of the guest whom he had invited, as well as some apprehensions for his own safety and independence. The Emperor sent on Monaim Khan to quiet his fears, as well as those of the Mírza; and, after some delay and evasion, the Sultan at length came, and waited upon the Emperor in the territory of surrenders Pírhála, where the Mírza soon after found himself, most to Humáyunwillingly, constrained to submit to his brother, and to join him in his camp.

After some days spent in entertainments and festivity, Sultan Adam *, having received a dress of honour, a

* Abulfazl makes Humáyun carry Akber with himself. Akbernáma, f. 89. Other authorities make him accompany the Khwája back to Kábul.

+ Abulfazl (Akbernáma f. 88.), gives a short account of the succession to the chiefship of the Gakers. He observes that the Gakers consist of many tribes who inhabit between the Sind and Behat (or Jelem). Their country once belonged to the Kashmíris. In the reign of Sultan Zein-ed-dín Kashmíri, Malek Kad, an Amir of Ghazni, who was connected with the ruler (Hákim) of Kábul, invaded the country, and wrested it from the Kashmíris. Malek Kad was succeeded by his son Malek Kilán, whose son Malek Pír became chief of the tribe (úlús). After him Tátár was the director (Názim) of the family (kabíleh). This chieftain was always in a state of hostility with Shir Shah, the Afghán king of Delhi, and with his son Selim Shah, considering himself to be connected with the im-



BOOR V. A. D. 1553.

Discussions as to his fate,

standard, and kettle-drum and some rich presents, the reward of his important, but dishonourable, service, took his leave. Consultations were now held as to the disposal of the Mírza. The Emperor's councillors were unanimously of opinion, that there could be no hope of tranquillity for his dominions while the Mírza was in life; and that his death was due no less to the Emperor himself, than to the quiet and peace of his subjects. Humáyun, both from his own natural disposition and the impressive parting advice of his father, was very averse to proceed to extremities. Upon this his Amírs, the Muftis, Doctors of the Law and other men of note who accompanied the army, presented a petition, advice and remonstrance under their seals, praying that capital punishment might be inflicted on Kámrán, as an act required by justice, and indispensable to the public peace. This paper Humáyun sent to Kámrán, who was much agitated on reading it. He sent a message in return to say, that those whose seals were affixed to this paper asking for his death, were the very persons, who had urged him on to the extremities, that had brought him to his present misery.

Is deprived of his eyesight, Though strongly urged on every side, Humáyun obstinately persisted in refusing to imbrue his hands in his brother's blood; but he resolved, by depriving him of his eyesight, to render him unfit for public life. For this purpose, he ordered the Mírza's servants to be removed from about his person, and supplied their place by some of his own. He instructed his ewer-bearer, Jouher, from whom we have the detailed particulars of this event, to watch the interior of the tent, and on no

perial family. For when Báber invaded Hindustán, Tátár entered his aervice and served him faithfully. He fell in the war with Rána Sánga, leaving two sons, Sultan Sarang and Sultan Adam. On the death of Sarang, the chieftainship of the tribe came to Sultan Adam, who at this time continued to hold it; though the two sons of Sarang, Kemál Khan and Saíd Khan Gaker, laid claim to the dignity, and were their uncle's enemies.

Account to yield to sleep for a moment. Jouher went CHA on duty about afternoon prayers, when the unhappy prince asked for a prayer carpet, and on receiving it, prostrated himself in prayer. His evening prayers he also said within the tent. Entering into conversation with the ewer-bearer, he made him champoo him, asking him several questions, such as, his name, how long he had served the Emperor, and if he had ever been in Mírza Askeri's service. It was then Ramzán, and he told his attendant that he had fasted six days *, asking him if he would be his substitute, to fast in his stead. What followed may be best given in Jouher's own words. "I replied, 'I will fast for you; but the Mírza himself will yet be able to keep his fast. Be bold, and let not melancholy take possession of your heart.' He then inquired, 'Do you know what is to be done with me.' I replied, 'Kings know the revenues of kings; but this is clear to me, that no man breaks his own arm; and, moreover, his Majesty the Emperor Muhammed Humáyun is most merciful and beneficent.' In this manner the night passed away."

Next morning, the army marched and the Emperor gave orders that the Mirza's eyes should be lanced. He then set out. The orders, when communicated to the servants who had been sent to attend the Mirza, produced disputes who was to do the deed, each shifting it from himself. Sultan Ali Bakhshi, the paymaster, who brought the instructions, directed Ali Dost, a chamberlain, one of the persons to whom the charge of the Mirza's person had been committed, to proceed to execute the duty enjoined. This he absolutely refused to do, without the Emperor's direct commands. "You," said he, "addressing the paymaster," will not pay out a single Sháhrukhi without his Majesty's direc-

* This would mark the time as being the 6th day of Ramzán, supposing that Kámrán had fasted that and the five preceding days (16th August A. D. 1553.)

A. H. 960. Ramzin 7. August 17



BOOK V. A. D. 1553.

tions. How can I do such a deed as this without his Majesty's personal orders? Should he to-morrow ask me, 'What made you do this deed, and disable my brother?' Am I to answer, 'I did it because Sultan Ali Dost bid me?' No, I cannot do it." Thus they disputed together. At length, the humble Jouher said, "I will go and inform his 'Majesty." Ali Dost, Sultan Baríki, Gholám Ali Sheshangusht*, the Darogha of the Feráshkhána, and I, the humble Jouher, galloped after his Majesty, and addressed him. Ali Dost, among the rest, spoke to him in the Túrki language, saying, "Nobody will do this deed." The Emperor, in the same language, called him names, and said, "Thou, what has come over thee? Do thou go and do it." What followed, as perhaps the most faithful account of such a scene that is on record, may best be described in the words of an eye-witness and agent.[†]

"Having received this order, we returned to Kámrán, and Gholám Ali said to the Mírza, 'O Mírza! would that Almighty God tore my tongue from the roots, rather than that the words I speak should come from my mouth. But for the commands of princes there is no remedy. Our orders are to lance your eyes.' 'Kill me at once,' said the Mírza. Gholám Ali replíed, ' None dare so far overpass his orders as to kill you.' He then proceeded to execute the work. Having folded a handkerchief which he had in his hand into a ball, to serve for a gag, the Ferásh † thrust it into the Mírza's mouth as he struggled. They then held his hands, dragged him out of the pavilion, laid him on the ground, and struck the lancet into his eyes, such was the will of God ! fifty times more or less. Like a brave man he did not utter a single groan. But when a man sat down on his knees, he said to him, 'Why do you sit on my knees?

* The sixfingered.

† Jouher, c. 27.

up and lays down the carpets, assists in pitching the tents, &c.

1 An inferior servant who takes

Will you not leave off till you have had your will of CHAP me ?' Except this expression, he breathed not a complaint, but maintained a perfect manly firmness, till they poured some lemon juice and salt into his eyes. Being then tortured beyond endurance, calling on the name of God, he exclaimed aloud, 'O Lord! for the offences which I have committed in this world, surely I have suffered retribution. I may now entertain hopes of my future salvation."

"The Mírza after this was placed on horseback, and we rode on after the army, till we came to a grove planted by Sultan Fírúz Shah, where, the weather being hot, we alighted. After resting, he was again mounted on horseback and brought on to the camp, where he alighted at the tent of Mír Kásim Kohbur, which was already pitched.

"As I saw the Mírza restless and suffering much, I could not stay beside him, but returned to my own quarters, where I was sitting with my head bent down in sadness, when his Majesty's eye fell upon me. He sent Ján Muhammed, his librarian, to ask what had been done in the affair on which I had been sent, and how I had succeeded. I answered, 'Everything has been completed as ordered.' His Majesty then said, "You need not return thither. Get ready water for -my bath " *

Thus was a termination put to the public life of this Remaining unhappy prince, who had contributed so much, by his incidents of unquiet ambition, to injure the interests of his family, and to restore the Afghán ascendency in India. The remaining incidents of his life are but few. Soon after reaching the camp, he sent a message to Monaim Beg to request that Beg Múlúk, his favourite, might be sent to wait upon him as usual. The Emperor at once complied with his desire. On the Beg's arrival, the Mírza,

BOOX V.

BOOX v. in the fulness of his heart, seizing his hands, pressed A. P. 1553. them to his eyes with many tears, and exclaimed,

- " Though a veil is drawn over the eye of my body;
 - I see thee still with that inward eye, that so oft has pictured thy countenance."

He continued to accompany the camp, until it arrived on the banks of the Indus, on its return to Kabul. Here he sent for Monaim Beg. "You know," said the Mírza, "in what splendor I have lived in Kábul. How then can I endure to be carried to it, such a spectacle as I now am." He asked leave to go to Mekka, without passing through his old dominions; adding that, if refused, he would kill himself by the way, when his blood would rest on his brother's head. The Emperor, for a whole day, refused to grant this request. How could he set him at large, he said, after having reduced him to blindness. At length, however, Monaim and some others of his Amírs prevailed on the Emperor to let him set out, and also to have a meeting with him ; to which he agreed on one condition, - that the Mírza should place a check upon his feelings, and not allow himself to break out into complaint or lamentation. At midnight, the Emperor, lighted by a lantern, and attended by five or six men of distinction, repaired to his tent. Monaim sent in a person to apprise the Mírza that his Majesty was come. Yúsef, the Mírza's Körchi (armour-bearer), taking his blind master by the arm, led him out as far as the tent-ropes. When Humáyun's eyes fell on the handkerchief that the Mírza had tied over his eyes, he burst into an involuntary flood of tears, while Kámrán, observant of his promise, maintained a silent composure. The Emperor entered the tent, and having thrown off his shoes, sat down close by the entrance, and made a sign to Yúsef, who led in the Mírza, and, in consequence, took him to the higher place, opposite to the Emperor. When those who attended his

IIIs interview with Humáyun.



Majesty had followed and entered the tent, he made them CHAP, a sign to sit down where they stood. The Emperor <u>SECT.</u> continuing to sob aloud, the Mírza repeated a couplet from a popular poem;

"The cowl of the solitary hermit is exalted to the skies, When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls upon it."

adding soon after this other;

"Whatever falls on my soul from thee is subject of thanksgiving,

Be it the shaft of ruin, or the dagger of tyranny."

Humáyun, taking no notice of the reproach which the latter part of the quotation implied, loaded him with kind expressions; calling God to witness how little things had turned out according to his wishes, and how deeply and tenderly he sympathized with his brother's sufferings. The Mírza inquired of Yúsef, "Who were in the tent?" He was told, Mír Terdi Beg, Monaim Beg, Bápus Beg and some others; on which he addressed them and said, "Be all of you witnesses, that whatever has happened to me, has proceeded from my own misconduct and fault. If it be known that his Majesty has shown favour to me, let it also be known how little I have deserved it." Humáyun, much affected, and wishing to put an end to the scene, his voice interrupted by convulsive sorrow, faltered out, "Let us now repeat the Fateheh" (a prayer). The Mírza upon this earnestly recommended his children and dependants to the Emperor's care, who said, "Set yourself at ease on that subject: they are my own children." The prayer being over, Humáyun rose to depart, on which Yúsef, taking the Mírza's hand, led him out to the same spot where he had gone to receive the Emperor, when he came and there took leave of him. As soon as the Emperor was gone and at a little distance, Kámrán, no longer under restraint, groaning aloud, gave vent to his smothered emotions, and burst out into heart-rending

VOL. II.

41 BOOK V

л. п. 1553.

He is deserted by his attendants, lamentations; so that the sound of his cries and of his wailing was heard in the tents all around.

Next day it was publicly intimated, that all such of the Mírza's former servants as were inclined might accompany him; but none were found disposed to share his present miserable condition. "Those who lately had boasted of his friendship," says Abulfazl, "now denied his acquaintance." In this situation, Humáyun asked Chilmeh Koka, one of his household, who happened to be standing by, "Whether he would remain in his service or go to Mekka with the Mírza." The generous man replied, that highly as he was honoured by being in his Majesty's service, a sense of duty called upon him to attend the Mírza, that, to the best of his power, he might cheer his dreary nights, and his dark and solitary days. "Blessings be upon you," said Humáyun. To his faithful management the care of the funds destined for the Mírza's support in his pilgrimage was entrusted, and this worthy man rose to high rank in the succeeding reign. Beg Múlúk, the favourite of his prosperity, deserted the Mírza after accompanying him a few stages, and returned to the camp. The Emperor was much incensed on hearing of his conduct, and this heartless desertion, says Bayezid, made him abhorred of small and great.*

He proceeds to Sind and Mekka. Kámrán travelled down the Indus to Tatta, where Shah Husein, his father-in-law, allotted him a palace for his residence, and an estate for his support. He persisted, however, in proceeding on his pilgrimage. His Arghún wife, Chuchak Begum, in spite of every remonstrance, resolved to accompany him, and having embarked without her father's knowledge, was discovered before the ship set sail, but refused to return with the persons whom he sent to bring her on shore. He

* Akbernáma, ff. 88—90.; Jou- ^{*} Niz. ff. 203, 204.; Ferishta, vol. ii.
 her, c. 27.; Bayezíd, 63—65.; pp. 169, 170.
 Tab. Akberi, ff. 165, 166.; Tar.

Irimself in consequence went on board to fetch her. CHAP. III. But the lady nobly remonstrated with him. "You gave me to my husband," she said, "when he was a Devotion of king and happy; and would take me from him now that he is fallen, and blind, and miserable. No; I will attend and watch him faithfully, wherever he goes." Shah Husein, compelled to admire her generous spirit and to yield to her determination, sent on board of the vessel whatever could contribute to the comfort of the voyage.* She attended her husband with un- Their wearied affection till his death, which happened about deaths. four years after (on the 5th of October, A. D. 1557). Zilhajeh 11. She survived him only seven months.

But to return to Humáyun's proceedings in the Gaker Humáyun country. After the Mírza was thus given up and de- the country. prived of sight, the Emperor marched against Píraneh, a chief of the Janúha tribe, who possessed a strong fort in the Bhira country. He gave himself up after a stout resistance, but Sultan Adam having asked that he and his country should be delivered into his hands, his request was complied with. The Emperor now ravaged the neighbouring districts, destroying many villages, while the army gained much booty. †

Thus far successful, Humáyun resolved to improve his advantage and to march on to Kashmír, to the conquest of which he had been so long and so urgently invited by Sultan Haider Doghlat. But his Amírs and their followers, who had left their families behind in Kábul, were extremely averse to the expedition. He persisted obstinately, however, and orders were given for advancing by way of Bimber. In the morning, refection when the march was to begin, a great part of the troops, among his instead of taking the route pointed out, turned away

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+ There is some diversity in the accounts of different authors as to the series of events in this campaign.

I follow what, from a comparison of authorities, seems the most probable.



А. н. 964,

^{*} Taríkh-e-Sind, 168.

BOOK V.

49(1)

towards Kábul. Abul Maali, the Emperor's favourite. and a violent man, rode up and shot with his arrow one of the refractory leaders. The Emperor wished to pursue and chastise them, but the chief Amírs represented to him, that the defection was too general to be stopped, and they renewed their representations, in which they were joined by Sultan Adam, that the present was not a favourable time for such an expedition; that the Afgháns of Delhi, who had not long before crossed the Jelem from Rhotas and returned into the Penjáb, were now assembling in great force, and should he march to Kashmir, would occupy the hill pass by which he had gone, and shut up the only route by which he could return; that he had not force enough to meet them in the field, so that Kashmír would become his prison. Besides this, intelligence had arrived that Shah Selím himself was on his way back from Delhi with an overpowering force. Humáyun, though deeply wounded by the conduct of his troops, was compelled to yield, and soon after marched for the Indus. To prevent his being followed into the Gaker and Bhíra country, a report was circulated, and believed in the Afghán camp, that he was on his march to besiege Rhotas. This prevented their moving, so that he was enabled to pursue his course, and cross the river without being followed by the Afgháns.

Rebuilds and provisions Pesháwer.

He re-

crosses the Indus.

> On reaching Bekrám, now Pesháwer, he found that the fort had been destroyed by the neighbouring Afgháns; and sensible of its great importance for his meditated invasion of Hindustán, as well as for keeping the Afgháns in order, he resolved to rebuild it on a more extensive plan. The delay which this occasioned was far from being agreeable to the Amírs, who were all eager to return to Kábul. Having, however, issued his orders, he made the different portions of the works be distributed to the different Amírs; and leaving Terdi Beg and Monaim Beg to see it finished under the imme-

diate superintendence of the master of the works, the cu fortifications were completed in a very short time, and a strong garrison placed in it under the command of Sekander Khan Uzbek. The harvests of the Dilázák Afgháns being still on the ground, the grain was cut down, and served to provision the fort. It was soon after attacked by the neighbouring Afgháns, but Sekander made a successful defence, and repelled them.

Humáyun returned to Kábul in the end of the year. Beginning of One of his first employments was to justify himself in regard to his treatment of Kámrán. We are told that End of he deplored to the ladies of the harem the cruel ne- Returns to cessity in which he had been placed ; and that he wrote Kabul. at great length to Abdal Reshid of Káshghar, a friend and relation of the family, explaining in detail the facts of his intercourse with his brother. Indeed it must be allowed that, in this whole unhappy affair, Humáyun seems to have offered violence to his own feelings, and to have departed from his usual character.*

But, however that may be, Humáyun now found Favourable himself in a situation very different from what he had state of his been at any previous portion of his reign. He had carned much dear-bought experience. His brothers, who had so often interfered with his views and thwarted his designs, were all removed; Kámrán was deprived of sight, and in banishment; Hindal had fallen in fight; and Askeri was in a far distant land, whence he was not likely to return, and where he could not be dangerous. The other Mírzas, his relations, had either been removed by the arm of justice, or by various accidents ; or lived, dependant on his will. The more factious and powerful of the great Amírs, such as Kerácha Khan and Háji Muhammed Khan, had fallen by the sword of his authority. There was now no rival to the throne; no noble behind and above the throne. The most

> * Akbernáma, f. 90. and other authorities as above. EE 3

А. н. 960.

A. D. 1554.

BOOK V.

powerful of them, Biram Khan the Amír-al-omra, being a Persian Túrk without local connection, and a Shía, was, in spite of his great talents, less formidable to the sovereign than much inferior men: since, as it was through the sovereign that he must govern, it was his interest to increase the power of the crown, his only support.

He resolves to reconquer India. Encouraged by this state of affairs, and by the peace that prevailed in every part of his dominions, Humáyun now determined to attempt the conquest of Hindustán, which had so long been the object of his ambition. And the circumstances in which that country was placed at this crisis were in every respect most favourable to his design. But it is necessary to return to that country, from which we have been so long absent, and to take a view of the events that followed the expulsion of Humáyun from Delhi and the Penjáb, about thirteen years before this period, when the superior energy and conduct of Shír Shah established for a time the ascendency of the Afghán over the Chaghatái dynasty.

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423

BOOK SIXTH.

THE SUR DYNASTY IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

SULTAN SHÍR SHAH SÚR.

SHÍR SHAH OCCUPIES THE PENJÁB ON THE FLIGHT OF HUMÁYUN AND KAMRAN, - THE GAKERS REFUSE TO SUBMIT TO HIM. - THEY DEFEAT HIS DETACHMENTS. - HE ERECTS THE STRONG FORTRESS OF RHOTAS. -AND RETURNS TO DELHI AND AGRA .--- QUELLS A REVOLT IN BENGAL. RESOLVES TO REDUCE MALWA. - GUÁLIÁR SURRENDERS. - RECENT STATE OF MALWA. --- KADER SHAH ASSUMES THE SOVEREIGNTY. ---QUARRELS WITH SHIR SHAH -- WHO MARCHES AGAINST HIM. -- AP-PARENT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THEM .- ARTIFICE OF SHIR SHAH. -FLIGHT OF KADER SHAH TO GUJRAT. - ATTEMPT TO SEIZE THE NOBLES IN MALWA. - KADER SHAH RETURNS, AND IS DEFEATED. -RÁNTAMBÓR SURRENDERED TO SHÍR SHAH, WHO RETURNS TO AGRA .----MULTÁN OCCUPIED IN HIS NAME. - HIS ADMINISTRATION. - HE RE-TURNS TO MALWA .- CAPITULATION OF RAISEN .- TREACHERY OF SHIR SHAH AND MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON. - HIS SCHEMES ON MÁRWÁR. -HE INVADES IT WITH A LARGE ARMY. - IS MET BY THE ARMY OF MÁRWÁR. - EXCITES DISSENSION AMONG THE RÁJPÚTS. - DESPERATE ATTACK ON HIS CAMP. -- RETREAT OF MALDEO. -- SHIR SHAH TURNS OFF TOWARDS CHEITUR - AND THENCE TO KALINJER. - CAPTURE OF THAT FORT, AND DEATH OF SHIR SHAH. --- HIS CHARACTER, ABILITIES AND GREAT DESIGNS. - SCANTY RECORDS OF HIS CIVIL ADMINISTRA-TION.

WHEN Shir Shah entered the Penjáb on the invitation of Kámrán's envoy, his successes had so far exceeded his expectations, that he could hardly believe his own A. W. 947. good fortune, and was apprehensive that the total want occupies the of opposition which he experienced might be a stratagem to draw him on into danger. After crossing the Humdyun Satlej and the Biah. as he came near the capital of the ren.

CHAP, L

A. D. 1540. Shir Shah Penjáb on the flight of and Kam-

A. D. 1540.

BOOK VI. Penjáb, and still found himself unopposed by any effective force, his suspicions were further confirmed that this system of retreat was a mere feint; and that Kámrán and his brothers had withdrawn all their troops, and retired for a moment, only to return with their united force, and enclose him on every side with greater certainty, when he should have incautiously advanced into a country, where it would be easy to cut off his communication with that through which he had passed. He, therefore, proceeded slowly, sending a strong column in advance, and followed, cautiously, with the rest of his army and his artillery, which he brought forward ready for action. But, in a few days, hearing from all quarters of the discord among the brothers, he became persuaded that the baseness of Kámrán in negodiating a secret treaty with him was not affected, and saw that he might prudently venture on bolder measures. He, therefore, pushed on for Láhúr. His sudden approach, as we have seen, dispersed the brothers: and not content with occupying the capital of Kámrán, he pursued them in their flight. On reaching the Chenáb, he detached one party to pursue Humáyun and such of the Mírzas as had taken the Multán road, and another to follow Kámrán to the Niláb or Indus, whilst he himself proceeded to Khusháb on the Jelem. Thence he proceeded to Bhíra, where he halted for some time, to cover the troops which he sent out to take possession of every part of the Penjáb. The Balúches, a barbarous and daring tribe, had long been settled in great numbers in the lower part of that country. Ismael Khan, Gházi Khan and Fateh Khan Balúch Dudai, who were chiefs of various clans or districts, acknowledged Shir Shah; and the whole of the rich and extensive country between the Jelem and the Satlej submitted to him without a blow.*

* Akbernáma, f. 54.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 215.

While encamped at Bhira, Shir Shah sent to invite CHAP. I. Sultan Sarang and Sultan Adam to visit his camp, or, The Gakers in other words, to submit to his authority. They were refuse to the chieftains of the Gakers, and ruled the greater part of the rough hilly country lying between the Jelem and the Indus. But these chiefs, who had long been on friendly terms with Báber and his family, declined the invitation. The Gakers are a numerous tribe. Their country lies to the north of the Penjáb, though they seem, in earlier times, to have extended as far down as Multán. Their present territory, the same that they occupied in Shír Shah's time, extends over the greater part of the tract of country that lies to the north of the Júd hills, or Salt Range, between the Indus and the mountains. It is a table-land buttressed by the Salt Range, rising eight hundred feet above the plains of the Penjáb. The Gakers are famed for their beauty, and claim a Rájpút origin. Their country is rugged, mountainous, and intersected by rugged ravines and precipitous dells, which make it easily defensible; and, in all ages, they have bravely defended it.*

Shir Shah, who was eager to reduce the Gakers to and defeat obedience, penetrated into their country as far as his detach-Hatía †, one of their chief places; whence he sent out strong detachments to scour the neighbourhood. But the Gakers, with undaunted courage, attacked and defeated his troops, took a number of them prisoners and sold them for slaves. The King proposed to revenge this affront by attacking them in person, and mentioned his design in council; but his nobles unanimously

* See Elphinstone's Caubul, and Burnes's Travels. " From Rotas," says the last-named traveller, "we entered a mountainous and rugged country of great strength, and our road lay in ravines. The chaos of rocks, their vertical strata, terminating in needles from decomposition,

the round pebbles that lay imbedded in the sand-stone, and the wild scenery, made, this an interesting neighbourhood." Burnes's Travels, vol. ii. p. 55.

† In Báber's Memoirs mention is made of a Hati Gaker, from whom probably the place was named.

25

submit,

A. D. 1540.

He erects

the strong fortress of

Rhotas,

BOOK VI. joined in advising him to lay aside all thoughts of such an undertaking, which, from the bravery of the enemy, and the broken and difficult nature of their country, would require, not only a strong force, but much time and great circumspection. They justly remarked that, to subjugate such a race effectually, it was necessary to possess, in their vicinity, some strong hold, which could serve as a place of arms, in which a strong force could be permanently stationed: that this would not only bridle their incursions into his territory, but that detachments could be sent out from it to waste the country and harass the inhabitants, so as to compel them to abandon their most troublesome fastnesses: that this could only be the work of time, which he could little spare, as the rich and extensive empire of Hindustán called for all his vigilance. These considerations decided Shir Shah to suspend the proposed attack, but he determined to erect on the borders of their country a strong fortress, on the grand line of road between Kábul and India, that might at once be a formidable barrier against invasions from the north, and enable him to penetrate at will into the Gaker country. Having surveyed the hills of Nander*, and in the vicinity of Balnáth, he selected a spot; and to the north of the Jelem, on the border of the Gaker territory, he began to build, on one of them, a fortress of singular strength which he called Rhotas, after his favourite castle of that name in Behár. It was completed in the course of some years, in a style of massy grandeur, that excited the wonder of his own times, as well as the admiration of succeeding ages. Eager to return to his dominions in the south, he appointed his favourite general Khowás Khan, Sipáhsalár, or commander-in-chief of all the Penjáb, with an allowance of a tenth part of the revenue of the province, and committing to Haibat Khan

> * The Tar. Akberi, f, 166. has Nizami, f. 215. has Nandina ; the Tileh Nandina or Tanda: the Tar. Nisábnáma, Nandana.

Mazi the charge of the building of Rhotas, with the char. command of a special force in the north-west, he returned to Delhi, whence he soon after proceeded on to Delhi towards Agra.*

* Akbernáma, f. 54.; Tab. Akberi, f. 166.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 215.; Ferishta II. p. 118. The ruins of Rhotas were visited by Burnes in 1832, " On the 1st of March," says he, " we reached the celebrated fort of Rhotas, considered to be one of the great bulwarks between Tartary and India. As we wound through the dismal defiles, and might be ruminating on the various expeditions which had traversed this very road, the fort burst upon our view, like the scene of a magic lantern. It had been hidden from us by towering precipices. We approached its ponderous walls by a straggling path, which time had chiselled in the rock, and soon reached its lofty gateway. The black hoary aspect of the fort, and the arid sterility of the surrounding rocks, inspired us with no favourable view of the neighbourhood, which has been the resort of many a desperate band." " Shere Shah was its founder. Twelve years and some millions of rupees are said to have been wasted in its construction." When Humáyun returned from his exile, "he commanded that the fort of Rhotas should be levelled; but so massy are its walls, and so strong is the whole edifice, that his Ameers and Oomrahs ventured to ask his Majesty, whether he came to recover his throne or destroy a single fort, since the one undertaking would require as much energy as the other. Humáyun contented himself with levelling a palace and a gateway as the monument of his conquest, and prudently marched to Delhi. We examined its walls and outworks, its

gates and bastions, and the people pointed out to us the orifices for pouring oil on the besiegers. We viewed with admiration the elaborate loopholes for the matchlock, the deep wells cut in the live rock, and the bomb-proof magazines of the fortification." Travels, vol. ii. pp. 53, 54.

According to the Afghan accounts, the difficulties attending the erection of Rhotas were not small. They say that Shír Shah, before beginning to build, invited the Gaker Chiefs to come and acknowledge him. They sent him in answer a péshkesh of some quivers full of arrows, and two maces, with a message, that, being soldiers, they had nothing else to give. Shir Shah, enraged at the insult, replied that they might rest assured, that, God willing, he would drive such a nail into their breasts as should not be removed till the day of judgment. He then selected one Toder Kehtri to build the castle, supplying him plentifully with money, and returned to Agra.

The Gaker chiefs, in alarm, engaged by oaths to each other, not to assist in the work ; and issued an injunction prohibiting all their dependants from serving at it as labourers, under pain of banishment. For sometime Toder was unable to procure a single stonemason, and the work was at a stand. This state of things he reported to Shir Shah, who answered, "I selected you from among many, to execute this work, thinking you a man of sense and experience. You have been supplied with money. Go on, at any expense, to fulfil my object, and draw



and returns

and Agra,

BOOK VI.

A. D. 1542.

Quells a revolt in

Bengal.

It was his intention to have made arrangements for the good government of that city, now his capital, and of the various districts dependant upon it; and he seems now to have struck coin, and made the prayer for the sovereign be read there in his name, as King of Hindustán. But news having arrived, that Khizer Khan Sirwáni, to whom he had entrusted the government of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmúd Shah Púrabi, the late king of that country, and had assumed the state of a sovereign prince, Shir Shah deemed it prudent, before engaging in any other enterprise, to check this incipient defection in the bud. Without loss of time, therefore, he marched into Bengal.* Khizer Khan, unable to offer any resistance, came out in istakbál to meet him, and was seized and thrown into prison. Shir Shah then proceeded to divide the provinces of that rich kingdom among a number of officers wholly independent of each other; and leaving Kázi Fazílat, better known by the name of Kázi Fazíhat, a man eminent for his learning as well as his talents, to superintend the whole with the title of Amín, hurried back to Agra, where he now found leisure to settle everything according to his wishes. ;

Resolves to reduce Malwa. A. H. 949. As soon as the affairs of the capital were arranged, Shír Shah turned his eyes to the neighbouring provinces, some of which had not yet yielded to his arms.

on my treasury for the amount, whatever it may be." Toder, it is added, on receiving this order, on the first day offered such workmen as would engage, an ashrefi for every stone; and every one who brought a stone received a yellow ashrefi. The Gakers, hearing this, disregarding the prohibition, came down in such numbers that, in a very short time, the rate was reduced by competition to one rupee each stone; and by and hy to ten takkas; till at last it came to one behlúli. In this manner, it is added, by dint of expense, was the fort completed. When a report of what was doing was made to Shír Shah, he entirely approved of what had been done, and praised the conduct of Toder most highly. Nisábnáma-e Afghánán, ff. 94, 95.

* Khol. ul Towáríkh, f. 276. Some authors defer this till his subsequent return to Agra.

† Tar. Niz. f. 215. ; Tab. Akberi, f. 166. ; Tar. Bed. 189.

His first object seems to have been to reduce the exten- cul sive and populous country of Malwa; for which purpose he led his army towards the fort of Guáliár, which was still held for Humáyun by Abul Kásim Beg. Guáliár, which was reckoned impregnable to open force, had for some time been blockaded by Shujaa Khan, one of Shir Shah's Amirs; and the garrison was already reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions. In consequence of this, the King, as he approached Guálliar surthe place, had the satisfaction of being met by the besieging general, and by the governor of the castle, who surrendered that important fortress into his hands.*

The victorious Afghán now continued his march into Recent state Malwa. It was by no means in a settled condition. When Humáyun, six years before, after his return from Gujrát, had hastily quitted the kingdom, that he might counteract the ambitious designs of his brother Askeri and reduce the growing power of Shir Khan, Malu Khan, one of the principal officers of the late Khilji government, assisted by the good wishes of the Zemíndárs and natives, attacked the imperial generals, who A. H. 944. had been left behind with very inadequate means of resistance; and being attended with an almost invariable course of success, in about a year reduced the whole of Malwa from Gujrát to Bhilsa under his power. Malu Khan was thus encouraged to assume the ensigns of sovereignty; and he accordingly mounted the throne Kader Shah at Mándu, under the title of Káder Shah of Malwa. assumes the sovereignty. About the same time Bhopat and Puran-Mal, the sons of the late Raja Siláh-ed-dín or Silhádi, who had possessed such extensive dominions in that kingdom, returned from Cheitúr, to which they had fled on their father's death, and recovered their family possessions of Ráisen, and Chandéri, acknowledging the new king as their superior lord.†

Khan is described in the Tabakát, * Ibid. † Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 271.; Malu f. 166. and in the Tar. Niz. f. 115.,



renders,

BOOK VI. A. p. 1542 Quarrels with Shir Shab,

who marches

against him, л. н. 949.

Apparent reconcili-

ation between them. Scarcely was Káder Shah seated on his throne, when he received a letter from Shír Shah, then only King of Bengal, inviting him to make a diversion on the side of Agra, so as to distract the attention of Humáyun, their common enemy, who was then once more on his march to attack the Afghán prince. This letter, or firmán, was sealed at the top, a form used in addressing an inferior. The new king, offended at what he held to be an insult, returned his answer by a similar letter or firmán, sealed in like manner at the top. On receiving it Shír Shah, filled with indignation, tore off the seal, which he placed on the point of his sword, at the same time exclaiming, that if he was ever fortunate enough to meet with Káder Shah, he should know in what way to remind him of this indignity.*

When Shir Shah now at length entered Malwa, Káder Shah, unable to cope with him in the field, retired before him. The Afghán advanced into the very heart of the new king's dominions. When he had reached Sarangpúr on the Kali-Sind, Káder Shah, probably seeing little prospect of being able to make a successful resistance, to the great surprise of Shir Shah's officers, though probably by a private understanding with that prince himself, made his appearance one morning at the King of Delhi's Derbár. The two princes retiring, conferred together; after which Káder Shah was introduced with the greatest ceremony and honours, received a present of an hundred and one horses, was presented with the dress worn by Shir Shah when they met, and invited to sleep in the royal tents. Next day, the army marched on to Ujein, where the Afghán caused his minister and relative, Shujaa

and by Ferishta, p. 274. as one of the officers of the late Khilji government. Bedáuni, f. 149. šays that he was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultans, and was entrusted

with absolute power in the kingdom. By Behåder Shah he was treated with great distinction, probably as the Prime Minister of Malwa. * Ibid.

Khan, to perform obeisance to Káder Shah, as King of CHAAP. I. Malwa. But this deference was of short duration, and Artifice of only assumed to serve a purpose; for, the day after, shir Shah, Shir Shah informed the King of Malwa, that he had been graciously pleased to confer on him the government of Laknou, to which he must remove with his family without loss of time. This was language not to be misunderstood; and we may well wonder that, after this resolution had been communicated to him, and sight Káder Shah should still have found means to effect his of Káder escape; which he did, disguised as a slave, and with Guzrát. his family retired into Gujrát.* Shír Shah, being thus left in the undisturbed possession of the country, appointed Shujaa Khan to the command of Sivás, and in general of the eastern portion of Malwa; giving Háji Khan Sultan charge of Dhár and the western districts of his new conquest; after which, he himself marched to the northward to secure the possession of Rántambór. †

But Malwa, although conquered, was far from being Attempt to settled. For many years past it had been almost en- seize the Nobles at tirely divided among a number of great local chiefs who were nearly independent. The direct power of the kings had, therefore, been extremely limited. The first step towards establishing absolute power in the person of Shir Shah, which was called securing the peace of the country, seemed to be to get possession of the persons of the most distinguished of these chieftains; and this Shujaa Khan resolved to effect. In pursuance of this policy, Moyín Khan of Sivás, one of the most powerful of them, who was at the time in Shujaa's camp, was taken into custody by his orders.

* The Nisábnáma-e Afghánán, f. 96. gives a somewhat different account of these transactions.

† Tabak. Akb. f. 166.; Tar. Niz. f. 215.; Ferishta IV. 270-

273. and II. p. 119.; Bedáuni, f. 149. There are some discrepancies of little moment, concerning the powers of these Amirs.

seize the Malwa,

BOOK VI. A. D. 1542. On hearing of this outrage, Moyin's son Nasir Khan immediately collected all the force of his principality, and marched as far as Sarangpúr to his father's rescue. But Shujaa Khan, being joined by the Raja of Guáliár, who had lost his capital, defeated Nasir Khan in battle, and forced him to take refuge in the wild mountains of Gondwána.*

Káder Shah returns, and is defeated.

Meanwhile, Káder Shah, having had time to breathe after his expulsion, collected a body of adherents on the borders of Gujrát, and advanced from Bhanswára to attack Háji Khan. Shujaa Khan, informed of his motions and that a battle was likely to take place in two days, threw himself into his palankeen, and proceeding with all possible speed for forty-eight hours, joined Háji Khan in the evening, where he lay in sight of the enemy. He was still in time to make arrangements for anticipating the enemy by a night attack, which fully succeeded, Káder's army being dispersed, and his camp taken. Shír Shah, admiring the talents and activity of his general, soon after recalled Háji Khan, and nominated Shujaa Khan sole Governor of Malwa. From this period we hear no more of Káder Shah.[†]

Rántambór surrendered to Shír Sháh.

He returns to Agra. A. H. 950. A. D. 1543. Multán occupied in his name, Shír Shah, on leaving Malwa, marched for Rántambór, which was still held by the adherents of Sultan Mahmúd Khilji. But that strong place being soon yielded up by capitulation, he once more returned to Agra, where he was allowed to spend nearly a year in arranging the civil and military administration of his dominions, now so extensive in Hindustán, in Malwa, in Bengal and the Penjáb. In this last province, Haibat Khan had

* Ut supra.

† Ferishta as above. Ferishta II. 119. says that Rántambór was still held for Prince Muhammed Lodi, probably meaning Mahmúd Shah Lodi, the son of Sultan Sekander Lodi. But that prince seems to have died some time before. The Tabakát and Taríkh-e Nizámi, as well as the Nisábnáma, f. 96, affirm that it was held by the servants of Sultan Mahmúd Khilji, which is most probable. The governor, according to Bedáuni, f. 149, was Khan Khánán Sirwáni. conducted his operations with success. The kingdom cut of Multán, during the confusions that had recently prevailed, had come into the possession of the Balúches, under one of their chiefs Fateh Khan. Shír Shah was desirous to have the direct possession of the country; and though Fateh Khan had acknowledged Shír Shah, it was easy to contrive a pretext for hostilities. Haibat Khan marched his army into the Multán territory, defeated Fateh Khan who came to oppose him, and was soon in possession of the whole kingdom of Multán. Shír Shah, much satisfied with this important service, bestowed on Haibat Khan the lofty title of Azím Humáyun.*

While Shir Shah remained at Agra, he applied the His admiwhole powers of his active mind to the settlement of his nistration. dominions. He is said to have divided all Hindustán, of which Bengal never was considered as forming a part, into forty-seven districts, and to have appointed proper officers for the government and protection of each. "He introduced," says Abulfazl, who is not partial to him, "some of the many plans of Sultan Alá-ed-dín, of which he had heard as they are detailed in the Taríkh-Firúzsháhi." It may be observed that many of the laws of that prince were made to remedy a disorganization in the state of society, similar to what, in the beginning of Shir Shah's reign, prevailed in India; and cruel and capricious in his general conduct as was the prince who imposed them, to a considerable extent, they did produce a favourable effect. "Robbery and theft, formerly so common," says Ferishta, speaking of Alá-ed-dín's reign, "were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kábul, and from Telingána to Kashmír." †

* Tar. Niz. f. 215.; Tab. Ak- † Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 345. heri, f. 166.

VOL. II.

FF

BOOK VI.

A. D. 1543. He returns to Malwa,

As soon as affairs admitted of his absence from the capital, he resolved to turn his arms once more against Malwa. Though the greater part of that kingdom had submitted to him, Puran-Mal, the son of Silhádi Purebi the late powerful Rájpút chieftain, still maintained himself in Ráisen, Chandéri and the surrounding districts, in great force. To give his operations the appearance of a Holy War, and to excite the enthusiasm of his Muhammedan soldiers, Shir Shah gave out, that his chief reason for the war was to punish Puran-Mal, a Hindu infidel, who, among the two thousand women shut up in his harem, had dared to detain many Moslem females as concubines. The fort of Ráisen was blockaded, and attacked for a long time without success, the Rájpúts making a vigorous resistance. At length, when both parties were worn out, terms were proposed by the mediation of Prince Adel Khan and of Kutb Khan Náib, and a capitulation was entered into, by which Puran-Mal agreed to surrender the fort; while Shír Shah, on his part, undertook to allow the Rájpút prince to retreat uninjured, with his whole family, women and followers, and all their effects and property. On the faith of this treaty, solemnly ratified, Puran-Mal marched out, and encamped, attended by about four thousand Rájpút horse. This escape of their heathen enemy filled with indignation Shir Shah's divines and spiritual advisers, particularly Mír Syed Rafía-ed-dín, all of whom, not ignorant of their master's wishes, signed and presented to him a regular fetwa, or opinion, declaring that such an agreement made with infidels was contrary to religion, and was not binding; and that the king's duty was to visit his unbelieving foe with indiscriminate slaughter. Shír Shah, basely acting on their base decree, after taking possession of the fort, surrounded the Raja's camp with all his army, and poured in showers of arrows upon them. Thus treacherously assailed, the Rájpút and his followers de-

Treachery of Shir Shah,

Capitulation of Ráisen.

Termined to sell their lives dearly. They, therefore, cr all their women and children. After this, to disappoint the avarice of their relentless enemies, they heaped up their rich stuffs, jewels and all the valuable property which they possessed, and setting fire to their tents and pavilions, consumed the whole in the flames. They then proceeded in a body to meet death, and, each tying himself to his neighbour by his skirt or girdle, they charged the army of the King with desperate valour, cut to pieces a number of their enemies, till, surrounded. and assailed by overwhelming numbers, they fell, fight- and masing to the last man. In this massacre, about ten garrison. thousand of every age and sex are said to have fallen.*

After this unworthy success, Shir Shah returned A. H. 951. once more to Agra, where he remained several months, on Márwár. being detained, part of the time, by a dangerous illness. Here his ambition led him to meditate new conquests on the side of the Rájpút country. The death of Rána Sánga and the minorities that followed had introduced much discord and disorder into the government of Chaitúr or Mewár; and the repeated attacks made on their territory by the King of Gujrát and the Emperor of Delhi, with the defeats sustained by the Rána in the wars with these princes, had reduced the extent of the dominions, no less than the political influence of that prince, the ancient head of the Rájpúts. Maldeo, who was at this time the chief of the rival principality of Nagór and Júdpúr (or Márwár), in this decline of the acknowledged head of their race, strained every nerve to raise himself to the high eminence, from which the

FF 2

* Tar. Niz. ff. 215, 210.; Tabakát-e Akberi ; Akbernáma, ff. 54, 55.; Nisábnáma-e Afgh. ff. 96, 97.; Kholáset ul Towárikh, f. 277.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 149. The Nisábnáma says that two only were found alive after this massacre, both female chil-

dren; one of them the daughter of Maldeo, whom Shir Shah consigned to be brought up as a dancing girl: the other he gave up to a party of jugglers, or bázigars. This, if true, would be an additional stain on his character.



A.D. 1544.

TVI. Rána seemed to be falling; a station which he deemed to be due to him, at least from his power. Maldeo appears to have possessed great talents, as well as the bravery common to all his family. According to the historian of the Rájpúts, the prince of Márwár, in the course of ten years, by reducing many local hereditary chieftains under his sway, had extended his territories on every side, so that they comprehended all the present country of Márwár, including Merta, Nagór and Filúdi, much of Bikanír and Bikampúr, Ajmír with several other smaller districts, and a large portion of Ambér or Jeipúr, which brought him close on the limits of Agra and Delhi. Several of the petty princes in that quarter, who had formerly acknowledged the Lodi Kings of Delhi, had now submitted to him. The immediate cause or pretext of the quarrel between Maldeo and Shir Shah is not explained : but in the state of confusion to which the country to the west of the Jamna was reduced, by the destruction of the House of Lodi, the expulsion of the House of Taimur, and the breaking up of the overruling influence of that of Rána Sánga, there could hardly fail to be disputes between two princes of equal ambition, for the possession of the numerous towns and districts, which had been recently conquered by these powerful dynasties, but which, now deprived of their support, were looking round for some powerful protector. Whatever the cause, Shir Shah resolved to invade Maldeo's territories of Ajmír and Nagór, of which the Raja had but recently gained possession.

Invades it with a large army.

Well aware of the difficulty of the enterprise, he took the field with an army of no less than eighty thousand men *, and advanced towards Márwár, with a caution unusual in Indian wars. Wherever the army was to pass the night, he caused a trench and rampart to be

* The Kholáset gives him 50,000 horse.

thrown up round the camp, and guarded it with the CHAP. I. utmost care and vigilance. On reaching the sandy desert, when it was impossible to throw up works, he Is met by made bags be filled with sand, and ranged them as a Márwár. defensive wall. He was not long of seeing his enemy. On the frontiers of Ajmír, Maldeo met him at the head of fifty thousand Rájpút horse, and the two armies lay for a month in sight of each other, daily engaging in sharp skirmishes. The Rájpúts were, at that time, as formidable as any enemy in the East. Shir Shah, met by this powerful array of warriors, constrained in his movements and straitened in his supplies, would willingly have retreated. But, besides the loss of reputation, the danger of a backward movement in the sight of such a force was much to be dreaded.

In this exigency, finding it necessary to attempt Excites dissomething, the artful Afghan at length resorted to a sension among the stratagem suggested, it is said, by some petty Rajput Rajputs. chiefs, who had joined his camp. They knew that many of the Rajas who had attended Maldeo in the field had, like themselves, been deprived of a great part of their territory by that prince, so that they still bore him a grudge, and were not disinclined to shake off his yoke. Shir Shah made letters be written in the name of some of the principal disaffected Rajas who followed Maldeo. In these letters which were addressed to himself, he made them affirm that, though they fought under Maldeo, they detested his sway; that, if the Afghán King would engage to reinstate them in their former possesions, they would gladly desert Maldeo in the approaching battle, and serve Shir Shah as faithful subjects; and that even Maldeo's oldest dependants, tired of his pretensions, would join them in the revolt. Shir Shah wrote a few words on these lefters, acquiescing in the demands which they contained, and contrived that they should appear to be intercepted, and thus fall into the Raja's hands. Maldeo, not unaware of

N. Ch. A. O. d

BOOK VI.

the sentiments of many of his chiefs, believed the correspondence to be genuine, and put off the battle, which was to have been fought that very day. The more that his gallant Rájpúts, who confidently anticipated a victory, urged him to an instant attack, the more was he convinced of their treachery, and he soon after ordered a retreat. The cause of this movement came to the knowledge of his chieftains, who felt their high sense of national honour wounded by the imputation with which they were unjustly charged; at the same time that their pride and high-raised expectations were disappointed by a retreat in the face of an enemy, whom they regarded as already in their power. In vain did they with oaths assert their innocence. One of them, Kumbha, the head of a Rájpút principality, declared to Maldeo, that he was resolved to wipe off the aspersion thrown on the Rájpút name by attacking the enemy, though he should be followed only by his own tribesmen.

Desperate attack on Shir Shah's camp. Accordingly, as Maldeo with the army commenced his retreat, during the night, Kumbha, with eight or ten thousand men chiefly of his immediate followers, turned back, and marched to surprise the Afgháns. As their route lay over rough and broken ground, they were divided, and the greater number lost their way, so that only about four thousand at daybreak reached the hostile camp. Still, however, with the reekless intrepidity of their tribe, they rushed in with a furious onset, pushing for Shír Shah's tents. Dismounting, and using only their daggers and short swords, they bore down all opposition, and scattered dismay and death over the camp. Numbers of the Afgháns soon lay dead on the ground, and the bold daring and desperate valour of a handful of Rájpúts seemed about to be rewarded by the rout and total discomfiture of their foes; when Jilál Khan Jilwáni, an Afghán general, came up with a fresh body of troops in compact order.

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

Under cover of this timely succour, Shir Shah rallied CHAP. I his men; and the wearied Rájpúts were surrounded, and assailed on every side by showers of arrows, which rapidly took effect. The Rájpút ranks were soon thinned. Kumbha, with his most devoted followers, who had entered the fight determined not to retreat, fell, bravely fighting, to the number of two thousand. Shir Shah, after the battle was over, seeing the havock that had been made in his army, and how nearly the fate of the day had been balanced, is said to have exclaimed, "How nearly had I thrown away the empire of Delhi in seeking for a handful of bájri." Bájri, a Retreat of poor and coarse grain, is the chief produce of the sandy and sterile plains of Márwár. Maldeo, meanwhile, continued his retreat into the hill-country of Júdpúr; but soon discovered, with grief and self-reproach, the artifice to which he had sacrificed the success of his campaign. and the glory of his arms; as well as the injustice he had done to his gallant countrymen.*

Shir Shah had already suffered too much in this shir shah expedition to venture to follow up his success against towards. Maldeo and his Rájpúts of Márwár ; but, turning south, Cheitúr. marched into Mewár, for the professed purpose of reducing Cheitúr. The Rána, whose power had been much reduced since the reign of Rána Sánga, desirous to avert his arms, sent ambassadors, offering to acknowledge him as his superior lord. Shir Shah accepted this submission, and continued his march through the heart of the country of Dhandina, now Jeipúr, towards Rántambór, the jágír of his eldest son Adel Khan, who asked leave of absence from the Derbár, for a short time, to enable him to put the castle in order, and to

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* See Tab. Akb. ff. 186, 187.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 216. ; Tar. Bedáuni, ff. 149, 150. ; Kholáset ul Towáríkh, ff. 277, 278.; Ferishta II. pp. 121, 122. ; Kháfi Khan, Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. pp. 24-27. The name of the brave Rájpút chief is variously given, Kumbha, Kanba, Gobna, Goya, and Gooind. I have followed Colonel Tod and Ferishta. Bedáum calls him the Vakil and Vazir of Maldeo.



Maldeo.

turns off



BOOK VI.

A. D. 1545. and thence to Kálinjer. provision it; having done which, he promised to rejoin his father.*

The King now turned his arms against the Raja of Kálinjer, a fort which was considered as the key of Bandélkand, and a most important position as regarded both Behár and Malwa. It "resembles in its situation," we are told, "and exceeds, in its size and natural strength, the fortess of Guáliár, being built on a high rock of great extent, which forms one of the hills in the range of mountains extending from Rhotas, or Sahsarám, to the confines of Ajmír."[†] The Raja, admonished by the fate of Puran-Mal, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation.

Capture of that fort, and death of Shir Shah, Batteries were raised against the fort, mines run and approaches made, but the siege was long. The works, however, were, at length, brought close to the place; a breach was effected, and an assault ready to be made, under a heavy cannonade; when, as Shír Shah was actively directing the operations, a rocket ‡, discharged probably for the purpose of assisting to clear the breach, rebounded from the wall, and bursting, fell among, and blew up, the whole magazine or tumbril of these fireworks, so that the King, and several noblemen and divines who were along with him ||, were dreadfully burnt by the explosion. In spite of the excruciating

* The Tar. Nizámi does not mention the approach to Cheitúr, but leads him at once to Rántambór, f. 216. The Nisábnáma leads him straight to Kálinjer, Adel Khan taking leave for Rántambór by the way. The Akbernáma makes the chiefs of Cheitúr " and Rántambór" send him the keys of their forts : Ferishta II. p. 123. makes Cheitűr surrender by capitulation.

† Hamilton's Gazetteer, in the Article "Callinger."

‡ Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii., p. 123. has, "a shell thrown against the fort burst in the battery, and communicating to a powder magazine," &c. produced this catastrophe. It may be doubted if bomb-shells were then in use. The Tabakát, which has been followed by other authorities, has huqqa-hái pur dárue tefeng, pipes full of gunpowder; a description which would apply, either to rockets or grenades.

|| Among these were the celebrated Sheikh Khalíl, Shír Shah's spiritual guide, Múlla Nizám Dánishmend, and Deria Khan Sirwáni.

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

Pain which he suffered, he had fortitude enough to walk CHAP. I. to the trenches, and directed that the accident should be concealed from his troops. Here he remained, and as, from time to time, new storming parties advanced to the assault, he cheered them on with his voice, issued occasional orders with astonishing composure, and sent away such of his officers as came about him, to join the action. The attack was continued with unremitted vigour. As the cry to evening prayers was heard, news were brought to the King, that the fort had fallen. "Thanks be to Almighty God," he said, and quietly expired. This event happened on the 24th of May, 1545.*

Shir Shah reigned rather more than five years over Hindustán; besides the time he had previously reigned His characover Behár and Bengal. He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained. In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, who ever ruled in India. He is reported to have divided his time into four equal parts, one of which he appropriated to the administration of public justice, one to regulating

* Tabakát-e Akb. ff. 186, 187.; Tar. Niz. f. 216.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 152.; Kholáset ul Towáríkh, f. 279. Abulfazl, Akbernáma, f. 55. makes the date of the accident A. H. 952, Moharrem 10., which would be A. D. 1545, March 24; but, f. 91. he makes it Rebi I, 11 (May 23.) Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 124. makes it Rebi 1, 12. (May 24), and the Nisábnáma, the 17th (May 29).

The Afghans, who honoured and lamented Shir Shah, affirmed that mysterious warriors of surpassing form and bravery were seen in the front of the assault, but had disappeared, and could not be found when it was over. Shir Shah always encouraged superstitious belief ; and by his liberality was careful to have the fakirs, as well as the Musulman doctors, in his interest.

† Shir Shah is by all allowed to have been for fifteen years an Amir of high rank before mounting the throne. The Tar. Niz. and Tar. Bedáuni make his reign over Hindustán five years; the Kholáset ul Towarikh, five years and two months : Abulfazl gives him five years two months and thirteen days. Akbernáma, ff. 54 and 92.



А. н. 952. Rebi, L. 12.

ter, abilities, and great

A. p. 1545.

Book vi. the discipline and concerns of his army, one to his religious observances, and the remainder to rest and recreation. In his military character there was a rare union of caution and enterprise. He was remarkable for the care with which he never failed to defend his camp by trenches; and he paid more attention to his commissariat and his artillery, than any prince of his time. He received into his service the numerous adventurers who swarmed over India, marked or branded their horses to prevent frauds, and allowed them pay. He often attended in person, when the troops were to be paid, to receive any complaints, and to secure them against any undue deductions. His temper appears to have been generous: he was a lover of justice, and intimately acquainted with the revenue and agricultural system of India; a knowledge without which no ruler in that country, whatever his abilities may be, can hope to do justice to his subjects. He was anxious to restore, and to open the communication between the different parts of his dominions, which had been grievously interrupted by the wars and revolutions of twenty preceding years. For this purpose, and in order to facilitate the safe and early transmission of intelligence, he built a line of seráis *, or hostelries, at short, regular distances, on the whole road from the farther extremity of Bengal to the Indus, through the entire length of his empire, and a similar line from Agra to Mándu, the high road by which the foreign trade from Gujrát to the interior of Hindustán passed in those days. These seráis were open to strangers of every rank and religion, and were entrusted to servants, who, at the public expense, furnished travellers with water and victuals, as they arrived; at one door of the serái supplying victuals, dressed or undressed, to Musulmans, at another undressed victuals to Hindus. Every Serái

* Abulfazl says that he erected the Hákims of Bengal." Akbernáma, these Seráis, " after the fashion of f. 55.

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

had a doasp-bam, or post-house, called by the Hindus CHAP. I. Dákchóki, so that news even from the Niláb was conveyed in a few days to the court, wherever it might be; and this system of post houses he extended in different directions over the principal roads in his dominions; enlarging the number of horses, so as to answer not only the purpose of conveying intelligence to the government, but also the demands of private trade and correspondence. The system was not a new one, but had fallen into disuse, and was by him much improved and extended. One other object which he had in forming the great line of posts was to prevent the influx of Chaghatáis into his kingdom; and to afford the earliest notice of any invasion or movement from Kábul, whence he dreaded the return of the exiled family. On each side of the grand roads were planted rows of mango and other fruit trees, affording both shelter and refreshment to the tired and thirsty passenger : and wells, supported by solid masonry, were dug at short distances. At all the chief halting-places, he built mosques, and provided for them an adequate establishment of Imáms, Moazzins and servants. He appears also to have made provision for the care of the indigent sick.* The police, which he established, was strict and vigilant. So safe were the highways, we are told, that the most helpless person might carry a bason of gold, and sleep in the open country, without need of a watchman.

He seems to have had more of the spirit of a legislator and of a guardian of his people, than any prince

* A great part of this establishment still remained in Bedáuni's time, after the lapse of fifty-two years, f. 148. and Kháfi Khan, f. 59. at a still later period, remarks, "It is said that the class of persons, who are now to be found in the various seráis of Hindustán, generally known by the name of Bhatiárahs, and whose employment it is to kindle fires and perform other menial offices for travellers, are the descendants of the people originally placed there by Shír Shah." Perhaps, however, this establishment may be found to date from a still earlier period.

A. D. 1545.

BOOK VI. before Akber. By his enemies, he is accused of perfidy, and facts seem to justify the charge. But it is to be remembered that his history has been transmitted to us by his enemies chiefly: and the charge, unfortunately, is not confined to him individually, but extends to nearly all the princes who were his contemporaries. When we consider the confusion, approaching to anarchy which prevailed all over Hindustán at the moment of his accession to the throne, and the incessant wars that he carried on during his short reign, we must feel surprise that, with all his habitual activity, he was able to effect so much as he did, and that, in so limited a time, he so entirely acquired and so long retained, the affection of his subjects. He himself, when contemplating the disorder that prevailed at his accession, the plans of reform which he meditated, and his own advanced period of life, was heard to exclaim, "Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day." His memory was long cherished by his subjects with fond admiration and regret.*

Some incidents related of him may serve to illustrate his character. He was eminently distinguished for the impartiality with which he administered justice, without respect of persons. One day, his eldest son Adel Khan, riding on an elephant through a street of Agra, in passing a house the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of the inhabitant, a shop-

* Tab. Akb. f. 178.; Tar. Niz. f. 217. ; Tar. Bed. f. 148. ; Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 125. ; Dow's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 265. ; Akbernáma, f. 54, 55.; Kholáset ul Towáríkh, ff. 278, 279.; Kháfi Khan, ff. 57 ____59.

Shir Shah seems, in several instances, to have destroyed older towns, and rebuilt them elsewhere. In the first year of his reign, he destroyed old Kanáuj, and built, says Bedánni, f. 147, " what is now

called Shir-ghar on the banks of the Ganges." In like manner, he destroyed Shemsábád, and restored it in another place. At Delhi, he destroyed the old fort, and began a new one on a larger scale, which he left unfinished. Tabak. Akberi. He is also said to have meditated the destruction of Láhúr, that it might not serve as a place d'armes to the Chaghatái princes, in any future attack on India.

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

CHAP. I.

keeper, undressed and bathing herself. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a bira-pán, and passed on. The woman, who considered that, by this freedom, he treated her as a wanton, feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the ineident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levée of Shír Shah, and, among other suitors, preferred his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced; and that the shopkeeper, mounted on an elephant, should in his turn throw a bira pan to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. Such, he said, was the law of their religion, and, in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant: that it should not be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended.*

At the battle on the Chonsa, Háji Begum, Humáyun's wife, was taken prisoner. Shír Shah treated her with every mark of courtesy and respect; and on Humáyun's return from Persia to Kábul, she was sent back to her husband in the most honourable manner.

The day that he made his entrance into Delhi, a woman, who sold vegetables, called out to her neighbour, as he passed: "Delhi, truly, has got a master, but he is an old one." She was overheard by the King, who, on this, made his horse caper and show off: and

* Khol. ul Tow., f. 278.

POOR VI.

Shir Shah was diverted when he heard the old woman add. "Well. old though he be, he is an active one."*

Shir Shah was buried in his family estate at Sahsarám, in a very magnificent mausoleum, erected in his lifetime, and which still exists. It stands in the centre of a small lake about a mile in circumference, bounded by masonry, with a descent by a flight of steps to the water.

Scanty records of his civil administration.

It is impossible to conclude the history of such a prince, without regretting that so few materials remain for affording a view of the internal administration of his dominions. Many of his revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akber, and seem to have made a part of Toder-Mal's improved system of finance. But Shír Shah was soon succeeded in the throne by a hostile family, whose partizans were not disposed to see any merit in the virtues of an enemy.[†]

* Ibid. f. 279.

[†] The chief authorities for this reign are the Tabakát-e Akberi, the Tar. Bedáuni, the Khol. ul Towáríkh, Ferishta, the Akbernáma and Kháfi Khan. Ferishta does justice to the Afghans : Abulfazl views all their proceedings with a prejudiced eye.

CHAPTER II.

SULTAN ISLÁM, OR SELÍM SHAH SÚR.

SHIR SHAH'S SECOND SON PLACED ON THE THRONE. - WEAKNESS AND PROFLIGACY OF HIS ELDER BROTHER. - MEETING OF THE BROTHERS, WHO PROCEED TOGETHER TO THE CAPITAL. - ISLAM'S SCHEME FOR SEIZING HIS BROTHER FAILS. - FORMAL SUBMISSION OF ADEL KHAN. WHO RETIRES TO BIANA. - FURTHER ATTEMPT TO SEIZE HIM. - HE FLIES TO KHOWÁS KHAN 'N MEWÁT .- THEY ARE JOINED BY SOME OF THE CHIEF AMÍRS, AND MARCH ON AGRA .- ALARM OF ISLÁM AT THEIR APPROACH. --- HE MOVES OUT TO MEET THEM. --- DEFEAT, FLIGHT AND DISAPPEARANCE OF ADEL KHAN. --- ISLAM SECURES HIS FATHER'S TREASURES IN CHUNAR. - PROCURES THE DEATHS OF THE HOSTILE CHILFS. --- EXTENT OF HIS DOMINIONS. --- HIS JEALOUSY OF THE GO-VERNORS OF MALWA AND GUJRAT. - THREATENED REVOLT IN THE PENJÁB. - NEW WORKS AT AGRA AND DELHI. - THE ARMIES OF HIN-DUSTÁN AND THE PENJÁB MEET AT AMBÁLA. - DEFEAT OF THE RE-BELS. - ISLÁM OCCUPIES THE PENJÁB. - AND REPAIRS TO GUÁLIÁR.-FATE OF KHOWÁS KHAN. - POWER OF THE AFGHÁN NOBLES UNDER THE SUR DYNASTY. - SHUJAA KHAN OF MALWA. - ATTEMPT ON HIS LIFE BY AN AFGHÁN. - HIS QUARREL WITH ISLAM- WHO INVADES MALWA .- FLIGHT AND RESTORATION OF SHUJAA KHAN .- TEMPORARY SUCCESS, AND FINAL DEFEAT OF AZÚN HUMÁYUN IN THE PENJÁB. ---DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT OF ISLAM AFTER THE VICTORY. - HE AD-VANCES TO RHOTAS. - CONTESTS WITH THE GAKERS. - DISCONTENTS IN HIS CAMP. - HE MAKES PEACE WITH THE GAKERS, ON THEIR EX-PELLING THE REBELS -- WHO RETREAT TOWARDS KASHMÍR -- AND ARE EXTERMINATED IN THE DEFILES. - ISLAM BUILDS MANKOT. --HIS NARROW ESCAPE FROM ASSASSINATION. - KAMRAN VISITS HIS CAMP. - ADVANCE AND RETREAT OF HUMÁYUN. - MEDITATED DE-STRUCTION OF LAHUR, AND REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL TO MANKOT. -MUTUAL SUSPICIONS OF ISLAM AND HIS NOBLES. - DEATH OF ISLAM SHAH .- HIS CHARACTER AND POLICY. - ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. ACCOUNT OF SHEIKH ALAI, AND THE MEHDEVIS.

On the occurrence of the melancholy event which arrested Shir Shah in the midst of his successful A.H. 959. career, the Afghan chiefs, who were in the camp, assembled and consulted together. None of the late placed on the throad

CHAP. H.

A. D. 1545. Shir Shah's second son

447

А. р. 1545.

л. п. 952. Rebi. I. 15. May 27.

Weakness and profligacy of his elder brother. King's sons was on the spot. Adel Khan, the eldest, was still at Rántambór. Jilál Khan, his next brother, who was then not far off, at Rewah*, a town in the Pergana of Kalinjer, got immediate notice of his father's death; and being favoured by a strong party of the principal Amírs, arrived in the camp in three days. There, chiefly through the influence of Isa Khan Hijáb, he was proclaimed King, and ascended the throne, in the fort of Kalinjer, under the name of Sultan Islám Shah, though by the natives of India he was generally called Selím Shah, and, by the northern or Chaghatái soldiers, Selím Khan.

The ostensible reason assigned by the Afghán Amírs for thus passing over the heir-apparent was the distance from the army at which he happened to be at that crisis, and the necessity, in order to prevent rebellion or any ambitious pretensions to the succession, that the vacant throne should be filled without delay. It would appear, however, that Adel Khan, who was of a depraved character, was very unpopular among at least one portion of the Afgháns, and that he was in reality set aside, even more on account of the weakness of his character than for his hopeless depravity and profligacy.[†]

Immediately on his accession, Islám wrote to his brother, Adel Khan, telling him that he had been constrained, against his will, in order to prevent any commotions and from other public considerations, to assume for a time the title of sovereign; but that he was about to repair to the capital, where he hoped to meet him, and to have an opportunity of manifesting all the

* The village of Rewah, near Panna. Panna is south of Kalinjer, Rewa south-east in Bogilkand. The Tar. Niz. f. 217. has Ayún; the Tab. Akb. Riún a dependancy of Bhal; the Nisábnáma, f. 165. Dlún a dependancy of Panna. Different authors make the enthronement three, five, and eight days after the late King's death. Bedáuni says he was called from Tahía.

† Tar. Niz. f. 217. ; Tab. Akb. f. 178. ; Akbernáma, f. 91. ; Nisábnáma, f. 165. ; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 126.

LIFE OF ISLAM.

and obedience due to him as his elder brother. He then set out for Agra. On reaching Kora in the Doáb, he was met by Khowás Khan, the commanderin-chief, a nobleman of great influence, who arrived from his jágír of Sirhend; and the ceremony of enthronement was once more gone through, submissions made, and offerings presented, with much pomp and festivity; after which, Islám again wrote to his brother, calling upon him, in conciliating and humble terms, to hasten to meet him.

Adel Khan, justly jealous of Islám or Selím's intentions, wrote to Kutb Khan Náib, Khowás Khan, Isa Khan Niázi and Jilál Khan Jilwáni, who were regarded as the principal Afghán nobles, to ascertain whether, if he complied with his brother's invitation, he could depend on their protection. He, at the same time, wrote to inform his brother that, if these four noblemen came to conduct him and guaranteed his safety, he was ready to accompany them to Agra.

To this proposal Selim agreed, and the four great Amírs accordingly proceeded to wait upon Adel Khan; reassured him as to his personal security; promised that he should be put in possession of whatever jágír in Hindustán he might choose; and, after the first interview with the King, should be at liberty to repair to it, freely and without impediment. On the faith of these assurances Adel Khan set out; and Selím, who had Meeting of proceeded as far as Sikri* on a hunting party, hearing who proof his approach, went and received him in a field near ther to the Shikárpúr, where rich cloths were spread on the ground, eapital. on which the two princes took their seat with much state. The two brothers, at this meeting, showed every sign of mutual affection; Selim repeating his excuses for the part which necessity had compelled him to act. After sitting and conversing together for some time in

thebrothers,

CHAP H

Afterwards Fatehpúr-Síkri.

VOL. II.

A. D. 1545. Islám's scheme for seizing his brother fails.

mission of

Adel Khan,

BOOK VI. the most friendly manner, they rose and set out for

Agra. On reaching the citadel, although Selím had given strict orders to the guard that only two or three attendants should be allowed to enter along with his brother, yet the Amírs by whom Adel Khan was accompanied, being by no means satisfied what the King's intentions were, in spite of all opposition, pushed forward after him with their followers and adherents in considerable numbers, into the hall of public audience, and thus defeated the plan that Selím had formed of seizing his brother's person.

The King, not disconcerted by this failure, heaped every mark of honour and distinction upon his brother, overwhelmed him with flattery, and renewed his assurances of respect and obedience. He repeated his former assertions that he had assumed power only to keep his turbulent countrymen in order, and to retain the sovereignty in their father's family; but added, that the happy moment was at length arrived when he could follow the dictates of his heart and duty, and resign both the command of the army and the possession of the throne to the legitimate heir. So saying, he approached Adel Khan and, taking hold of his hands, placed him on the throne. Adel Khan was not deceived by the apparent warmth of his brother's professions, but, being more of a boon companion and a lover of ease than a man of action, had not the courage nor the presence of mind to take advantage of them. He saw their insincerity, and he believed himself in danger. He, Formal sub- therefore, immediately rose from the throne, and in his turn, seated Selím Shah upon it, at the same time saluting him as his sovereign lord, and offering the customary congratulations. His example was instantly followed by all the nobles of the court, who presented their offerings, and tendered their homage, as is usual at the commencement of a new reign. Selim Shah, if defeated in his original purpose, thus at least effected a great object,

LIFE OF ISLAM.

by seducing his brother to make a solemn and public CHAP. II. renunciation of his rights. Adel Khan fixed upon Biána as his jágír, and when the first interview was over, was allowed, according to agreement and by the intervention of the four great Amírs, to retire to that who retires place, attended by Isa Khan Niázi and Khowás Khan.* to Biána.

But, hardly had two months elapsed, during which Further attime Selím Shah was everywhere acknowledged as seize him. King, when he despatched Gházi Mahalit, one of the chief officers of his household, to Biána with a pair of golden fetters, and with orders to seize Adel Khan and bring him as a prisoner to court. Adel Khan, informed He flies to of his approach and intention, hastened from Biána to Khan in Mewát, where Khowás Khan then was, and complained to him bitterly of his brother's breach of faith. The hardy veteran, attached to the family of Shir Shah, in which he had risen to dignity from the rank of a slave, and hurt by the insult offered to himself by this open infraction of a solemn agreement to which he was a party, gave orders for seizing Gházi Mahali, and placed on his feet the fetters which he had brought for Adel Khan.; This was an insult that could have been offered to royalty, only by one who was prepared to go all lengths. Khowás Khan followed it up by writing They are to the principal Amírs who were with Selím Shah, some of the several of whom were already much offended with that chief prince's conduct, and privately brought them over to his plans. Being joined by Isa Khan Niázi, he set out along with him and the prince for Agra, at the head of and march a considerable army. On the road he received letters from Kuth Khan and Jilál Khan Jilwáni, who, like them, had guaranteed the safety of Adel Khan, de-

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* Ut suprâ, Add Tar. Bedáuni, f. 153., and Kháfi Khan.

† The Tar. Niz., the Nisábnáma and other authorities call him Gházi Khan; the Tar. Niz. adds, az Moharramán va mokarrabán, e. o. (Sul-

tán) Ferishta calls him " an eunuch."

‡ Ferishta says that Khowas sent back Gházi to the court with his feet in the golden fetters.



Khowás Mewát. ..

joined by Amirs,

on Agra.

BOOK VI. A. D. 1545.

4

claring their willingness to support the faith which they had pledged to Adel, and to join him; but they required, in compliance with a point of Afghán honour, an instance of which we have already met with, that the army should reach Agra before sunrise, when their troops, unseen by the eye of day, would abandon the King, and move over into the ranks of his rival.

The rebels, proceeding on their march, reached Síkri, twelve kos from Agra, where Khowás Khan, who was celebrated for his piety, waited upon Sheikh Selím Chishti, a holy man, who then resided at that place; and as it happened to be the eve of a great Muhammedan religious festival^{*}, unwisely suffered himself to be so long delayed by attending the prayers and service employed on that occasion, that he did not reach the capital till breakfast time † next day, when the sun was high in the firmament.

Alarm of Islám at their approach.

Selím, when informed of his brother's approach, was in the utmost consternation; and addressing Kutb Khan and some other nobles, whom he knew or suspected to be engaged in this revolt, told them, that, even allowing that he had acted rashly in regard to Adel Khan, he thought he had a right to expect that Khowás Khan and Isa Khan would have written to him to remonstrate, before proceeding to such extremities. The Amírs, seeing his alarm, told him that even now it was not too late to avert the evil; and Kuth Khan offered his services to effect a reconciliation. Upon this, Selím Shah empowered Kuth Khan and the other Amírs who were in Adel Khan's interest, instantly to proceed to the camp to meet and negociate with that prince. His motive for this measure, apparently so pregnant with danger, was to remove from his person men with whom he did not think himself safe; intending, as soon as they were gone, to

* The festival was the Sheb-e † Chásht. Berát.

LIFE OF ISLAM.

set out for Chunár, where his father's treasures were CHAP. II. kept,-to take possession of them,-to raise an army,and then return to combat his brother whom, at the present moment, he was unable to meet in the field. From following this plan he was diverted by the remonstrances of another Isa Khan, the Mír-Hájib, or Chief Chamberlain, who represented to him, that it was a most dangerous policy in a prince to resign his capital, and abandon his friends and the force of which he was in possession, that he might set out, with the purpose of throwing himself on the loyalty of others who were at a distance: that much depended on first impressions; that he had with him a firm and hardy band of two or three thousand chosen and attached followers, who had been in his service before he mounted the throne, besides many other troops *; that he should boldly march out with this force, and might rest secure that none who bore the name of Afghán, whatever might be his inward wishes, would dare to desert him in the plain and in the light of day.

Selím, abandoning his first intentions, was prevailed upon to follow this advice; recalled the Khans who had just left him; told them, that he was resolved not to trust such faithful friends in the hands of the enemy; and ordered the troops to march out, and form in the He moves plain of Agra. The Afghan chiefs who had engaged to out to meet them. revolt to Adel Khan, when they saw Selím Shah lead them openly into the field, gave up their intention of deserting, and took their station in the line; so that Adel Khan's army, as it advanced, was opposed by the whole force in the capital. A battle ensued in sight of Agra, in which, in spite of the exertions of Khowás Khan, who was disappointed and disconcerted at finding the two great Khans, on whom he had reckoned as auxiliaries, ranged against him as enemies, the 'victory declared for Selím. Adel Khan fled from the field,

> * Ten thousand Firmuli Afgháns. G G 3

and escaped down the country to Tahía *, where he

disappeared, and seems never to have been heard of

BOOK VI. A. D. 1545. Defeat, flight, and disappearance of

Adel Khan.

more. Khowás Khan and Isa Khan Niázi retreated to Mewát; where they for some time maintained themselves, and even defeated, at Firúzpúr in that province, an army sent against them by the King. But, the royal army having been reinforced, the Khans were compelled to quit Mewát, and sought refuge with the native Rajas in the mountains of Kemáun. Selím sent Kutb Khan with a detachment in pursuit of them. He took post for some time on the skirt of the Kemáun hills, and plundered the hill-country, but did nothing effectual.[†]

Islám secures his father's' treasures in Chunár,

and procures the death of the hostile chiefs.

Selím Shah, thus relieved from his danger, marched down to Chunár that he might secure the treasures of his father. Having by degrees clearly ascertained the truth and extent of the secret correspondence which had been carried on between the nobles in his own service and Khowás Khan before the battle, he determined on revenge. Jilál Khan Jilwáni ‡ was a chief of great power, and one of the four who had become security for Adel Khan's safety. He had entered into the conspiracy, but Selím, though aware of the fact, feared to attack him by open force. What he dared not attempt openly, he accomplished by strategem. The camp having reached the town of Kóra§, the King invited Jilál to play a match at chougán; lured him from his quarters, and then seized both him and his brother Khodáidád. To avoid the odium of himself putting to death two Amírs of such distinction he gave them over into the custody of an Afghán, with whom

* Ferishta has Patna; the Tar. Abk. f. 180., and Tar. Bed. f. 154. have Tahía, probably rightly. The Nisábnáma has Panna, which accords as to situation with Tahía. The difference is chiefly from the diacritical points. † Tar. Nizámi, f. 219. and other authorities as above.

‡ Or Jiláw.

§ Some say, on his return from Chunár; the Nisábnáma, on going thither.

LIFE OF ISLAM.

They had a blood-feud, by whom, under pretence of legal CHAP. II. retaliation, they were slain. The treasures which the King removed from Chunár were conveyed to Guáliár, which, probably as being nearer the capital, he resolved to make his stronghold. He himself returned to Agra.

Selím Shah now sought out, and pursued with unrelenting severity, all who had taken part with his brother, or who were suspected of being in his interest, "sweeping them off," says Bedáuni, " like men from a chessboard." Kuth Khan, who had been a principal in all the intrigues, alarmed at these proceedings and especially at the death of Jilál Khan Jilwáni, fled from the low country of Kemáun, where he was in command of the army, and retired to the Penjáb. Haibat Khan Niázi, the governor of that great province, on whom the late King had bestowed the title of Azim Humáyun, received him courteously; but having been called upon by Selím to deliver him up, and the ascendency of the royal arms being at this period too decided to admit of opposition, Kutb Khan was surrendered to the King, and along with Sháhbáz Khan Niázi, who had married the King's sister, and twelve other Amirs of note, was sent to Guáliár, where most of them perished in prison.

All the dominions that had been conquered by Shir Extent of Shah were now in the possession of his son, and were minions. for some time ruled by him in peace. His kingdom was of great extent, reaching from Pesháwer to the sea of Bengal, and from the Himaláya mountains to the confines of Gujrát. He was however jealous of some of his father's great Amírs, who administered the government in several of the more important provinces, with nearly despotic power. Shujaa Khan*, the go- His jealousy vernor of Malwa, was one of these. Since he had had veraor of the sole command in that kingdom, he had employed Ma'wa, himself with much activity in reducing the numerous jágírdárs who possessed the chief part of the country.

* Also often called Sazáwal Khan,

A. D. 1545.

and of the governor of Multán.

Book vi. and had succeeded in establishing his ascendency over the whole of it. His very success, however, had excited the suspicions of his jealous master, who summoned him to court. He obeyed the call, and having satisfied Islam of his fidelity, was allowed to resume his station.

> Azím Humáyun, the governor of the rich and extensive provinces of the Penjáb, fell under similar suspicions, and was in like manner called to the presence. Unwilling to place himself in the power of a sovereign, in whose eyes his power and prosperity were crimes, he feigned various excuses, but sent in his place his brother Said Khan, a nobleman of great talent and bravery, who was well received by the King, and treated with every external distinction, and much apparent regard. Islám easily saw through the pretences alleged by the ambassador for his brother's conduct, and, by those who knew him best, was supposed to be only waiting for a convenient time to cut him off. One day the King took Said into the interior of the harem, where he pointed to a number of heads that were ranged on the wall, and asked him, as if casually, if he knew any of them. Some time before, Islám had given orders for, blowing up by gunpowder a chamber in which were lodged many of the most distinguished prisoners in the fort of Guáliár.* Their ghastly heads were now ranged around, elevated on the points of spears. Said examined them without betraying any emotion, and mentioned the names of several whom he had known, the first men of the state. In their fate, however, he seemed to read his own.

Threatened revolt in the Penjáb.

Having arranged his affairs at Agra, Islám now resolved to march by Chunár to Rhotas in Behár, to bring from these strong fortresses a farther portion of the

* We are told that among the persons blown up on this occasion was Kemál Gaker, the son of a Gaker chief, who escaped in a way so extraordinary that it was deemed miraculous, and the incident was reported to the King for his instructions. He commanded his life to be spared, and at a future time sent him into the Penjáb to accompany the army employed against his countrymen the Gakers.

LIFE OF ISLAM.

hoarded wealth of his father. Said Khán, who foresaw ch that he could not long remain in the royal camp with safety, made his escape while the army was on this route, and having caused horses to be posted all along the road, reached Láhúr. This circumstance, joined to the delays of the viceroy of the Penjáb, and the news which at the same time reached Court that Khowás Khan was marching to meet Azím Humáyun, made the King suspect that a rebellion, supported by a confederacy of the leading nobles of the empire, was in agitation. He, therefore, halted; measured back his way to Agra; and called upon Shujaa Khan to join him from Malwa with the forces of that province.

As Agra and Delhi were now once more become the New works capital cities of the Afgháns in India, Islám, before and Dethi. leaving Agra, employed his troops in surrounding it with a wall. Here having been joined by Shujaa Khan with troops from Malwa, he sent back that nobleman, after conferring with him, and soon after proceeded towards Delhi with all the forces that he could collect. There he remained for some time, awaiting the arrival of the more distant forces. The interval of leisure thus afforded he employed in surrounding with a strong wall of stone and lime the new town of Humáyun, which that Emperor had enclosed with one of stone and clay. Islám caused many new edifices to be built hard by, on the banks of the Jamna; and on them and the space which he had enclosed, bestowed the name of Selímgarh, which now forms, says Kháfi Khan, the southern suburb of Delhi.* The name given to it, of Selimgarh, would seem to show, that Islam did not disdain to use the appellation by which he was vulgarly called.

Islám now advanced towards the Penjáb; while, on Thearmies the other side, Azím Humáyun, Khowás Khan and Isa Khan with their united forces, amounting, it is said, to Penjab meet

of Hindustán and the at Ambála.

* Tar. Niz. f. 219. ; Tab. Akb. f. 180. ; Tar. Bed. f. 155. ; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 132. ; Kháfi Khan.



BOOK VI. A. p. 1546. A. H. 953. more than double the royal army, marched to encounter him. The two armies came in sight of each other near the town of Ambála, south-east of Sirhend. Selím, on coming near the hostile army, ascended a rising ground with some of his Amírs, to reconnoitre the array of the enemy. Having for a while surveyed them, he suddenly turned round, exclaimed that it would ill become his dignity to encamp in sight of rebels, and ordered his troops to be instantly formed in battle order, and to advance to the attack.

Defeat of the rebels.

It so happened that, the very night before, a misunderstanding had arisen between the two principal leaders of the malcontents, on a subject of fundamental consequence. Khowás Khan, who had been brought up and elevated to high rank in the very household of Shír Shah, retained his attachment to his patron's family, and insisted that the royal dignity should be kept in that line, and conferred upon Adel Khan, his eldest son, under whose banner they should fight, and whom they should spare no exertion to find out, and to place on his throne. Azím Humáyun on the other hand, with the independent spirit of an Afghán and the ambition of an adventurer, quoting some well-known lines of a Persian poet, insisted that there was no hereditary descent in sovereignty, which followed the longest sword. This ill-timed dispute was still unadjusted, when the army of the King appeared in sight. Khowás Khan, in disgust, refused to lend his aid to minister to the pretension of Azím Humáyun, and, with his friend Isa Khan, withdrew his forces from the field. Such a movement, at such a time, was decisive of the fate of the battle and of the campaign. The victory, however, was not bloodless. In spite of the defection of so great a part of the confederate force, the onset of Islám's troops was valiantly opposed by the army of the viceroy of Láhúr, the strength of which consisted in the Niázis of his own tribe. Numbers of them were, however,

LIFE OF ISLÁM.

slain, and the rest driven from the field. In the midst CHAP. II. of the confusion caused by the conflict and the rout. while the officers of the victorious army were crowding around the King to congratulate him on his success, that prince narrowly escaped from an imminent danger. Said Khan, who had so lately fled from the camp to join his brother, taking advantage of the bustle that prevailed, and being perfectly familiar with the composition and arrangement of Islám's army, mixed with the royal troops, and being in complete armour so that he could not be known, accompanied by two or three* of his followers, rode towards the King, as if to join in the general congratulation, intending to have gone up to him and slain him in the very midst of his triumph. He had got near the person of the prince, when one of Islám's elephant drivers, recognising him by his voice as he inquired whereabouts the King was, discharged a lance at him. Said, however, nothing daunted by the discovery, cutting his way through the troops immediately around him, plunged among the horses and elephants that crowded in confusion near the spot, and by his valour and presence of mind effected his escape. Numbers of the rebels in their flight were drowned in the water-courses round Ambála; many were plundered or slain by the peasants. The remainder fled to Dínkót near the Indus. † Islám pursued them, Islám ocand marched through the Penjáb as far as Rhotas, cupies t receiving the submission of the local authorities as he went along. Having settled the country as far as time permitted, he left a strong force under Khwája Veis Sirwáni to keep the Niázis from regaining their ground, and himself returned to Agra, whence he soon after and repairs

cupies the

* Two, Tab. Akb. and Nisábnáma. Some have ten.

† The Tar. Niz. makes the defeated Niázis flee to Dínkót near Roh, and is followed by Ferishta

and Bedáuni, &c. The term "Roh" is applied not only to the district of Kohat, but to the whole Kohistán, or highlands, along the right bank of the Indus.

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BOOK VI. A. D. 1546. Fate of Khowás J Khan,

repaired to Guáliár, where he was fond of residing, and which he in some measure made his capital.*

When, at the battle of Ambála, Khowás Khan and Isa Khan separated from Azím Humáyun and the army of the Niázis, the latter retired to the mountains, while the former, attended by five or six thousand men, hastened to attack the city of Láhúr, hoping to make himself master of it during the general confusion. But, hearing that he was closely pursued, he crossed the Rávi, and at the village of Miáni was overtaken by Yahía Salwái who had been sent after him. Khowás Khan, though at the time suffering from the effects of a recent wound, left his litter; and mounting on horseback, engaged and repelled the enemy, after which he continued his route. Escaping by the foot of the Sewálik mountains, he remained among them for some time. At length Islám Shah wrote to Táj Khan Keráni, the governor of Sambhal, enjoining him to draw Khowás Khan by any means from his retreat. On the invitation of Táj Khan, who owed him his preferment, he left his mountain retreat, and came down to Sambhal. But Táj Khan, forgetful of what he owed the illustrious refugee and anxious to secure the royal favour, treacherously put his benefactor to death, and having cut off his head, sent it as an offering to Islám Shah, who was then at Bín in the Penjáb. Khowás Khan was one of the most distinguished men of his time. His liberality, especially to religious men, was unbounded. Abulfazl represents his character, as he does that of all connected with the Súr dynasty, in an unfavourable light. "He was," says that writer, "originally one of the slaves of Shir Khan, and by downright fraud and cunning, by seizing the property of the learned and good and bestowing it on the ignorant and low-minded, gained a certain degree of credit among the lower classes of his own country-

* Tar. Nizámi, f. 220.; Tab. Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 133, 134.; Khol. Akb. 181.; Tar. Bed. ff. 155, 156.; ul Towáríkh, f. 281.

LIFE OF ISLAM.

nen." "His corpse was conveyed to Delhi," says Ferishta*, "where it was interred : and such is the veneration in which the name of Khowás Khan is held, even at the present day, that his tomb is frequented by devotees, and the common people, considering him as a saint, go there to offer prayers for the success of their undertakings." + "And to this day," says a still later author, "his name is celebrated in Hindustán, in poetry and song."†

While Selím resided at Guáliár, an incident occurred Power of which had nearly shaken his throne. It must have nobles the Afghan been visible in the progress of the narrative, that the under the Súr dynasty of Shír Shah was entirely military. It nasty. Súr Dywas supported solely by the Afgháns, a rough and uncivilized people, who cherished strong notions of independence and equality; and who, if they could not be called republican in their principles, were at least led by a number of their own hereditary chiefs, a sort of native oligarchy, all of whom regarded the grand officers of the empire with some jealousy, as placed above them only by accident. The greater chiefs regarded the sovereign himself with much the same eye. They had been the equals of Shir Khan, his father, and it was by their exertions that he sat on the throne. The governors of provinces, though nominally servants of the crown, and removable at will, were often in reality so powerful, each in his own government, that they considered themselves as individually holding their power by much the same right as the King held his throne. They were in fact, in general, removable only by assassination or by war. Shujaa Khan, as we have seen, had Shujaa reduced nearly the whole of the former kingdom of Malwa. Malwa under his authority. He maintained the pomp A. 1954. and parade of a prince, like the other governors of the

* Akbernáma, f. 91. -+ Ferishta, vol. ii., p. 137.

† Khol. ul Towáríkh. f. 276.



BOOK VI. A. D. 1547.

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Attempt on his life by an Afghán. more extensive provinces, and, like some of them, was suspected by Selím of aiming at independent power. The viceroy of the Penjáb being now humbled, Shujaa was now become the greatest subject of the empire.

It happened one day that an Afghán, of the name of Othman*, came intoxicated into Shujaa's hall of audience, and as his countrymen are noted in India for their rude and unpolished manners, began to spit about him on the cushions and carpets. The servants remonstrated with him, but in vain; and on their insisting that he should leave the presence-chamber, he struck one of them a blow on the face. Shujaa Khan, informed of this outrage, ordered the offender's hands to be cut off. Othman, thus mutilated, repaired to Selím Shah at Guáliár, and, having gained access to him, demanded justice upon his Majesty's lieutenant, who had treated him thus cruelly. Selím, whether merely to get rid of the man's importunity, or with any more remote object, answered, "What, are not you too an Afghán? Go, and take your revenge." This expression was repeated to Shujaa, who only remarked, that it was a very idle way of talking. And though one of his servants told him that he had seen Othman sitting in a cutler's shop, whetting his knife, and using threatening expressions, still he took no precautions.

Some time afterwards Shujaa Khan, having gone to Guáliár to wait upon the King, in passing through the streets of the town on his way to the royal derbár, saw Othman, who had long been watching his opportunity, sitting in a shop, wrapped up in an old mantle. Shujaa made his palankeen stop, and desired some assistance to be given to the wretched man, whose face he recollected. Othman, seizing the favourable moment, approached him, and with the blade of a short sword which he had

* Ferishta calls him Othman designate him as Othman merdi, one Khan, probably erroneously: others Othman.

LIFE OF ISLAM.

fastened to the stump of his mutilated arm, and con- CHAP. II. cealed under his cloak, attacked Shujaa, and inflicted a wound on his side. The viceroy's followers, rushing on the assassin, put him to death.* This occurrence, con- His quarrel nected with the known jealousy of Selím Shah and the expression he had let fall, naturally alarmed Shujaa Khan, who, though he afterwards appeared at court and received rich presents, took the earliest opportunity that offered to withdraw from Guáliár with all his followers, without taking leave, and retreated hurriedly to Malwa. Selím, offended at this act of insubordination, as well as by his slighting expressions, sent a strong who indetachment to pursue, and bring him back, and soon vades Malafter himself marched into Malwa with the rest of his army, that he might seize Shujaa; "although," says Nizám-ed-dín, "that nobleman was one of thirty-five+ persons who were personally engaged in placing his father, Shir Shah, on the throne." When Selim had advanced as far as Mándu, Shujaa Khan fled to Bhán-Flight and swára, on the borders of Gujrát, declaring that he would restoration never draw his sword against the son of his old master. Khan, All opposition being thus at an end, Islám Shah placed Isa Khan Súr in the government of Malwa, leaving him at Ujein with twenty thousand horse t, and returned to Guáliár. Soon afterwards, however, when Islám was compelled once more to return to the Penjáb, Shujaa Khan, from what motives we are not informed, but probably from his tried talents and the difficulty of governing Malwa without his aid, was restored to the government of that kingdom, which he, and his son after him, enjoyed for many years.§

While Islám Shah was thus successful in Malwa, his A.H. 954,

or 955.

* Some accounts say that the assassin made his escape.

† Ferishta says, thirty-six .

‡ Bedáuni, 30,000.

§ Tab. Akb. f. 463. ; Tar. Niz. f. 220, ; Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 273, 274. and ii. p. 134.; Tar. Bed. f. 156.



with Islam,

A, D. 1547.

464

Temporary success and final defeat of Azím Humáyun in the Penjáb.

Disgraceful conduct of Islám after the victory. arms suffered a reverse in the Penjáb.* Azím Humayun, who had so long governed that country, though expelled, had still a strong influence within it, and was attended beyond the Jelem by a considerable body of brave and determined adherents. Having collected his force, Azím Humáyun attacked near Dínkót, and defeated, Khwája Veis Sirwáni, the general whom Islám had left to keep him in check; and, pursuing his advantage, extended his inroads as far as Sirhend. His predatory troops spread themselves all over the Penjáb, carrying off not only the cattle, but the inhabitants, and throwing the whole country into confusion. To redress this evil, Islám lost no time in sending a large army to the assistance of his general, who compelled the rebels to retreat once more towards Dínkót. A general action was soon after fought at Sambala near that place, in which Azím Humáyun, who had now an army of twenty thousand horse, was totally defeated, and numbers of Niázi women, falling into the hands of the conquerors, were sent to Islám Shah. That monarch's treatment of them is disgraceful to his character. The helpless females were sent to Guáliár, and there given up to be dishonoured. He also exhibited a scurrilous pageantry in his camp. Selecting from the rabble some wretches whom he called by the names of Azim Humáyun, Said Khan, Sháhbáz Khan and others, he dressed them up in tawdry finery, and bestowed on them lofty titles, made the vilest creatures in the camp carry pompously before them the standards, regal umbrella and other symbols of royalty and state, that had fallen into his hands in the late battle, and paraded them with insulting mockery. The bands of music performed before their doors at the usual stated times, the most noted blackguards in the bazar being selected for the duty. These marks of contempt shown to men of rank and family. with the dishonour of the Niázi ladies, were much felt

* " In 954. or 955," says Bedáuni, f. 157, " God knows which."

and resented by the Afgháns in general, most of whom are in some way connected together, and who, at all events, have a profound respect for the honour of their tribes.*

After this defeat the Niázis, unable to keep their Headvances ground at Dínkót, fled for protection among the Gakers beyond the Salt Range, and also spread among the hills on the outskirts of Kashmír. Islám, sensible that, to ensure the tranquillity of his other dominions, it was necessary to extinguish the embers of rebellion in the Penjáb, and especially to crush the power of the Niázi chiefs, marched into that country at the head of a powerful army. He advanced as far as Rhotas, the A. H. 955. completion of which he urged forward with much A.D. 1548. earnestness, and used every effort to reduce the Gakers, who were at once proud of their independence and attached to the family of Báber. The building of Rhotas was a work of immense toil and difficulty. The Gakers did everything in their power to impede the progress of a fort, which was placed chiefly as a check upon them. Islám Shah employed one portion of his troops in building the fortifications on a magnificent scale, and the other portion of them not so employed were sent against the Gakers, who kept them busy with daily contests combats. By day the Gakers met them hand to hand in Gakers. fight, and at night crept like banditti round the camp, and by sudden attacks where least expected, carried off men and women, bond and free, all of whom they kept in shameful captivity, and sold as slaves indiscriminately. For two years, while the works were going on, Islám kept his Afgháns employed with stone and mortar, or in constant skirmishing, and all the time kept back their pay. Their hatred to him became extreme, and Discontents. vented itself in reproaches and abuse; for such was camp. their terror of him, and the ascendency that he had

CHAP. II

to Rhotas.

with the

* Ut suprà. Some make this ill-judged pageantry occur after the first defeat.

VOL. II.

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DOOK VI.

46

acquired over their minds, that none dared to remonstrate. At length Shah Muhammed Firmuli, a nobleman whose wit and humour sometimes enabled him to tell bold truths, informed the King that, the night before, he had had a singular dream. "My King," said he, "methought I saw three bags fall from the sky; one was filled with earth, one with gold, and one with paper. The earth fell on the soldiers, the gold on the Hindu clerks of office, the paper on the royal treasury." Islám Shah, who saw at once the tendency of the fable, was diverted, and promised that as soon as he returned to Guáliár he would make the ac. countants write out the bills for the two years' arrears, and pay the amount. "It so happened," says the historian, "that this never was performed, as he was carried off before it was effected."*

He makes peace with the Gakers on their expelling the Niázis,

who retreat towrads Kashmír,

But, brave as was the defence of the Gakers in their wild country, and successful as they were, sheltered by their glens, ravines and jungles, in repelling the attacks of the royal army, they at length clearly saw that they could expect no quiet while they continued to shelter Azím Humáyun or his followers. Sultan Adam having sued for peace, it was granted on condition that Azim Humáyun and his followers should leave the country. This being agreed to, the Niázis, now more distressed than ever, determined to attempt Kashmir. They seem to have been invited by a party, who offered them the government, it is said, with treacherous views. At all events, Islám Shah put the mountain tribes of Kashmir on their guard, and urged them to avert the approaching danger. Misled, it is said, by their guides, though no such treachery is necessary to account for what followed, the Niázis entered the passes of that mountainous region, and soon found themselves cut off from all retreat or advance. The precipices above were occupied by armed men. In vain did the Niázis

* Tar. Bed. f. 158.

LIFE OF HUMAYUN.

do all that courage could effect, the very women, among whom were the mother and wife of Azim Humáyun, arming themselves to defend their honour. terminated A shower of stones from hands unseen poured down in the deupon them, and not an individual escaped. In this defile Azím Humáyun and his brothers Saíd Khan and Sháhbáz Khan, the King's brother-in-law, were slain, and their heads cut off and sent to Islám Shah.*

While Islám's forces were engaged against the Gakers Islámbuilds and the tribe of Jenjúha, who occupied the strong Mánkót. country on the banks of the Jelem, not content with the works still carried on at Rhotas, he began to construct another fort at Mánghar or Mánkót, on the farthest outskirts of the Sewálik mountains. It was on a most extensive scale, and was composed of four or five forts, on as many eminences, but all connected together. Abulfazl says that Islám Shah founded it in consequence of some bad omen that had affected his imagination, and as a place of refuge against the impending evil. It was while encamped at Bin, superintending the building of this fort, that he made a narrow escape from being assassinated. As her was His narrow ascending a confined pass on his way to the fort, a man, assassinwho had concealed himself, rushed upon him with a naked sword, and aimed a blow which Islám skilfully warded off with the end of his whip, which, however, being cut through, his face was somewhat wounded. When the assassin was raising his arm for a second stroke, the King, who was a powerful man and versed in athletic exercises, leaping from his horse and clasping the assassin's arms, called upon some Amírs who had galloped up to his aid, to put the man to death. "Let us inquire," they said, "who instigated him to such a deed." "No," said Islám Shah, "the wretch may be

* Tar. Niz. f. 221. ; Akbernáma, f. 91.; Tar. Bed. f. 158.; Khol. ul The catastrophe was a natural one, Tow. f. 282.; Ferishta II. p. 135. where the natives were prepared. One may suspect that the guides

were unjustly accused of treachery.



and are exfiles.

escape from ation.

BOOK VI. A. D. 1548. the ruin of many houses. Put him instantly to death." This act of generosity does not appear to be much in unison with Islám's habitual conduct. He observed, however, that the villain's sword was one which he had himself presented to Ekbál Khan, a man whom he had raised from the lowest rank, had elevated to situations of dignity in his court, and honoured with his particular favour. Islám now deprived him of his rank, and restored him to his original meanness. But though the Afghán Amírs, by whom he was detested, urged the King to put him to death, Islám Shah refused, saying that, however much he was ashamed of the patronage which he had afforded to one so unworthy, he would not utterly destroy what he had once cherished.*

Kámrán visits his camp. A. H. 959, A. D. 1552.

Advance of Humáyun,

Having settled the Penjáb and strengthened his frontier, Islám, who had now been two years beyond the Satlej, set out on his march back to Delhi. It was at this time that Kámrán Mírza, who, driven from Kábul, and afterwards from the Afghán country, had come to his camp some time before, disappointed in his expectations of succour, made his escape, and fled first to the Sewálik † mountains and afterwards to the Gakers. Islám continued his march, and had arrived at Delhi, when news were brought that the Emperor Humáyun had reached the Indus with an army, on his way to invade Hindustán. The King was then ill, and, at the moment, had a number of leeches on his neck. He instantly shook them off, and without even washing away the blood, tied a handkerchief round his neck, ordered his horse, mounted, and the same day was encamped three kos from the town. The troops, who

* Tar. Niz. f. 220.; Tar. Bed. f. 168.

† Kámrán, as he approached Islám's camp, was received by Hímú Bakál, who was sent out to meet

him. This supposes Himú to have dready attained considerable rank, and he is accordingly said to have been in high favour, Tar. Bed. f. 158.

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

had already suffered so much from want, were driven CHAP. II. distracted by this new movement; so that some of his Ministers ventured to represent to him that, as a powerful enemy was marching to meet him, and the troops were in distress and murmuring, it would be a gracious act and befitting his royal dignity, to discharge their arrears of pay. Islám told them in reply that, if he paid the troops at that time, they would ascribe the concession to his necessities and to compulsion, and would act upon that supposition on future occasions; but he assured them that, after he had returned victorious from this campaign, he would order the whole arrears of the last two years to be paid all in one sum. The soldiers, stifling their feelings and seeing no remedy, repaired to the camp. The draughtbullocks, employed for moving the cannon, had all been sent to pasture at great distances. Determined that no time should be lost, the King commanded the footsoldiers to drag them along; which they did for several days, some of the larger guns requiring each one or two thousand men to move them. Without loss of time he thus reached the Penjáb. Humáyun, having His retreat secured his brother Kámrán, and failed in an attempt to reach Kashmír, aware of Islám's approach, returned to Kábul. Upon which Islám, worn out with sickness and disease, retraced his steps from Láhúr, and soon after repaired to Guáliár.*

It was during this and his former residence at Lahur Meditated that Islám Shah, following up in some measure his destruction of Láhúr, father's ideas, is said to have seriously meditated the and removal of the destruction of that capital. It was a large and flourish- capital to ing city, the centre of a rich trade, and amply furnished Mankot. with every useful and costly production of the times. It had a numerous and warlike population, and large manufactories of arms, offensive and defensive, of mili-

> Tar. Niz. f. 221.; Tar. Bed. f. 169. нп 3

to Kábul.

A. D. 1552.

BOOK VI. tary accoutrements, and of every warlike store. recovered and occupied by the exiled family, or by any invaders from the North, it would become, he imagined, a most convenient station, both for arming their troops, and for invading India. His plan was to have razed this noble town from the foundation, and to have removed the capital of the Penjáb to Mánkót, which was more remote from the country of the Afgháns, and from the desert along the left bank of the Indus, while, from its position in the Siálkot range, it was less liable to invasion, and more capable of defence. But this truly oriental plan, so pregnant with misery and ruin to thousands of his subjects, was never carried into effect.

Mutual suspicions of Islam and his nobles.

Shír Shah, during his short reign, had placed his kingdom in so formidable a position, that the reign of his successor was disturbed by no foreign invasion; but it was troubled, first by civil wars, and afterwards by repeated conspiracies. Whether these were owing to the jealous temper of Islám, or were a consequence of the insubordinate and independent habits of his Afghán nobles, is not very clear, in the scanty and unsatisfactory accounts that have been transmitted to us of the history of his reign. But it would rather appear that Islám, fretted by finding them constantly in his way, when he wished to rule as an absolute prince, attempted systematically to weed out the more powerful Afghán chiefs*, without being sufficiently aware that, while he got free of a temporary annoyance, he was destroying the real strength of his dynasty and race. We have seen that attempts upon his life, probably produced by this severity, were made at different times, though they failed. Even in his favourite retreat of Guáliár, to

* Bedáuni tells us that his suspicions of the designs of the Afghan chiefs had produced in his mind the most inveterate hatred; that he

mixed opium in his drink, eat serpents and drank poison, probably as antidotes while he thirsted for the blood of his Afghán subjects, f. 169.

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

which he retired as a place of security from these cu attempts, he was not safe from the assassin's arm. One day while he was out hunting at Anteri in that neighbourhood, a band of men, instigated by persons of note, lay in wait, for the purpose of putting him to death as he returned. It so happened that he came back by a different road from that which he was accustomed to take, and thus the plot failed. But the king was soon informed of what had passed, and put to death those who were convicted as the leaders of the conspiracy, or supposed to be so. But he did not stop there; and it is alleged that there was hardly any Amír distinguished for power or influence, on whom his suspicions did not fall, and whom he did not put to death, or imprison.*

The latter part of the life of Islám Shah was rendered Death of wretched by bad health and bodily suffering. His disease, whether a fistula or piles, was attended with tumours all over his loins, occasioned much pain, and baffled the efforts of his physicians. These and other bodily infirmities brought him to the grave, after a A. H. 960. reign of between eight and nine years.†

His character, as given by historians, is not exactly His chawhat one would expect from the public transactions of racter. his reign. All allow that, in person, he was handsome, and that his bodily strength, which was naturally great, had been cultivated by constant activity and exercise. He is said to have had a competent degree of learning, and to have treasured up in his memory the chief works of some of the best Persian poets. He was intelligent, acute, fond of the society of learned men and of pious

* Tar. Niz. f. 222.

† Abulfazl makes him die 22. Zikádah, A. H. 960. (Oct. 30, A. D. 1553), after a reign of eight years two months and eight days; the Nisábnáma, 26.; Zihajeh (Dec. 3rd), after a reign of eight years nine months and seven days; the

Taríkh-e Nizámi gives him nine years, and is followed by Ferishta; Tab. Akb. f. 182.; Tar. Nizámi, f. 221. ; Akbernáma, f. 91. ; Khol. ul Towárikh, pp. 279-284.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 134-138. ; Nisábnáma, f. 114.

л. р. 1553.



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A. D. 1553.

BOOK VI. divines, and remarkable for his skill in extempore poetical composition, as well as for his wit and ready repartee. He always maintained a powerful army, abundantly supplied with horses, elephants, artillery and stores; and subjected it to strict discipline. "Though he vexed his soldiers extremely," says Abulfazl, "yet he conducted himself with justice to his other sub-jects."* "He adopted," says another writer, "the same principles of justice and policy as his able father: the strong were not permitted to oppress the weak. His internal administration was excellent. The Kanúngoes, who keep the revenue accounts of perganas, he employed to watch over and report on the condition of the ryots, and the state of cultivation of the soil, on the crops, and the extent of offences and crime. Few princes on record," he adds, "in military skill, in policy, justice and good government, have ever equalled these two." He is represented as magnificent in his state, and as liberal in his donations to public works and to holy men. He preserved all lands granted for religious or charitable purposes inviolate. He kept up his father's seráis in their whole extent, and the distribution of food to travellers, and for that purpose carefully protected all the lands that had been given them. In addition, he ordered a serái to be built between each two of his father's; adding a mosque, a reader, a well, and a water-carrier to each. He also gave the post-houses so many additional horses as to enable them to convey intelligence with increased speed from place to place over every portion of his extensive empire.1

The great objects of his reign seem to have been to establish himself on the throne to the prejudice of his elder brother; and, after that was accomplished, to reduce the power of the great nobles, who almost over-

- + Khol. ul Tow. f. 284.
- ; Tar. Niz. f. 221.; Akbernáma,

f. 91.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 130.; Kháfi Khan, ff. 59-61.; Nisábnáma-e Afghánán, f. 111.

^{*} Akbernáma, f. 91.

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN.

shadowed the throne. His father, adopting a different CHAP. II. policy from his, turned the power and talents of his nobles to account, and preserved their affection and his own superiority, by the ascendency of his talents.

Islám, before he mounted the throne, had conducted many military expeditions; and, if we may judge from the success of all his measures after he became king, though unfeeling and cruel, he must have been a prince of no ordinary sagacity and talent.

Indeed, even Abulfazl, though, in writing the life of the two first monarchs of the Súr dynasty, he loads them with reproaches and speaks of them with aversion and contempt, is compelled, in a later part of his work, when writing the history of Mobárez or Muhammed Shah Adel, to do them more justice. "From the time that Mobárez Khan came to the throne," says he, "the affairs of Hindustán went backwards; for, in truth, the father and son, his predecessors, were men of talent, and skilful in the administration of affairs. Alas! that they should have spent their lives in ingratitude and rebellion. Had these two persons been servants of the imperial family, the one might have shone at the court, the other in charge of the frontier, to the benefit of their lawful sovereign as well as to their own happiness. The direction of the council might have been entrusted to the father, the protection of the frontier to the son: at all events, loaded with the favour of their lord, in return for faithful service, they would have enjoyed that life which the truly wise regard as life indeed. Such servants would have deserved such a master. But even the enjoyment of supreme power founded on ingratitude, men of superior intellect hold as worse than death. The Great Being that regulates the world soon scatters it abroad."* The doctrine of legitimacy is here applied with some boldness. The Tartars had been only five years masters of Delhi when Humáyun mounted

* Akbernáma, f. 92. No. 3, f. 206.



BOOK VI. A. D. 1553. the throne, which, for a long course of years preceding, had been in the possession of the Afgháns. But such is the spirit of adulation. The family which happens to fill the throne when the author writes holds it by divine appointment; and all opposition to them, at whatever previous time, is treated as revolt, contumacy, or rebellion.

Islám Shah made an attempt to settle all the affairs of his kingdom on a regular systematic plan.* He endeavoured to concentrate all power in his own person. "He deprived the Amírs of all their war elephants," says Abdal Káder, "leaving them perhaps only a bad female one for carriage." His tents and the screens enclosing them were of a red colour. He appropriated to himself the whole revenues of his kingdom instead of scattering them by assignations; and paid his soldiers wholly in money, instead of keeping up the practice of the dagh, or giving them horses furnished by government and branded with a stamp to distinguish them, a mode which Shir Shah had employed. Reports came in to him regularly from every part of his territories; and in return, he wrote mandates concerning every matter and thing, whether relating to religion, civil government or revenue, descending to the minutest details in all that concerned the army or cultivators, tribesmen or merchants. To these mandates, whether agreeable to the law or not, it was necessary to conform in their minutest particulars. No reference to Kázi or Mufti was allowed.

Early in his reign, he stationed large bodies of troops, consisting generally of five thousand horse each, in different parts of his dominions. He seems to have kept up something like a standing army, which his plan of bringing all revenue directly into the public treasury must have assisted him in doing. He was anxious to keep the dread of his power unceasingly before his great * Tar. Bed. f. 156.

officers: and justice in civil cases was administered not CHAP. 11 by the Mufti or Kázi, but by a Munsif or Amín. "Every Friday," says Abdal Káder, "the great Amírs of five thousand, ten thousand and twenty thousand horse, pitched a lofty tent with eight balls*, and placed on a throne a slipper of Selím Shah's, with a quiver which he had given to the Sirdár. First of all the Administacommander of the army, then the Civil Judget, called Justice. Amín, and afterwards all others in turn, offered obeisance to it, by bowing towards it with the utmost reverence; after which, every one went and seated himself in his place. A secretary ‡ then came forward and read distinctly and fully, a code of regulations extending to eighty sections § of paper, more or less. In this code was found a direction for every case of difficulty; and all were obliged to conform rigidly to its injunctions. If it happened that any Amír acted contrary to them, the secretary sent a report of the circumstance to the Court, and an answer was forthwith received, with orders for the death or ruin of the offender as a punishment. These forms continued to be observed till the end of Selím Shah's reign. The author of this work, in the year H. 956, being young, and in the country of Bijwárah, a dependency of Biána, went with his maternal grandfather, on whom be the mercy of the Almighty, to the camp of Ferid Táran, a commander of five thousand, and saw this form and ceremony observed." ||

There seems to have been a considerable degree of Account of religious ebullition at this time in Hindustán, as often sheikh Alái happens in disturbed periods. An instance of it is re- Mehdevis. corded, in which Islám Shah had some concern. One Sheikh Hasan, a favourite scholar or disciple of the celebrated Sheikh Selím Chishti of Síkri, having at-

* Hesht sargheh.

† Munsif.

Dabir,

§ Band. || Tar. Bedáuni, ff. 156, 157.



soon yr, tained great distinction, himself undertook the office of training aspirants in the road of spiritual knowledge in the city of Biána. On his death, he was succeeded in his saintly influence by his son Sheikh Alái, a man of great attainments in learning and in the knowledge of spiritual things, who continued to draw many followers around him, and sustained the reputation of the school.

It so happened that Sheikh Abdalla Niázi, an Afghán, and also favourite scholar of Sheikh Selím Chishti, having returned from the pilgrimage of Mekka, came and settled in Biana. In the course of his travels, which had extended into Arabia, Persia, Khorásán and Transoxiana, he had imbibed the opinions of the sect of Mehdevis *, which at that period appear to have been extensively diffused. Sheikh Alái, who met him, was delighted with his manners and conversation; and gradually adopted, in their full extent, the new doctrines, which in many respects agree with those of the Sufis, renouncing those of his father and former religious teachers.

The founder of this sect, which added another to the many that have divided the Musulmans, was Syed Muhammed, a native of Juánpúr, born about A. H. 847; but whose religious mission extended from 887 to 910, when he died at Farra in Khorásán.† He professed to be the Mehdi, the Comforter or Paraclete, promised alike by the Christian and Muhammedan religions; and his followers pretended that the truth of his mission was proved by numerous miracles. The leading articles of their faith were, that he was indeed the promised Mehdi, whom it was necessary to love and follow; all who did not being infidels ; that his inspiration, like that

* This sect extended into the Dekhan, Ismael Nizám Shah of Ahmednagar was led by his Minister Jemál Khan to join it. Ferishta, vol. iii. p. 277. This was in Ferishta's own time. The progress

of the sect even gave rise to a kind of religious war. Ibid. pp. 277, 278.

† A. H. 910. ; Zikádeh, 19. (A.D. 1505, April 23.)

A. D. 1482. to 1505.

of Moses, was derived directly from God, without the CHAP. intermediate agency of angels; that the Mehdi and Muhammed were equal in authority; and that none of the Hadís, or traditional savings of Muhammed, were true, unless confirmed by the Koran or by the Mehdi, to whom alone was committed the task of admitting souls into bliss, or consigning them to misery. The mission of Muhammed and of the Mehdi were for purposes quite distinct from each other; that of the former being to preach the laws of faith; that of the latter, the commands and rules for the practice of good works. The Koran revealed to Muhammed was to be explained by the Mehdi. He taught that it was possible to see God even in this world - by a total oblivion of self in holy meditation, followed, in the progress of pious abstraction, by a moral or spiritual death. In this progress towards the Divine or Beatific vision they marked out several stages, in the last of which the successful devotee, losing his identity, became united with the Deity. In the course of this progress, he ceased reading the Koran, which, with every other study, became superfluous as the mystic vision advanced; he passed or raised the seventy thousand veils that obscure the view of things as they really exist; was blest with the sight of heaven and of hell-of the souls of the just and of the prophets, before being absorbed into the being of God. Such were their chief articles of faith. Those relating to works flow naturally from them. As they held that worldly wealth or possessions were the root of all evil, and that attachment to wives, children, relations, or any thing earthly, by diverting the mind from things divine, produced infidelity and led to hell, the chief of their practical doctrines were the renunciation of all the world and its gifts, houses, land, women, children, silver and gold ; when persecuted, the only alternative offered, was to desert their country or to have recourse to arms: their conversation was to

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be only with the virtuous: they were as they advanced to quit all society, the better to enjoy uninterrupted meditation on God, thereby in the end to attain the longedfor vision: they were to fight for the Word of God, either with the sword of poverty or of prayer, or with that of war. To kill an infidel they deemed no crime; and they might lawfully take ample license in retaliation, or revenge, of such as molested their sect. Such as had only begun their heavenly course were enjoined to read the Koran, and to observe the five stated times of prayer. The more advanced seem to have been exempted from all external observances.*

Sheikh Abdalla, on his return from the Hejáz, following out the precepts of his new faith, had taken up his residence in a garden near Biána at the Mhár Tank, a neighbourhood frequented by persons of the lowest class, and was accustomed himself to repair to it, to draw water, and carry it away on his head with unaffected humility. When prayer-time came, he collected a number of individuals of the lowest class, waterdrawers, carriers of wood and grass-cutters, who lived around. Them he instructed with the honest zeal of a missionary, and with the eloquence and knowledge of a man of letters. His preaching was successful, and his patience and unremitting fervour brought in many to his fold.

Sheikh Alái, who was struck with the fervour and unction of his teaching soon became persuaded of the truth of his doctrines; confessed that this was indeed true religion; recommended it to his followers; renounced his own tenets; and having humbly joined the new sect, deserted his monastery, the rents attached to it and his dwelling, and invited his family to follow him to share his poverty and humble living; but offering, if they were unwilling to do this, to divide his property with

* See Colonel Miles's interesting Account of Muhammed Mehdi ; Bombay, vol. ii. pp. 281-294.

then according to the law, and then let them go, in God's name. Having removed to the neighbourhood, and placed himself under the spiritual guidance of Sheikh Abdalla, he continued his study of the new creed, conformed to the rules of the sect, and divided all he possessed among the poor. Many of his former disciples followed him, and embraced the new doctrines. He daily, at the hours of morning and afternoon prayer, expounded the Holy Koran in presence of assembled multitudes with such persuasive eloquence, that his hearers, catching his enthusiasm, inevitably became converts; and hundreds, abandoning their wives and families, their goods and possessions, and all that tied them to the world, renounced their sins and all evil courses, and ranged themselves among the disciples of the Mehdevis. All that they possessed they enjoyed in common; or, if any, such as agriculturists or merchants, continued in their occupations, they made a vow to devote a tenth of their income to charity and the service of God. In every thing they trusted to God. They used no cooking vessels, but when they received a handful of flour mixed it up, just as it was, with salt and water, and used it while it lasted. In some instances, where they happened to get nothing, they were known to fast for two or three days with perfect resignation, without venting a complaint or manifesting any indication of suffering. But in spite of their destitute condition, they always went armed, carrying a sword and shield or other arms, that they might repel their enemies. And, wherever they saw any person do what was contrary to their notions of right, they, in the first instance, mildly warned him to desist; but if he persisted, they proceeded to compel him by force and violence to alter his conduct. Such of the magistrates as had adopted the Mehdevi opinions gave their sanction to these proceedings ; so that those



А. н. 959.

BOOK VI. of them who disapproved of this outrageous conduct, were unable to afford a remedy.

Sheikh Abdalla, seeing to what lengths the unregulated zeal of Sheikh Alái was hurrying him, admonished and chid him gently, and suggested to him the propriety of making a pilgrimage to Mekka. Sheikh Alái, in deference to this advice of his spiritual guide, but without abating any thing of his usual proceedings, set out attended by a retinue of six or seven hundred followers.* In passing Khowáspúr, which lies in the Júdpúr territory, Khowás Khan, the celebrated Afghán chief, who was then stationed on that frontier, came out with an honorary procession to meet him, listened to his teaching, and became a convert to his opinions. But that nobleman, displeased with the violence of some of his acts and doctrines, and dreading the consequence of his principles on the troops, soon gave him up; and Alái, disconcerted by this defection, and influenced by various other circumstances, returned to Biána, just about the time when Islám Shah mounted the throne in Agra. The Sheikh was summoned to Court among other religious men of the time. | But there, in defiance of the usage and etiquette of Courts, and following the levelling principles of his sect, instead of the usual salutation to the sovereign, he pronounced only the ordinary and familiar greeting to an equal.† This departure from rule was eagerly seized by the King's Ministers, who charged the obnoxious innovator at once with want of reverence to his Majesty, and with heresy: and Múlla Abdalla Sultánpúri, who at that time enjoyed the title of Makhdúm-al-mulk, after having various conferences with him, went so far as to issue a fetwa or opinion, declaring him guilty of a capital offence. Islám Shah ordered a trial to take place in

Tabakát, 700 or 800; the Nisáb-* Ferishta gives him 370.; the Taríkh-e Nizámi, 600 or 700; the náma, 900. + Alik-is-salám.

his presence, and before such as were considered to be CHAP II. the chief doctors and múllas of the age. In the course of the investigation that ensued, Sheikh Alái maintained his cause with such superiority of talent over them all, and, when he proceeded to explain the mysteries of the Koran, produced such an effect on Islám Shah himself, that he exclaimed, "Nay, now, Sheikh, give up your peculiar and heterodox fancies, and you shall be made Mohtesib* of all my kingdom. Hitherto you have exercised judgment without permission from me; henceforward do so under my authority." But the Sheikh, true to his principles, refused to consent. Islám Shah, softening the severity of Múlla Abdalla's decree, ordered him to be banished to Hindía. †

Here, such was the extraordinary influence of the eloquence and persuasive powers of Alái, that he soon gained over Behár Khan Sirwáni, the governor, and the greater part of his troops to his opinions; so that his guards became his followers. Makhdúm-al-mulk, on learning these tidings, filled with saintly rage, besought and prevailed upon the King to order him back to Delhi, where a council was convened to try him once more for the crimes laid to his charge. Before this council Makhdúm-al-mulk appeared as his accuser. "This man," said he, "pretends to be the promised Mehdi; he would be king of all the earth. Your army is attached to him: your subjects, in the social relations of life, deserting their duties as parents, husbands, and children, cling to his novelties. The kingdom is in danger of falling into the utmost confusion." Still, however, Islám Shah would not yield to the severe conclusions of his Ulema; and directed that Alái should be sent into Behár to Sheikh Badeh Tyeb Danishmend, by

* The Mohtesib is the great Dekhan, f. 113, and that he stopped Censor morum. at Hindía on his róad.

+ The Nisábnáma says, to the

VOL. II.

BOOK VI. whose fetwa he professed that he would be guided; and himself set out for the Penjab.

Sheikh Badeh, to whom Alái was thus committed, had been much followed as a religious guide by Shír Shah, the king's father, who held him in such reverence that he was accustomed, when the holy man was going out, to place the shoes before his feet. Sheikh Badeh, long and deeply versed in the theology of his age and religion, entirely coincided in opinion with Makhdúmal-mulk, and to that effect wrote his fetwa or decree, which was forthwith forwarded by express to Islám Shah, who commanded the personal attendance of the prisoner. At this period Sheikh Alái was seized with a pestilential disease then raging. This malady was farther irritated by the fatigue of his long journey to the Penjáb; so that, when he reached the presence of the King, he was unable to speak. Islám Shah, still desirous to save him, standing by his side, gently addressed him: "Only whisper in my ear," said the prince, " the promised Mehdi is not come, and be free." Sheikh Alái, absorbed in a meditative trance, did not heed his words, and Islám, driven to extremity by his unrelenting divines, commanded him to be scourged. At the third stroke of the lash, says the historian, he resigned his soul to his Creator. Islám Shah directed that his body should be interred in the tomb of his forefathers.*

* The account of this transaction is taken from the Tabak. Akberi, f. 182.; Tar. Nizámi, ff. 221-223.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 138-141. See also the Tarikh-e Bedáuni, ff. 161-163. The author Abdal Kader, then very young, was carried by his father to see Alái when he

passed Besawer, on his route to Mekka. See also the Nisábnáma-e Afghánán, ff. 111-114. Some authors place Alái's death in A. H. 955.; Bedáuni, with more probability, in A. H. 957.; Tar. Bed. *f. 167.

CHAPTER III.

SULTAN FIRÚZ SHAH SÚR, OFTEN CALLED THE SHAH-ZADA FIRÚZ KHAN.

ACCESSION AND MURDER OF FIRUZ SHAH. - ACCOUNT OF HIS UNCLE AND MURDERER, MOBÁREZ KHAN.

On the death of Islám, or Selím, Shah, the Afghan CHAP. III. chiefs who were with him at Guáliár acknowledged his A. D. 1558, son Firúz Khan, then only twelve years of age, as their A. H. 960. sovereign, and placed him on the throne. Coin was of Firúz struck, and the prayer for the reigning prince offered, in his name. But his reign was short. Mobárez Khan, his maternal uncle (the son of Nizám Khan Súr, Shír Shah's younger brother), hardened by a guilty ambition, on the third day after the death of his cousin Islám Shah, entered the private apartments of the palace, with the intention of putting to death the young King. Firúz's mother, Bíbí Bái*, was the sister of Mobárez Khan. On hearing that her brother was forcing his way into the harem attended by armed men, alarmed at the danger which threatened her son, she rushed out, and seizing the hem of his robe, with prayers and tears besought him to spare his sister's boy; offering to convey the youth to some far distant land where he would live as a private person, and never aspire to be king: or, if that was not allowed her, she prayed her brother at least to spare her son's life, though doomed to imprisonment, however severe. But His murder. Mobarez, throwing her off, seized the young King, and barbarously murdered him in his mother's arms.

Accession Shah.

* This lady is by different writers Bibi Máhi, the last probably by miscalled Bíbí Bánu, Bíbí Bái, and take. 112

HISTORY OF INDIA.

BOOK VI. A. D. 1553.

Account of his uncle and murderer Mobárez Khan.

This sad event was an unhappy consequence of the affectionate temper of the Queen. Islám Shah, her late husband, who had formed the most unfavourable opinion of Mobárez Khan, and feared his attempts on the life of his son, had repeatedly resolved to put him to death, and was as often prevented only by her intervention and tears. After he had taken to his death-bed, the King again told Bíbí Bái that she must choose between her brother and her son; that if she valued her son's life, she must suffer her brother to be taken out of the way; that there was no other security for the prince. But Bíbí Bái, who thought Islám's suspicions unfounded, and that Mobárez was too much of a voluptuary, and too much devoted to idle amusement to be ambitious, finally prevailed upon her husband to spare the future murderer of their son.

Abul-fazl remarks that Nizám Khan Súr, the younger brother of Shír Shah, left one son and three daughters, and that this son, as well as the husbands of all the three daughters, attained the regal dignity. The son of Mobárez Khan now became king by his crime; one of the daughters had married the late King Islám Shah; another married Ahmed Khan Súr, the viceroy of the Penjáb; and the third, Ibráhím Khan Súr, both of whom, in their turns, we shall see proclaimed Kings of Delhi.*

* The authorities to be consulted for this short reign are the Tar. Niz. ff. 222, 223.; Akbernáma,

f. 91.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 170.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 141.; Khol. ul Tow. f. 284.; Kháfi Khan, f. 61.



CHAPTER IV.

SULTAN MUHAMMED SHAH ADEL SÚR, OFTEN CALLED ADELI.

ACCESSION OF MOBÁREZ KHAN, OR SULTAN MUHAMMED SHAH. - HIS CHARACTER. --- DEATH OF SEKANDER KHAN FIRMULI AT THE DER-BÁR. - REVOLT AND DEFEAT OF TÁJ KHAN. - CHARACTER OF THE MINISTER HÍMÚ. - SPREAD OF DISAFFECTION. - REVOLT OF IBRÁ-HÍM KHAN IN BIÁNA. - HE TAKES DELHI AND AGRA, AND ASSUMES THE SOVEREIGNTY .- DISTRACTED STATE OF THE EMPIRE. - RE-VOLT OF AHMED KHAN IN THE PENJÁB - OPPOSED AT FARRA BY IBRAHIM KHAN, WHOM HE DEFEATS. - OCCUPIES AGRA AND DEL-HI. - DECLARED EMPEROR BY THE AFGHAN NOBLES. - HUMAYUN ENTERS THE PENJÁB. - HIS GENERAL BIRAM KHAN DEFEATS THE AFGHÁNS ON THE SATLEJ. - HUMÁYUN DEFEATS AND EXPELS AHMED KHAN. - IBRÁHÍM AGAIN TAKES THE FIELD. - ADVANCE OF MUHAMMED SHAH'S FORCES UNDER HIMU - WHO DEFEATS IBRÁHÍM, AND BESIEGES HIM IN BIÁNA. - REVOLT OF MUHAMMED KHAN IN BENGAL. - RETREAT OF HÍMÚ FROM BIÁNA TOWARDS BEHÁR. - FLIGHT, AND FATE OF IBRAHÍM KHAN. - HÍMÚ JOINS MUHAMMED SHAH NEAR KALPI. - DEFEATS AND DESTROYS THE ARMY OF BENGAL, - HUMÁYUN AT DELHI. - HIS DEATH. - HÍMÚ SENT AGAINST AKBER, - HE OCCUPIES AGRA AND DELHI. - IS DEFEATED, AND KILLED AT PANIPAT. - SUBVERSION OF THE AFGHAN DYNASTY. - DEFEAT, AND DEATH OF MUHAMMED SHAH IN BEHAR, - HIS CHARACTER. - HIS SON SHIR SHAH. - REMARKS ON THE AFGHAN DYNASTY IN INDIA. - COMPETITORS FOR THE SO-VEREIGNTY AT THE TIME OF HUMÁYUN'S RESTORATION.

AFTER this detestable murder, Mobárez Khan mounted the throne, with the consent of the nobles and vazirs who were on the spot, under the title of Sultan Muhammed Shah Adel, or the Just, an epithet which the of Mobarez common people changed into Adeli; or, by a farther sultan Mucorruption, into Andli, or "the Blind."

Sultan Muhammed possessed no qualities fitted to His charac-

113

CHAP: IV.

A. D. 1553, A. H. 960. Accession

A.D. 1553.

make him a good king or a good man. He was grossly ignorant, and hated learning. He paid little attention to public affairs, spending the greater part of his time in the recesses of the harem, wholly given up to sensual indulgence and debauchery, varied only by the amusements of music and dancing. In music he is said to have acquired uncommon proficiency; and we hardly discover another commendable trait in his character. He was fond of low pleasures and of low companions, who flattered him and confirmed him in his vices.

In his expenditure he was childishly profuse. Having heard tales of the magnificence and generosity of Sultan Muhammed Toghlak, he became ambitious of rivalling him, and several times threw open the doors of his treasury, when he bestowed largesses lavishly on the common people, in the vain hope of gaining their affection. With a similar object he made a practice, in going through the streets of a town, to shoot goldenheaded arrows; and the person into whose house they fell or who found them, on bringing them back, was presented with the sum of five hundred tangas^{*} in money. But these practices he did not long persist in.

On his accession he bestowed the office of vasir and lieutenant of the palace, with the chief management of affairs, on Shemshir Khan, who had been a slave of Shir Shah, and was the younger brother of the celebrated Khowás Khan; Doulat Khan Nouháni, a new convert and his protégé, was raised to rank, and got charge of the Nouhánis; and Hímú Bakál, a Hindu, was raised to offices of high trust, and soon became the Minister who exercised the most commanding authority.

Such appointments were not likely to conciliate the haughty Afghán chiefs who were near the throne, and thought themselves not much below it. Discontent spread on every side. Sultan Muhammed was hated,

* About 501.

and, what for a king was more dangerous, he was de- CHAP. IV. spised. The government had lost the vigorous hand that directed it during the two late reigns. The general discontent was attended by its natural concomitant, a spirit of insubordination; and a disposition to revolt began to show itself from the very first month of his reign, and spread extensively, more especially among the King's own nearest connections of the Súr family; insomuch that, ere long, the kingdom was in reality broken down into a variety of different states. That discord which had always been the bane of the Afgháns in India reappeared in full operation.*

An incident which occurred in the palace soon after Death of the accession of the Sultan to the throne marked the Khan crisis of this spirit. Sultan Muhammed, who did not Firmuli in the Derbár. often appear in public, having one day held a public A. H. 961, derbár in the fort of Guáliár, proceeded, in presence of A. D. 1554. his most distinguished nobles, to make a distribution of various jágírs. Among the rest, the government of Kanáuj, which was held by Shah Muhammed Firmuli, a nobleman of an eminent Afghán family, was taken from him, and conferred on Sirmast Khan Sirpani, also an Afghán, but of inferior note.† Sekander Khan, Firmuli's son, a youth of handsome mein, but of a lofty and impatient temper, who, as well as his father, was present when this arrangement was announced, exclaimed, "What, are things come to such a pass, that our estate is to be given to a set of Sirpani dogmerchants?" at the same time audibly hinting something about the field of battle. His father, who was unwell, chid him for indulging in such language, and attempted to restrain his impetuosity, but in vain. Turning on his father, he asked him if he had forgotten that Shir Shah, intending to put him to death, had

* Tar. Niz. f. 223.; Tab. Akb. † Kháfi Khan says, one who had f. 184.; Tar. Bed. f. 171.; Akber- made a trade of selling dogs, which náma; f. 92.

does not seem probable.

Sekander

487

BOQK VI.

kept him in an iron cage, from which he had been released only at the intercession of Selím Shah? Did he not see that it was now once more the plan of the Súr family to bring ruin on them and their race? Was he blind, or was he so dastardly as tamely to submit to such contemptuous treatment? This violent conduct occasioned considerable confusion in the Derbár. Sirmast Khan, a tall and powerful man, approached Sekander in a conciliating manner, saying, "My son, why all these hard words?" at the same time laying his hand soothingly on the young man's shoulder, but intending to secure him and make him prisoner. Sekander, aware of his object, drew his dagger, and plunged it into the breast of Sirmast, who fell lifeless on the ground. The uproar and confusion upon this became extreme. Sekander, infuriated with passion, drew his sword and attacked those nobles near him who attempted to secure his person, killing some, and wounding others. The King, availing himself of the disorder that prevailed, made his escape into the harem, when the doors were barred behind him. He was followed by Sekander, who made an attempt to force his way in, but it was too late. Several Amírs, drawing their swords, prevented Sekander's escape, while he continued for some time to slash around him like a mad man. At last Ibráhím Khan Súr, who had married Adeli's sister, wounded him with his sword, and other Amírs rushing on, overpowered him and put him to death. Doulat Khan Nouháni, at the same time, with one blow of his sabre, slew Shah Muhammed Firmuli, the unhappy and innocent father. The whole affair lasted upwards of half an hour.*

Revolt and defeat of Táj Khan. It is said that Táj Khan Keráni, the brother of that Suleimán Khan Keráni who afterwards ruled Bengal under the name of Ali Shah[†], as he was coming out of

 * Tab. Akb. f. 185.; Tar. Niz.
 † Rather perhaps of Hazrat Ali, for he seems to have declined the name of king.

the fort of Guáliár that morning after having attended CHAP. IV. the levee, happened to meet Shah Muhammed Khan Firmuli, who was then on his way to the Derbár, and as they entered into conversation, told him, that affairs were going on so ill, and were managed by such contemptible agents, that he was resolved to return no more to the Court, but to set out and see what could be done . elsewhere; and he invited Firmuli to go along with him and join him in the adventure. This Shah Muhammed declined, and went on to the fatal meeting-while Táj Khan, hearing in the course of the day what had occurred, made his escape from Guáliár the same evening, and took the road of Bengal with his followers. As soon as it was known that he had left the city, Adeli sent a strong force to pursue him, and himself followed soon after, and overtook the Khan at Chibra-Mow*, where he defeated him; but Táj Khan, effecting his escape, retreated to Chunár. As he marched through the country, he seized such of Adeli's collectors of the revenue as fell in his way, and took possession of all the public money and other property on which he could lay his hands, with an hundred elephants. He was soon joined by his brothers Imád, Suleimán and Khwája Elías, who held perganas on the banks of the Ganges, and in Khowáspur-Tánda; and no longer concealed his views, but appeared in open rebellion.;

Meanwhile Adeli, who had moved from Guáliár to Chunár, advanced to chastise the Keránis. The two armies met on the opposite banks of the Ganges, and faced each other for some time, but without engaging. At last Hímú, who was now high in the King's confi-

* Chibra-Mow, which is not in the maps, is a town of the Dóab; Briggs reads eight, Dow, eighty miles from Agra. Another copy of Ferishta, reads eighty miles from Agra, and sixty from Laknou; the Tab. Akb. f. 185, has forty kos from

Agra, and thirty from Kanáuj, which is probably correct. It is a dependency of Kanáuj, and was the birthplace of the author of the Inshá-e Medhárám, Tar. Bed. ff. 171, 172.

+ As above.



A. D. 1554.

49

dence, made a proposal, that if he were allowed to take a few elephants^{*}, he would undertake to cross the river, to attack the enemy, and to destroy them. The King acceded to his request; and Hímú having led his troops over the river, engaged the Keránis in a battle, which, though desperately contested, ended in a complete victory. Táj Khan was fortunate enough to escape into Bengal, where, at no very distant period, he gained possession of the throne.

Character of the Minister Himú.

Hímú, the Minister of Adeli, who was thus successful, was a Hindu, and in spite of the prejudiced and partial representations of the historians of the house of Taimur, must have been a man of extraordinary capacity. He is represented, indeed, by Abulfazl as having owed his rise to the vices of Adeli, and as being one of those low time-servers and flatterers, whose elevation is gained by indulging that love of gossip, slander, and scandal, in which the great too often delight; and his elevation is given as a proof, what mean creatures can rise to the highest dignity, by studying the humours of those above them. He was, we are told, totally devoid of the ordinary qualities that lead to fortune. He had to struggle against the disadvantages of low birth, a mean person, and want of address; being originally a shopkeeper † in Rewári, a town of Mewát; and, by extraction, of the caste of Dhúsir, the meanest class of Hindu shopkeepers. By his low wit and pleasantry, says the unfriendly historian, he rose from obscurely selling his worthless wares in a narrow lane among his wretched companions, to be employed as a purveyort by Selím Shah; and having attracted his notice by his activity and his knowledge of business, he was taken into the royal service, gradually came to enjoy a share of the

* Ek halqeh fil ra, keh chand zinjír bashed ; Tar. Bed. † Baqál. he was made Modi-e-Sirkár, an office, probably, nearly corresponding to that of purveyor, f. 284.

1 The Kholáset ul Towáríkh says

royal confidence, and was employed in many important char transactions, in both the political and revenue departments. In the offices which he filled when so promoted, he is accused of bringing numbers to misery, while he pretended to be acting only from zeal for his master's service, though in truth he was busy all the while enriching himself from the property of the oppressed, and by his misdeeds was whetting the axe against his master and himself. His pains and assiduity as a spy and an informer, a set of men too dangerously encouraged by those in power, is said to have gained him the favour of the late king, Selím Shah, by whom, among other offices of trust, he was raised to that of Superintendent of Bazars^{*}, which includes an extensive exercise of police duties.

When Sultan Muhammed Shah Adeli usurped the throne, being altogether ignorant of business, Hímú, who, from his office, had frequent access to him, by his address and insinuation, and by relieving him from the drudgery of business, contrived to become so useful, and to gain so complete an ascendency over the king's mind, that he was soon elevated to the highest rank, became Prime Minister, and the whole duties of government gradually devolved upon him, Adeli, in reality, retaining only the name of king. Himú placed and displaced officers, gave and resumed jágírs at pleasure, with absolute power. He got possession of the royal elephants, as well as of the treasures which had been accumulated by the last two kings, and he freely expended what they had collected. In this way, it is affirmed, he gained for himself a number of low and sordid adherents, who looked up to and worshipped him as their only hope and reliance. He bore for some time the title of Basant Rái, and afterwards assumed that of Raja, vainly decking himself with the lofty title of Raja Vikramájít.

Sheikhji-Bazár, Tar. Bed.-



A. D. 1554.

In all this, there is certainly much prejudice and misrepresentation; for even Abulfazl is forced to give unwilling testimony, that in the Cabinet he directed affairs of state and the business of the country with singular success; and that though his frame was so feeble that he could not ride on horseback, and even in the field was forced to be carried about in a litter or on an elephant, yet such was his spirit that he maintained stout contests with the enemies of his King, and, by his determined courage, was victorious in many battles, and achieved exploits worthy of the highest reputation. The truth is, that he was a man who had raised himself from a low rank by great and commanding talents; who was eminent both as a statesman and a general; and who sustained the throne of a worthless prince in difficult times, hated and envied by the nobles as a man of nothing, and detested by the Musulmans of all parties as an infidel and a Pagan, who stood in their way on the road to power. To add to these misfortunes, he has been harshly treated by the writers of the opposite party, the only historians of the times, for what, in his situation, was a merit,-his having long been the prop of the Afghán dynasty, and the most formidable enemy of the line of Taimur. In person, as we have said, he is represented as having been of mean deportment, hardfavoured, and of low stature. He never wore a sword, and was unable to ride on horseback. Yet, with all his disadvantages, such were his good fortune and valour that he gained two and twenty battles for the King, whose cause he espoused against the various Afghán pretenders to the throne, and secured a complete ascendency over them all, establishing, with every class of men, the highest reputation for courage and conduct in the field and ability in the Cabinet.*

* Compare Akbernáma, f. 92.; f. 184.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 171.; Tar. Níz. ff. 223, 4.; Tab. Akb. Kholáset ul Tow. f. 284. This last

Perhaps the choice of a Hindu Minister, however CHAP. IV. odious to the Afgháns, was a measure of sound policy in a dissipated and depraved prince like Adeli. From the aspect of the times, it is clear that such a monarch could not have raised any great Afghán noble to the power enjoyed by Hímú, without exposing himself to the risk of being dethroned by his own servant. Nothing of the kind was to be apprehended from a humble and almost despised Pagan, whose consequence depended altogether on that of his patron.*

The timely vigour of Himú succeeded in quelling the spread of rebellion of Táj Khan Keráni; "but," says the historian, disaf-"rebellion had roused herself from her deep slumber, and the line of firm and well-compacted policy of Shir Shah, and of the steady and stern command of Selím Shah was snapped, so that every where things fell into disorder." Adeli was at once hated and despised. The governors of provinces were powerful, and possessed armies entirely under their controul. The suspicious temper of Adeli hastened the crisis. Having conceived Revolt of ... doubts of the fidelity of Ibráhím Khan Súr his cousin, Khan in the son of Gházi Khan Súr, an uncle of Shír Shah, he Biána, had resolved to arrest him. Ibráhím's wife, a sister of the King's, having got intimation of this intention, communicated it to her husband, who, in consequence, fled in disguise from Chunár to his father Gházi Khan, the governor of Biána and Hindáun. Adeli despatched Isa Khan Niázi in pursuit to chastise him. They met near Kalpi; an action took place, in which Ibráhím had the advantage, and defeated Isa Khan. He now openly threw off his allegiance; and collecting an army in his father's government was soon able to march towards He takes Delhi, of which he took possession, ascended the throne, Agra, and

does him justice. See also Ferishta, zám-ed-dín Ahmed, and could hardly vol. ii. who, as usual, follows Ni- have a better guide in general. * Tar. Niz. f. 224.



HISTORY OF INDIA.

BOOK VI. A. D. 1554. assumes the sovereignty.

and assumed the title and all the ensigns of royalty. Pursuing his success, he next marched towards Agra, which also he reduced, as well as many of the adjoining districts.*

On receiving the news of this alarming revolt in the very centre of his dominions, which threatened to deprive him of his most important provinces and of the kingdom itself, Adeli, instead of following the Keránis to complete their ruin, hastily began his march from Chunár towards Agra. When he reached the Jamna, he was met by an envoy from Ibráhím, craving forgiveness, and offering to submit once more to the King, provided his Majesty would send to his camp Rái Hasan Khan Jilwáni, Behár Khan Sirwáni, who now held the title of Azím Humáyun, and some other chiefs of distinction, at once to receive his submission, and guarantee his safety. Adeli gladly agreed to this request, in which he saw an end of the contest. But the deputed nobles, whether they were from the first in concert with Ibráhím, or whether they were gained over only after reaching his camp and conferring with him, in the end joined the rebel, who stood much higher than the King in the general estimation. Adeli, thus betrayed, finding himself unable to meet his antagonist in the field, retreated, first to Panna, and then to Chunár, abandoning, for the present, Agra and the neighbouring provinces of Hindustán to his rival, who assumed the style of Sultan Ibráhím Súr. The events that rapidly followed compelled Adeli to confine his attention for some time to the task of retaining Behár and the provinces to the east of the Ganges, where he appears to have firmly established his authority.

Distracted state of the Empire, But the misfortunes of Adeli were not confined to the successful rebellion of Ibráhím. Disaffection and revolt had spread into all the more distant provinces.

* Tab. Akb. f. 185.; Tar. Bed. † Tab. Akb. ff. 172, 173.; Akff. 172, 173.

Three other viceroys, the governor of the Penjáb, the CHAP. IV. governor of Malwa, and the governor of Bengal, all at the same time aspired to independent power; so that, at this crisis, the dominions of Shir Shah, by the feuds among his family, were divided among five Afghán kings; Adeli possessed Behár, Juánpúr and great part of the country east of the Ganges; Sultan Ibráhím Súr held Delhi, Agra, the Doáb and the provinces west of the Jamna, as low down as Kalpi; Ahmed Khan Súr, who assumed the title of Sultan Sekander Shah, enjoyed the Penjáb; Shujaa, generally called Sazáwal Khan, the kingdom of Malwa, and Sultan Muhammed Shah Súr, the kingdom of Bengal; for which he had probably even already a competitor in Táj Khan Keráni.

The first of these princes who now marched to in- Revolt of yade the dominions of his neighbours, was Ahmed Khan in Khan Súr *, also a cousin of Shír Shah, and who, like the Penjáb, Ibráhím, had married a sister of Adeli. He had for A. D. 1555. some time enjoyed the government of the Penjáb, and now, in the utterly disorganised state of the Afghán monarchy, resolved, like other members of the Súr family, to set up for himself, and not content with the possession of his own province, aspired to the throne of Delhi. Having conciliated the different nobles who possessed influence in the Penjáb, and especially Tátár Khan Kási, Haibat Khan and Nasíb Khan Taghúchi, who had been Selím Shah's chief officers in that province, all of whom regarded Adeli with contempt and disgust, he assumed the title of Sekander Shah †, and at the head of ten or twelve thousand well-appointed horse and a large attendance of less regular followers, marched towards Delhi and Agra. His cousin, Sultan Ibráhím Súr, who was now in possession of all the pro-

* According to the Kholáset ul Towáríkh, f. 286, he was brother's son to Shir Shah, and Ferishta calls him his nephew. But the Tar. Niz. f. 225.; the Tar. Bed., and the Nisábnáma, f. 117, more correctly make him his uncle's son.

† Sultan Sekander, Khol. ul Towárikh.



HISTORY OF INDIA.

A. D. 1555.

vinces around these capitals, marched out to oppose him with much parade and splendour, at the head of an army of seventy or eighty thousand horse excellently equipped, in which there was a remarkable number of officers of high rank.* He is said to have bestowed on not fewer than two hundred the privilege of having rich kanáts or screens round their tents, even in the royal camp, the Alem and tugh standards, and the right of having the nakára or kettle-drum.

The armies met at Farra, about ten kos from Agra. Sekander Shah, struck with the great superiority in numbers, as well as with the composition of the army of his rival, became desirous of entering into a negociation, and sent to propose a compromise, expressing his willingness to retire from Ibráhím's dominions; that that prince should have absolute possession of Delhi and Agra, with their dependant provinces, and whatever he could conquer to the eastward of them ; and on the other hand, that Sekander Shah should be acknowledged as sovereign of the Penjáb, Multán and the neighbouring territory; and that the whole of the Afghans should unite, and make a common cause in repelling Humáyun and his Tartars, should they pass the Indus. The two armies, composed of fellow-countrymen and relations, were delighted at the prospect of this accommodation. But difficulties were started, and Sultan Ibráhím, trusting to the superiority of his numbers, broke off the negociation, and left the quarrel to be decided by the fate of a battle. This was not long delayed. The vigorous charge of Sekander's left wing, which routed the right of the enemy and pursued them as far as Agra, decided the day. Ibráhím, seeing that the defeat of his army was complete, effected his escape to Sambhal. Sekan-

* Kháfi Khan says that there were fifty or sixty Amírs in his army. Among these were chiefs of 186.; Akbernáma, f. 92.; Tar. Bed. high distinction, especially Háji Khan Sultan, the ruler of Alwar.

Husein Khan Jilwáni, &c.; Tar. Niz. f. 225. ; Tab. Akb. ff. 185, ff. 174, 175.

Is opposed at Farra by Ibráhím Khan,

whom he defeats.



der Shah, following up his victory, made himself CHAP. IV. master of Agra and of Delhi, and was soon in possession He occupies of the whole extent of country from the Indus to the Agra and Ganges.

Successful thus far, Sekander was desirous of esta- and is deblishing his right to the throne by the appearance at least of a free election by his countrymen. For this the Afghán purpose, soon after his arrival in Agra, he prepared a magnificent banquet, to which he invited all the chiefs of the Afghán race. When assembled, he told them that he regarded himself as but one of their number. and claimed no kind of superiority over the other leaders of his countrymen. He remarked to them that among the Afgháns, Sultan Behlúl had raised his tribe of Lodi to honour and reputation ; that Shir Shah had, in like manner, rendered the tribe of Súr illustrious; that these distinguished princes, by living in harmony with the tribesmen of their nation and cultivating their affection, had done great things ; while their successors, Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, and Muhammed Shah Adeli, by following a different course, had involved their kingdoms in ruin and misery; that, at present, civil discord and civil war prevailed on every side among the Afgháns, circumstances the more to be deplored, as their implacable enemy Humáyun, who had now conquered Kábul and had no longer any brothers who could thwart his designs, was ready to pour down upon them with the whole force of his dominions, and to reap the fruit of their infatuation ; that the only hope of the Afghans lay in union; that if they consented to lay aside private feuds and act in concert like a band of brothers, they could still repel the son of Báber; that their interest was the same; that they had one common cause; that he had called them together to consult in common for the

* Ibráhím escaped first to Etáwa, and thence to Sambhal. Different

accounts of the battle are given. I follow that of Bedauni,

VOL. II.

Delhi,

clared Emperor by nobles.

HISTORY OF INDIA.

A. D. 1555.

49

common good ; that at such a crisis, all personal claims to superiority must cease; that he appeared among them only as a private individual, and invited them to choose, as their leader, the man who, from his talents, was best fitted to give unity to their great national efforts, and to lead them to victory; and that to such a person, whoever he might be, selected by their free choice, he was ready at once to swear allegiance, and to humble himself as his most faithful subject. The assembly, with one voice, called out that Sekander Shah, the worthy cousin of Shír Shah, was the wished-for person, and that he alone should be their leader and sovereign. They then proceeded to take a solemn oath to be faithful to him, and to live in peace and unanimity among themselves; and having seated him on the throne of Agra, they presented to him the usual congratulations and offerings, as their King. But the distribution of honours and jágírs that followed, soon put to flight all their wise and virtuous resolutions, and once more introduced discord and heart-burnings into the camp of the Afgháns.

Humáyun enters the Penjáb,

When Sekander, having settled affairs at the capital and subdued the provinces around it, was preparing to pursue still farther the advantages he had gained over Sultan Ibráhím, and had even a fair prospect of attacking Adeli, and gaining possession of the rich kingdoms of Behár and Bengal, to which he was about to direct his march, the unwelcome news arrived that Humáyun, secure in the throne of Kábul, was on his march to recover the Penjáb itself, which he had entered, and occupied a large portion of the country. It is probable that Sekander, when he set out for Agra, had removed the most efficient part of the military force of the Penjáb. To protect a country that was the seat of his power, and to check the progress of an invader whose success would be alike fatal to all the Afghán candidates for power, Sekander, without loss of time, despatched Tátár Khan and Haibat Khan with forty

thousand horse. It is only necessary in this place to CHAP. IV. observe that these generals were defeated on the Satlej at Máchíwára by Biram Khan with great loss, and re- Biram Khan treated towards Delhi. Sekander, collecting his whole force, was soon able to oppose the invaders with an the Satlej. army of seventy thousand men, and checked Biram's advance, near Sirhend. Here, however, Biram having been reinforced by the arrival of Humáyun in person. a great battle was fought which proved unfavourable to Sekander. That prince was forced to take refuge Humáyun among the Sewálik mountains, where he maintained a defeats and expels position for some time, and even overran a great por- Ahmed tion of the Penjáb in the beginning of Akber's reign. But, being again hard pressed, he was compelled to abandon that country, and found his way to Bengal, where he succeeded in seizing the reins of government, but soon after died.

No sooner did Sultan Ibráhím Súr ascertain that Ibráhím Sekander had detached the strength of his army towards again takes the field. the Penjáb, than, leaving his retreat in Sambhal, he crossed the Ganges, and directed his march towards Kalpi, resolved to recruit his army, and to attempt to regain the kingdom. It so happened that, at the very Advance of same time, Muhammed Shah Adeli, influenced by the Muhammed Shah's forsame motives, and burning to recover the territory that ces under he had lost, had detached Hímú, now his Prime Minister. from Chunár with a formidable army, five hundred elephants and a powerful train of artillery, to occupy Agra and Delhi. Hímú, on arriving near Kalpi, encountered Sultan Ibráhím, who was already once more at the head of a considerable force of Afgháns, Nouhánis and Zemíndárs of Biána, and made an attempt to surprise Hímú by night at Khanwa, about ten kos from Biána. After a severe contest, Ibráhím, being who defeats defeated, was compelled to take shelter in that fortress, him, and besieges in which he was immediately shut up, and besieged by him in Hímú. His father Gházi Khan contrived, however, to KK 2



His general defeats the Afgháns on

Khan.

Muhammed Hímú.

him, and Biána.

HISTORY OF INDIA.



Revolt of While Hin Muhammed Sting also

50

Khan in

Retreat of Himú from

Biána to-

wards Behár.

Bengal,

supply the place with provisions which he sent from Hindáun by the neighbouring hills.*

While Hímú was thus employed, Muhammed Khan Súr †,-also a near relation of Shír Shah, who had been governor of Bengal, but who during the confusion that followed the accession of Adeli, had declared himself king of that country by the title of Sultan Jilál-ed-dínencouraged by the insubordination and disorder that everywhere prevailed, advanced into Behár, in order to expel Adeli and to add that province to his kingdom, having aims at the same time upon Júanpúr, and his ambition extending even to Delhi itself. This invasion made Adeli hastily recall Hímú from the siege of Biána, after he had battered it for three months. His army had wasted the country on every side, and added all the disorders of rapine and pillage to the horrors of a frightful famine, which at that time raged, and carried off thousands of the population on every side. The starving inhabitants saw, with feelings of envy and anger, the five hundred elephants of Hímú regularly, fed with fine rice and sugarcane; and a public table kept, to which all the Afghán Amírs and officers of note were invited, and entertained with wasteful profusion. Hímú, abandoning the siege with reluctance, retired by the village of Mundháker 1, followed by Ibráhím, who hung upon his rear, and attacked him near that place. But Hímú again proved victorious, and the Sultan fled to Alwar to ask succour of Háji Khan. Hímú detached his nephew with a strong force, who pursued the flying prince for two or three stages, and then returned. Háji Khan, who was little pleased with Sultan Ibráhím's visit, afforded him no assistance. Driven to extremity, therefore, he resolved to abandon

* Tar. Niz. f. 226.; Tar. Bed. ff. 175, 176.; Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 153. Gour his capital; and sometimes Muhammed Khan Bengáli.

+ He is also called Gouría from

‡ Mundháker is about six kos from Agra. That quarter : and bidding a last adieu to his father, CHAP. IV. brothers, and family whom he left in Hindáun, he took the road to the country of Panna, attended by a few faithful followers.

The future history of Sultan Ibráhím Súr may be Flight and given in few words. The historian Abdal Káder re- him Khan. grets that a man possessed of so many valuable qualities should have been unsuccessful in war. Handsome in person, polite, accomplished, generous and brave, he suffered sixteen or seventeen defeats in the course of , two or three years. His father Gházi Khan was taken by capitulation in Biána by one of the Emperor's generals not long after Ibráhím's departure, and the whole family young and old put to death, so that Ibráhím himself was the only remnant of the race, whose pomp and power, says the historian, is now but a tale.*

After leaving his father, Sultan Ibráhím, who was very popular, having collected a considerable force, marched towards Bhatta †, a Hindu principality in the east of Malwa, and attacked Raja Rámchander the native chief, by whom, however, he was defeated, and taken prisoner. The Raja treated his prisoner with distinguished courtesy. He visited him in person and presented him with honorary presents, allowed him to retain all his tents and the ensigns of royalty, seated him on his throne, and attended by his native Hindus, waited upon him as his subject. Here Ibráhím remained till after the death of Shujaa or Sazáwal Khan, the Prince of Malwa, when the Afgháns of the Miána tribe, who had a quarrel with his son and successor Báz Behåder, invited Ibráhím to Ráisen where they had

* Tar. Bed. f. 175.

reads it Bhetah ; Briggs, Punna ; the MSS, of Kháfi Khan have Tahta or Thatta. The real read-

ing seems to be Bhatta, which is + Bhatta: This word is variously a district of Ghara or Garrah in written in the manuscripts. Dow Malwa. See Hamilton's Hindostán, vol. i. p. 316.; and Gazetteer, sub voce Garrah.



HISTORY OF INDIA.

A. D. 1556.

А, н. 975.

Himú joins Muhammed near Kalpi.

Defeats and destroys the army of Bengal.

BOOK VI. established themselves, offering to raise him to the throne of Malwa in opposition to their enemy. He joined them, and Durgáwati, the Ráni of Garrah, having been associated in the confederacy, their affairs were for some time prosperous. But Báz Beháder having contrived to detach the Ráni from the league, Ibráhím, finding that all prospect of success was gone, fled to Orissa, where he remained several years, till that province was conquered by Suleimán Keráni of Bengal; when he waited upon Suleimán, in consequence of a solemn agreement, and was treacherously put to death.*

Meanwhile, Hímú, after defeating Sultan Ibráhím at Mundháker, continued his march down the Jamna with the utmost celerity, and joined Adeli. Muhammed Shah Súr, the King of Bengal, had spread his detachments over the province of Juánpúr, and he himself had advanced to Chapergháta †, fifteen kos from Kalpi. Here the hostile armies lay, divided only by the Jamna; and the Sovereign of Bengal, who had a large and highly equipped army of both horse and foot, with a number of elephants, was prepared to cross the river, and looked forward with confidence to a decisive victory. But the sudden and unexpected arrival of Hímú changed the face of affairs. The moment he came, he sent his troops across, and fording the river with his elephants, fell on the army of Bengal by surprise. The resistance made was comparatively trifling. The enemy, in the obscurity of the night, could distinguish nothing, and forsook their camp. The slaughter was great among the fugitives. Many Amírs of rank perished. Muhammed himself was never heard of more. The whole camp, and the property that it contained, became the prey of the conquerors. I

Having thus removed another of the competitors for

† Chaper-ghát, Akb. 92. and * Tar. Niz. f. 226. ; Tab. Akb. f. 186.; Tar. Bed. f. 176.; Kho-145. † Tab. Akb. and others as above. láset ul Towáríkh, f. 286.

his throne, Adeli returned to Chunár, in order to col- char-Tect a force with which to expel from Hindustán the Humáyunat Emperor Humáyun, who, after his victory over Sekander Dehi Shah at Sirhend, had advanced as far as Delhi, which he had occupied, while his troops which had been pushed forward had taken possession of Agra and the surrounding provinces. The death of Humáyun, which His death. followed soon after, encreased the anxiety of Adeli to check the invaders; and in a short time Hímú was despatched with an army of fifty thousand horse and Himá sent five hundred elephants towards Agra, to take advantage against Akof this occurrence, to recover what had been lost, and to expel the invaders from his kingdom.

The events that followed will be related more in de- reoccupies "tail in the reign of Akber. Suffice it to say that, on Delhi, the approach of Hímú's army, Sekander Khan Uzbek and the other generals of the Emperor Akber, who had succeeded his father, sensible that they were unable to resist so powerful a force, retreated to Delhi. Hímú, having occupied Agra, pursued the retreating enemy. Near Delhi he was encountered by the governor of that capital, the veteran Terdi Beg, who gave him battle. but was defeated and retreated towards the Penjáb, leaving Hímú in possession of both capitals.

The victorious Hímú now moved out of Delhi with Defeated, all his force, and advanced to Pánipat, on the plains of and killed at Pánipat. which the fate of India has been so often decided. The invaders were commanded by Biram Khan, and the youthful Akber. In a well contested battle, the fate of war was at length unfavourable to Hímú, who was wounded in the eye by an arrow, taken prisoner and carried before Akber, and put to death by order of Biram Khan.

This battle was decisive of the fate of the Afghán subversion dynasty. After the death of Hímú the fortune of of the Afghán Adeli rapidly declined. Before that event, Khizer dynasty Khan, the son of the late Muhammed Shah Súr, who KK4



HISTORY OF INDIA

BOOK VI.

Defeat and death of Muhammed Shah in Behár,

His character.

His son Shír Shah, had been defeated and slain at Chapargháta, having succeeded his father in Gour and assumed the title of Sultan Beháder, collected a large army, which he led against Adeli to revenge his father's death, and overran a portion of the eastern provinces that Adeli still enjoyed. In spite of his character for effeminacy, that prince took the field in person, and met the invader, whom he bravely engaged in a well-contested battle, in which, however, he was unsuccessful and was slain, after a reign of nearly three years.

This depraved effeminate prince, while he seems to have been devoid of every moral excellence, had a refined taste, and was distinguished for his skill in music and dancing. Mían Tansín, the great master of these arts, acknowledged himself his scholar: and Báz Beháder, the King of Malwa, and one of the most gifted musicians of his age, ascribed his excellence to the instructions of Adeli. It is added, that he was scrupulously exact in all religious observances; he never omitted the prescribed prayers, and was regular in fasting, and altogether abstained from intoxicating liquors. His body was never found.

His son Shír Shah is said to have assumed the ensigns of royalty in the fortress of Chunár upon his death. His reign was probably short and limited in power, as he has been wholly passed over by most historians.

Remarks on the Afghán dynasty in India, With him ended the Súr dynasty, which rose by the genius of one remarkable man, was sustained by the talents of another, and fell by the ignorance and vices of their successors. It illuminated Hindustán for a short time by its radiance; but its light, says Abulfazl, was only that of the glowworm, which shines in the darkness of the night, during the absence of the real sun, but vanishes as soon as that luminary once more ascends the firmament in its glory.

The Afghán dynasty had ruled India about a hundred

and six years, reckoning from the accession of Sultan Behlúl Lodi, without making allowance for what may be called the interregnum of Báber and Humáyun; and only twenty-six years since the accession of Shír Shah, and the Súr family.

Of the five kings, who at the same moment con- and the five tended for independence in the Afghán empire of India, competitors we have seen, that Adeli fell in battle; that Sultan vereignty at Ibráhím of Biána, after repeated defeats, fled to Malwa, Humáyan's and finally perished in Orissa; and that Sultan Muhammed Shah of Bengal, having been slain at Chapergháta, was succeeded by his son Sultan Beháder. Sultan Sekander of the Penjáb, the fourth competitor, having been defeated by Humáyun and Biram Khan at Sirhend, took refuge in the Himaláya mountains, as has been mentioned, and after various transactions, which belong to the reign of Akber, fled to Bengal, where he contrived to seize the reins of government; but soon after died, and was succeeded by Táj Khan Keráni and Suleimán Keráni

Shujaa or Sazáwal Khan, the fifth, who was the ruler of Malwa, does not seem to have invaded the territories of the Delhi kingdom. On his death, which happened about this time, his son Behåder, stripping his brothers of their share of their father's dominions, mounted the throne under the name of Sultan Báz Beháder of Malwa, and held the sovereign power for many years.

Such was the fate of the five kings who were contending in the heart of the Afghán empire, when Humáyun returned into India, and whose discord paved the way for the conquest of the country. It is now necessary to retrace our steps, and to accompany Humáyun from Kábul in his successful invasion of Hindustán.*

* The chief authorities for this chapter are the Tab. Al.b. ff. 182-185.; Tar. Niz. ff. 223-226.; Akbernáma, ff. 91, 92. ; Tar. Bedáuni,

ff. 174-176. ; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 148-152. ; iv. pp. 275, 276. ; Kholáset ul Towáríkh, ff. 284-286.; Kháfi Khan, ff. 61-65.



competito1s restoration.

BOOK SEVENTH.

HUMÁYUN'S RECONQUEST OF INDIA, AND DEATH.

HUMÁYUN RESOLVES TO ATTEMPT THE RECONQUEST OF INDIA. ---HIS SUSPICIONS OF BIRAM KHAN - WHO ENTERTAINS HIM MAG-NIFICENTLY AT KANDAHÁR - AND ARRANGES TO ACCOMPANY HIM ON HIS INVASION. - HUMÁYUN'S PREPARATIONS AT KÁBUL. - HE IS JOINED BY BIRAM KHAN. - SETS OUT ON HIS EXPEDITION, AND REACHES THE INDUS. - STATE OF INDIA. - HUMÁYUN CROSSES THE INDUS. - OCCUPIES RHOTAS AND THE NORTHERN PENJÁB, AND ENTERS LÁHÚR. - SUCCESSFUL PROGRESS. - OCCUPATION OF SER-HEND. - CONTINUED DISTRACTIONS IN HINDUSTÁN. - BIRAM KHAN CROSSES THE SATLEJ. - BATTLE OF MÁCHÍWÁRA. - ADVANCE OF SEKANDER SHAH. - HUMÁYUN SUPPORTS BIRAM. - BATTLE OF SIR-HEND. - FLIGHT OF SEKANDER, AND DISPERSION OF HIS FORCES. - SHAH ABUL MAALL - DECISIVE EFFECTS OF THE VICTORY AT SIRHEND. - HUMÁYUN RE-OCCUPIES DELHI. - DISTRIBUTES THE PRO-VINCES, WHICH ARE RAPIDLY REDUCED. - SURRENDER OF BLANA. - FREQUENT INSUBORDINATION OF HUMÁYUN'S OFFICERS. - REVOLT OF MÍRZA SULEIMÁN IN BADAKHSHÁN. - MISCONDUCT OF ABUL MAALI IN THE PENJÁB. - HE IS SUPERSEDED BY AKBER, WHO EXPELS SEKANDER SHAH. - ACCOUNT RECEIVED OF THE DEATH OF HU-MAYUN. - HIS PLANS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE. -PARTICULARS OF HIS DEATH, WHICH IS FOR A TIME CONCEALED. - ALARM EXCITED BY THIS EVENT. - DANGER OF THE CRISIS. -CHARACTER OF HUMÁYUN.

BOOK VII.

A. D. 1554, Humáyun resolves to attempt the reconquest of India. No sooner was Humáyun released from the danger of rebellion and civil war by the blindness and banishment of Kámrán, his only surviving brother, than his mind reverted to his long-cherished wish for the recovery of the throne of Delhi. But, before venturing on such an enterprise, it was necessary to secure himself in his kingdom of Kábul and its dependencies, that, while attempting the conquest of India, he might not see himself deprived of his older dominions in the West.

Serious doubts of the fidelity of Biram Khan, his His supposed most powerful subject, had been infused into his mind. Biram Biram had lately done him an important service, by Khan, placing Háji Muhammed in his hands. But he nevertheless stood in an ambiguous position. For several years Biram had ruled Kandahár with nearly absolute power in correspondence with Humáyun as his sovereign, though, as it would appear, he also represented himself to the Shah of Persia as his servant. Humáyun, after ceding Kandahár to the Persians, had surprised it by treachery; and, to pacify the Shah, pretended that he held it only for a time, and that Biram, the Shah's natural-born subject, in reality held it for both sovereigns, till it could be restored to Persia. This double relation, though recognised by both monarchs, was but too well fitted to allure a bold and ambitious man to indulge in schemes of independence; and instances of treason were in that age so common, that the insinuations against Biram seemed not improbable, and were easily believed. To advance into India, leaving behind a man so powerful and so dangcrous, if hostile, would have been imprudent, and Humáyun determined to remove him from his government.

Humáyun's chief confidence seems at this time to who enterhave been placed in Monaim Khan, an Amír of pru- tains him magnifidence and experience, who had for some time been cently at atálík, or governor, to Akber. Eager to carry his plans Kandahár. against Biram into execution, though the winter was yet severe and the ground covered with snow, Hu- A. H. 961. máyun set out from Kábul, attended by his Minister, and proceeded by Ghazni for Kandahár. Biram, who was not unaware of the Emperor's suspicions, but who preferred a dependance upon him to becoming the slave of the Persian King, adopted a decided line of conduct suited to his manly character. On Humáyun's approach, he advanced with a pompous cavalcade nearly forty miles from Kandahár to meet him, put himself at

HISTORY OF INDIA.

A. D. 1554.

Book VII. once into his power, professed the most unlimited devotion to his interests, and comported himself with so much submission and frankness, that he not only entirely removed the Emperor's suspicions, but, by his insinuating address and the sure influence of a strong mind over a weak one, soon regained his usual ascendency over him. Humáyun, faithful to his original plan, still offered Monaim Khan the government of Kandahár; but that honest Minister advised his master on no account to make any such change when about to set out on an expedition of so much importance; but intimated that, if successful in India, it would be in his power to act in regard to Kandahár as he might think proper, and with perfect safety. Humáyun spent the rest of the winter at Kandahár, where Biram Khan entertained him with unostentatious magnificence.*

and arranges to accompany him on his invasion.

In the spring, Humáyun set out on his return towards Kábul. He was accompanied as far as Mukur by Biram Khan, now once more his prime adviser. Sensible, however, of the uncertain tenure by which even the most faithful subject holds his favour when at a distance from the court, and desirous, perhaps, of sharing the danger and the glory of a mighty undertaking, Biram requested that he might be allowed to leave a deputy in the government which he had so long held, and permitted in person to attend his Majesty in the expedition that he meditated. This was readily granted. He returned to Kandahár, to make arrangements for its government in his absence, and to prepare the chosen body of troops with which he was to join the invading army. He prevailed upon the Emperor to remove Terdi Beg Khan from the government of Zemíndáwer, which lay in his neighbourhood, and to

* At Kandahár, Humáyun found Khwája Gházi just returned from a mission to Persia, and restored him

to the office of diwan, the duties of which he had so honestly discharged.

Bestow it on a dependant of his own.* Terdi Beg, of whom Biram seems to have been already jealous, probably got at this time, in compensation, the government of Anderáb and other districts to the north of the Hindu-kúsh mountains.

Humáyun now proceeded towards Kábul, whence he Humáyun's addressed letters, not only to the different parts of his at Kahul own dominions, but to Samarkand, Bokhára, and the cities of the north, inviting adventurers to join him in his grand enterprise. The rest of the summer he devoted to settling and securing the territories he already possessed, and to providing arms, military stores, and other requisites for the campaign which he meditated.

Biram Khan, faithful to his agreement, joined him at Kábul the day after the Id, or grand festival at the conclusion of the Muhammedan fast of Ramzán: and Shawal 2. so delighted was Humáyun with his arrival, that, to do him honour, he commanded the whole festivities of that day of rejoicing to be repeated.

The necessary preparations for the expedition being Sets out on at length completed, Humáyun appointed his infant son, Mírza Muhammed Hakím, to be the nominal governor of Kábul, entrusting the active direction of affairs to the fidelity and experience of Monaim Khan. He himself, taking with him his eldest son Akber, then between twelve and thirteen years of age, set out, about the middle of November, at the moment selected middle of by the astrologers of the court as presenting a most propitious aspect of the stars and the heavens. His family and harem he left behind at Kábul. He was accompanied by only three thousand horse, Biram Khan being left behind to complete the remaining arrangements, and to bring on the artillery, stores and

* Beháder Khan Sistáni, who became distinguished in Akber's reign.

† Anderáb and Ishlemish, Akbernáma, ff. 90, 91.; Tab. Akb. f. 166.; Tar. Niz. f. 204.; Tar. Bed. ff. 187, 188.; Jouher, c. 28.; Bayezid, ff. 67-72. ; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172.

at Kabul.

He is joined by Biram Augst. 31.

his expedition

Zihajeh,

A.D. 1554.

А. н. 962. end of Moharem.

Sefer 6, Dec. 31,

and reaches the Indus.

BOOK VII. reinforcements which were daily arriving. Humáyun, A. p. 1554. on reaching Júi-sháhi, embarked on a raft, was floated down the Kábul river, and reached Pesháwer in the latter part of December, when he loaded Sekander Uzbek with praises for his gallant defence of the place and raised him to the rank of Khan. On the last day of the year 1554 his standard waved on the banks of the Indus, where he halted three days, and was joined by Biram Khan and the rest of the army from Kábul; at the same moment that he received with surprise the gratifying intelligence that Tátár Khan Kási, the Afghán governor of the northern part of the Penjáb, on hearing of his march, had abandoned the fort of Rhotas, the strongest in the Penjáb, of which it was regarded as the northern bulwark, and had retired with his whole force to the south.

State of India.

Indeed no moment could have been more favourable for an invasion of India. Selím Shah, a vigorous prince, had now been dead about a year, and had been succeeded by Adeli, whose accession, we have seen, was the signal for general revolt and rebellion. Four competitors for the throne of Delhi had appeared among the Afgháns, each possessed of a large extent of country and of a powerful army. The whole empire of Delhi was one scene of civil war and of intestine confusion. The capital itself had been repeatedly taken and retaken. Ahmed Khan, the Afghan governor of Láhúr, who, under the title of Sekander Shah, was one of the candidates for the throne, had carried away the army of the Penjáb to Delhi; so that the province was left without troops for its defence, and the garrisons had been withdrawn or neglected while Sekander was at a distance, busily employed in playing the greater game of Delhi. The retreat of Tátár Khan from Rhotas was, therefore, probably only a measure of prudence or necessity. Humáyun crossed the Indus unopposed on the 2nd of January 1555, and pursued .

Sefer 8. A. D. 1555. Jan, 2.

his march by Perhala, through the country of the Gakers. He invited Sultan Adam Gaker, the chief of Humáyun that hardy tribe, to join him; but the Sultan, with crosses the many protestations of attachment, excused himself, alleging that he had most unwillingly been compelled to enter into a treaty with Sekander Shah before that prince set out on his expedition against Delhi, and had given him his son as a hostage for its due observance. Humáyun, believing that he was well disposed towards the family of Báber, and eager to push on, left him behind; with joy took possession of the fortress of Rhotas, which he found deserted; passed the Occupies Jelem and the Chenáb; and, without striking a blow, the Northsaw himself master of all the northern part of the Penjáb.

On arriving at Kilánúr, between the Rávi and the Bíah, Humáyun divided his forces, despatching a strong " body under Biram Khan and Terdi Beg to attack Nasib Khan, an Afghán general who lay encamped near Harhána*; while he himself directed his march to the capital, Láhúr, which, being abandoned on his approach, and Láhúr. he entered on the 24th of February, and was received Rebill. 2. with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants. NEb. 24.

Not long after his arrival, Humáyun, learning that a Successful large body of Afgháns † was near Dibálpúr, despatched Shah Abul Maali with eight hundred horse to beat up

* This town is variously called Harhána, Hariahána, and Hariána, and seems to have lain between Kilánúr and Jalindher.

† The Muhammedan historians in general give the command of this army to Shahbuz Khan and Nasir Khan. Jouher represents it as led by Umer Khan Gaker, who had collected it about Multán, and was marching towards Firúzpúr to join the Afghán army on the south of Satlej. This is not improbable, and the orthodox historians may have dropt the name of the Gaker as a semi-barbarian. In the action, Abul Maali, who had rushed into the midst of the enemy and was surrounded, was saved only by the gallant exertions of Ali Kuli Sistáni (afterwards Khan Zemán), his second in command, who penetrated the masses of the enemy, shouting out the takeber, or Musulman war cry, and brought him off. Akbernáma, ff. 92, 93.; Jouher, 29, 20.

Indus.

Rhotas and ern Penjáb,

progress.

A.D. 1555.

BOOK VII. their quarters. Abul Maali, a brave but arrogant and presumptuous youth, and the especial favourite of Humáyun, charged them without hesitation, though they were found, it is said, to amount to twelve thousand men, and after a short but well contested action, defeated and dispersed them, taking their whole baggage, women and families. This victory, being the first gained in the campaign, was vauntingly extolled by Abul Maali and his partizans, and served still more to feed his already inordinate vanity.

Meanwhile, Biram Khan pushed on to Harhána, which, after a slight skirmish, was given up, and much valuable plunder, as well as the wives and families of the Afgháns, fell into his hands. The prisoners were all set at liberty, and the women and children were collected and sent under the protection of an escort to Nasíb Khan, in consequence of a vow made by Humáyun, that if providence restored to him the sovereignty of India, he would allow no men who were servants of God to be made captives of man. Several of the elephants and some of the more valuable property were sent, as was the custom, to be presented to the Emperor.

Biram now advanced to Jalindher, where the Afgháns had taken up a position: but no sooner did he come near them than they again retreated : " for such," says Abdal Káder, "was the terror which the Afgháns at this time entertained of the Moghuls, that, though they were thousands in number, if they saw the approach of but half a score of big turbans, though they might perhaps belong only to Láhúris, they instantly turned and took to flight, without looking behind them.* In the present instance, the Afghans not only escaped with their lives, but carried off their baggage. This they were enabled to do, through an altercation that occurred

Tar. Bed. f. 188.

in the imperial camp, and the consequences of which, at a future time, were very important. Abulfazl tells us, that Terdi Beg was desirous to have pursued and brought the Afgháns to action, but that Biram Khan did not approve of that movement, and refused to give orders for carrying it into effect. Terdi Beg, believing that a pursuit would complete the destruction of the enemy, sent Baltu Khan to Biram, with instructions to leave no means untried to induce him to follow the retreating enemy. Baltu accordingly delivered his message, when Khwája Moazem Sultan, a wrong-headed man, Akber's uncle, who happened to be present, rudely interfered, and even proceeded to use insulting language, which Baltu in anger retaliated. On this the Khwája, drawing his sword, aimed a blow at Baltu, and struck him on the arm. Humáyun no sooner heard of the occurrence than he issued a firmán committing the examination of the whole affair to a confidential officer, who, hastening to Biram Khan's camp, by the use of his Majesty's name and by his own advice and conciliatory manners, succeeded in pacifying, at least in appearance, the angry Amírs. Biram, who seems to have proposed halting for some time in the Penjáb, cantoned his troops in Jalindher and the neighbourhood, and dis. tributed the adjoining districts among his officers. But Sekander Uzbek, who commanded the advance, and was stationed at Máchíwára on the Satlej, finding what he regarded as a favourable opportunity, crossed the river, and pushing forward took possession of the important town of Sirhend. Biram, whose bravery was tempered Occupation of Sirhend. by prudence, and who seems to have been desirous to secure the country that had been gained and to concentrate his force, highly disapproved of this movement as being too much in advance, and the event seemed to justify his views.*

* Akb. ff. 92, 93.; Tab. Akb. Tar. Bed. f. 188.; Jouher, c. 29, f. 167.; Tar. Niz. ff. 204, 205.; 30. VOL. II. L L SL

BOOK VII. A. p. 1555. Continued distractions

in Hindus.

While Humáyun thus overran the Penjáb, civil war continued to rage in Hindustán, which was wasted by the armies of various pretenders, and became the scene of the wildest anarchy. Delhi, the ancient capital, and the point nearest to the invaders, had repeatedly changed masters. Sekander Shah*, the late governor of the Penjáb, was now in possession of it. He had lately defeated Sultan Ibráhím, one of his competitors, and was preparing to march from Atáwa against Sultan Adeli, another of them, when he heard of Humáyun's invasion and success. The danger was pressing. Not only was the Penjáb the province from which his troops were chiefly drawn, and on which he most relied for support, but the victorious standards of Humáyun might be expected soon to wave on the towers of Delhi itself. Sekander, therefore, was compelled to divide his army; and while, with the main body of it, he continued his operations against Adeli, he despatched a strong reinforcement to support Tátár. Khan, who had now retreated out of the Penjáb in the direction of Delhi, instructing him to march back, and crush, or at least keep in check, the invading army. Tátár Khan, thus reinforced, advanced at the head of 30,000 men towards Sirhend. His approach induced Sekander Uzbek to abandon that place, and to retreat across the Satlej to Jalindher; a movement for which he was severely censured by Biram, who regarded such a retrograde motion as ill-timed, and told him that, having advanced, however improperly, he ought to have maintained his post at Sirhend to the last, and sent to him for instructions.

Biram Khan crosses the Satlej. Without loss of time, Biram Khan now collected his troops, and proceeded against the enemy. On reaching Máchíwára, Terdi Beg and some others of the generals were against passing the Satlej at that time, as the

* Ahmed Khan Súr, the governor of the Penjáb, assumed the style of called Sekander Shah.

ainy season was close at hand; and advised merely guarding the ferries and fords, and acting on the defensive, till the monsoon was over. Biram, on the other hand, was for crossing without delay, and he was not a man whose plans were easily to be thwarted. His high capacity, his bold and determined spirit, and his discriminating patronage of merit, had brought about him a numerous party, absolutely devoted to his interests. By great exertions, in which he was zealously assisted by his partisans, he succeeded in transporting his division across the river, and now, the safety of the whole being compromised, Terdi Beg and the others saw themselves compelled to follow, however unwillingly.*

The Afgháns, who had already reached the banks Battle of of the river, and were preparing bundles of reeds to form rafts for crossing, on hearing of this operation, and finding that Biram's army was very inferior in numbers to their own, resolved to engage them. The battle began towards evening. Biram's troops, which he had drawn up near the river, remained firm on their ground, keeping up a discharge of arrows, till it grew dark, when they were forced to intermit it. But a house having taken fire in a village that formed a large portion of the Afghán lines, the conflagration spread to the surrounding huts, most of which were roofed with straw, and soon extended over the whole village. Biram's men were now enabled by the flames to see every motion of their enemies, and to take deliberate aim, so that all their arrows told, while those of the Afgháns were discharged at random into the darkness around. The Afghans continued, nevertheless, for some time,

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* Many of them were Persians or Persian Túrks, as Kásim Khan Nishapúri, Haider-kuli Beg Shámlu, &c. The motley nature of Humáyun's army may be conceived from the tribes of the four generals

commanding the divisions; Biram Khan was a Persian Túrk, Khizer Khan Hazára an Afghán Hazára, Terdi Beg Khan was a Túrk of Ferghána, and Sekander Khan an Uzbek.

Máchíwára

A. D. 1555.

Advance of Sekander

Shah.

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BOOK vir. bravely to maintain their ground; but at length, harassed and worn out by the unequal contest, they took to flight, and resigned the field. Next day, Biram resumed his march, and soon occupied Sirhend without opposition. Humáyun, delighted with this important victory, honoured Biram Khan with the title of Khan-Khánán, Yar Vafádár (Lord of Lords, the Faithful Friend); and his army was, soon after, strengthened by reinforcements sent by the Emperor.*

When the news of this discomfiture reached Sekander Shah, giving up every other enterprise, he collected the whole of his force, to check the progress of a torrent from which he had so much to dread. With an army of 70,000 horse, a number of war-elephants, and a strong train of artillery, he marched for the Penjáb. On hearing of his approach, Biram Khan, whose army was still far from numerous ;, despatched repeated expresses to Humáyun, who still remained at Láhúr, representing to him the urgent necessity of his hastening to his relief with the rest of the troops; and, in the meantime, he raised strong entrenchments round his camp, to enable him to keep his ground at Sirhend until the reinforcements arrived.

Humáyun supports Biram.

Rejeb. 7.1 May 28.

Humáyun was confined by sickness when he received Biram's letters, but immediately despatched his son Akber, with a large body of troops, to his assistance, and, a few days after, was well enough to follow them. On reaching Sirhend, he found that Sekander Shah had already arrived, and had been a fortnight before the place; that he had strongly fortified his camp with ditch and parapet, "according to the practice of Shir Shah," and had made daily attacks on the imperial troops, who kept behind their trenches. Humáyun

* Akbernáma, ff. 94, 95.; Tar. Niz. ff. 204, 205.; Tar. Bed. 189.; Jouher, c. 31.; Bayezid, ff. 79, 80. ; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 174, 175; Khafi Khan.

+ Jouher says, it consisted of only

700 or 800 men, meaning, perhaps, northern men or Persians.

‡ The night of the 7th Rejeb, may have been the night of the 27th May.

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established his head-quarters in a garden near the town, and, for some time, skirmishes and single combats daily took place, conducted with much bravery and more courtesy than was usual in that age and country, the wounded and the slain being given up to their friends. Great apprehensions of the result were, however, entertained in Humáyun's camp, the number of fighting men in which is represented as amounting to only five thousand.

Seeing that it was necessary to supply defect of numbers by increased activity and energy, Humáyun resolved to attempt cutting off the supplies of the Afghán camp; a system of annoyance which he had so successfully employed against Behåder Shah of Gujrát, at Mandsúr. For carrying into effect a plan of campaign, apparently so unsuitable to his diminutive force, he must have trusted to the great superiority of his Túrks, Moghuls, and other northern men over the troops of his adversary, whether in forays or in combating man to man. Terdi Beg was appointed to execute the details. He soon interrupted their communications, intercepted a large convoy of provisions, defeating a detachment under one of Sekander Shah's brothers, whom he slew, and brought back to the camp his banner and the insignia of his dignity. This action Battle of Sirhend, seems to have drawn the enemy from their trenches, to support and bring off the detachment; and, the engagement spreading from one division to another, brought on a general battle of the whole line sooner than was anticipated. The Afgháns directed the violence of their attack against Biram Khan's division, hoping that if it, which was understood to be the strongest, was defeated, they would more easily break the others. But Biram, when attacked, retired into the works which he had thrown up in front of his encampment, and stood on the defensive, and the enemy were unable to force his position. Meanwhile

LL 3

A. D. 1555.

Shában 2. June 22.

Flight of Sekander and dispersion of his forces.

Shah Abul Maali.

rook vn. Humáyun, seeing that Biram was able to maintain his ground, ordered the division under Shah Abul Maali and Terdi Beg to charge the attacking enemy in flank and rear, which was done with such effect that their whole army, now said to amount to nearly an hundred thousand men, soon became a mass of confusion, dispersed and fled from the field, leaving behind their whole baggage, field equipage and artillery. The battle was fought on the 22nd day of June, the summer solstice, during the rainy monsoon. The wind and rain, which happened then to be excessive, soon relaxed the pursuit. Sekander Shah escaped from the field of battle, and, with much personal danger, found his way to that part of the Sewálik mountains that skirts the Penjáb.*

Hardly was the din of battle over, when a contest arose between Shah Abul Maali and Biram Khan upon the question to whom, in the official account, the honour of the victory should be ascribed. The young man who thus put forward his pretensions in opposition to the Khan Khánán, had been introduced to Humáyun only four years before, but had suddenly risen to the highest place in his favour. He was from Káshghar, but claimed descent from the celebrated saintly family of the Syeds of Turmez, was brave, enterprising and accomplished, but presumptuous and insolent. A striking instance of his bold contempt of authority had lately occurred at Kandahár. Shír Ali Khan had, without leave, guitted the service of Shah Tahmasp, in which he was Mír shikári, or grand huntsman, and entered that of Humáyun. Abul Maali, a keen Shia, intoxicated with religious zeal, and desirous of gratifying the Persian king, descended, like himself, of a religious family, boasted publicly, and even in the Emperor's presence, that he would put the

* Ut supra, and Khol. ul Tow. ff. 286, 287.

traitor to death wherever he met him. The Emperor, regarding this threat as a mere idle bravado, took no measures to protect the fugitive. One night, however, the boaster did execute his threat, and assassinated the Khan. Humáyun, though he felt his authority insulted, yet, seduced by his partiality for the criminal, not only did not bring him to punishment, but soon after raised him to offices of the highest trust, made him the chosen partner of all his pleasures, and familiarly addressed him as, "My son." On the present occasion, the young favourite, confident in his master's partiality, demanded that his name should occupy the most conspicuous place in the official announcement of the victory, under pretence that he had not only gained the first success in the campaign, but had had the most share in the present battle. The veteran Biram Khan, on the other hand, claimed that honour, as having had the management of the whole plan of the campaign, as well as having been the first to invade the enemy's country, which he had overrun and occupied. Any formal decision of the question was evaded by bestowing the distinction contended for upon Akber, whose claim neither of the competitors was likely to dispute.

The battle was quite decisive. No enemy any longer pecisive appeared in the field. A pillar of heads was erected. Effects of the victory. The Emperor despatched Sekander Uzbek towards Delhi, to clear the road to the capital, and himself followed, with the main body of the army, as far as Samana, where, finding that Sultan Sekander had not retreated towards Hindustán, but had taken shelter in the highlands of Sewálik, whence he might threaten the low country of the Penjáb, he halted, and sent back Shah Abul Maali with a strong detachment to Jalindher, to keep him in check, and to hinder him from raising his old province in the rear of the advancing

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A. D. 1555.

Humávun

reoccupies Delhi.

Ramzán, 4. July 23.

Distributes

the pro-

vinces.

BOOK VII. army. The whole resources of the Penjáb were placed at Abul Maali's disposal.

Humáyun had not remained long at Samana to find shelter from the heavy rains which were falling, and to rest and refresh his troops, when despatches reached him from Sekander Uzbek, who had advanced to Delhi without opposition, earnestly urging him to pursue his advantages, and to repair to the capital without loss of time. He accordingly put his troops in motion, and on the 23rd of July once more ascended the throne of Delhi, in the imperial city.*

The first act of his government was to distribute the provinces among his retainers. Hissár Firúza, though not yet reduced, he reserved to the crown, but assigned to Akber, as being the province which he himself had received from Báber, when he first entered India. Sirhend and some other districts were granted to Biram Khan, in addition to Kandahár, which he still held; Shah Abul Maali got the Penjáb; Terdi Beg Khan had Mewát, which was not yet conquered; Sekander Uzbek was sent forward to occupy Agra; Ali Kuli Sistáni was despatched to reduce Mirat and Sambhal. and Haider Muhammed Khan, akhteh-begi (grandmarshal) was sent against Biána. The Emperor himself remained stationary at head-quarters in the fort of Delhi, to watch over the progress of his arms, and the general settlement of the country.

Rapid reduction of the provinces.

The different provinces fell rapidly into his hands. Hisár-Firúza surrendered after a short siege. Agra made no resistance. Bedáun was conquered and occupied by one Kamber Diwána, a man of low birth and singular habits, but brave and of popular talents, who acknowledged the Emperor, and appears to have been recognized by him as Governor. Ali Kuli Sistáni, after taking possession of Mirat and Sambhal, which had been

* Akbernáma, ff. 91-95.; Tab. Akb. ff. 167, 168.; Jouher, c. 52.

assigned to him, attacked Kamber, who was hated by the Amírs of family, and having taken Bedáun by stratagem and treachery, put him to death, and pretending ignorance of the Emperor's wishes, sent his head to Humáyun, who, though he felt and professed much displeasure, left the culprit unpunished.*

While these events were passing to the eastward, surrender Haider Muhammed marched to reduce Biána, his new of Biána. government. That important fort had long been in possession of Gházi Khan Súr, one of the most eminent and powerful of the Afghán chiefs, whose son Ibráhím Shah was one of the five princes who, at the same moment, were contending for the sovereign authority in this distracted country. We have seen that Ibráhím was defeated, and expelled from Delhi and Agra by Sultan Sekander; after which, he was defeated at Kalpi, and blockaded for three months in Biana itself, by Hímú, the Hindu Minister of Adeli. When relieved from this danger by the retreat of Hímú, who was called away to Behár to oppose an invasion of the King of Bengal, Ibráhím, having made an attack upon Bhatta in Malwa, was defeated and taken prisoner, and now remained in captivity in the hands of the Raja of that country. His father, Gházi Khan, did not attempt to resist Haider Muhammed in the field, but retired into his strong fortress, where for some time he successfully defended himself; but finally entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the fort, under the most solemn

* The history of Kamber Diwána is related at considerable length by the contemporary historians. Ali Kuli was entirely devoted to Biram, and the whole proceedings against Kamber have much the appearance of one of the violent acts of Biram, who probably, considering his occupation of the country and eccentric doings to be inconsistent with regular government, contrived to

effect his ruin, without appearing directly to thwart the Emperor. Kamber was buried in Bedaun, and his tomb was frequented as a place of pilgrimage down to a late period, by the lower classes, among whom his reputation and popularity were very great. See Akbernáma, f. 96.; Tab. Akb. f. 168.; Tar. Bedáuni, f. 191.; Briggs's, Ferishta, vol. il. p. 177.



A. D. 1555.

BOOK VII. assurances of personal safety. No sooner, however, had Gházi Khan marched out, than Haider, burning with eagerness to possess the wealth which Biana was known to contain, shamefully violated his agreement, and put him to death with all his family, even to the children at the breast. Humáyun, incensed at this act of perfidious cruelty, which he justly ascribed to avarice, instantly commissioned an officer of his household, known in the next reign as Sheháb-ed-dín Ahmed Khan, to proceed to Biána, to supersede Haider Muhammed in his government, and to place all his property under sequestration, which was done, but not before Haider had succeeded in embezzling some of the most valuable of Gházi Khan's jewels, substituting inferior ones in their place. It must be allowed that the return of Humáyun into India was marked by many instances of insubordination and rapacity on the part of his officers. They seem to have come back, thirsting after the riches of the land from which they had so long been banished, and eager to retrieve the time they had lost. A stronger arm and a firmer purpose than Humáyun's were necessary, to restore the discipline of his hardy, but rapacious, followers.

While Humáyun was thus making extensive conquests in Hindustán, he suffered some loss of territory in the north. We have seen that when he finally regained Kábul by the aid of Mírza Suleimán, that prince, by grant or by connivance, had added Kunduz, and several other provinces beyond the mountains, to his own principality of Badakhshán. The neighbouring districts of Anderáb and Ishkemish were the jágír of Terdi Beg, for whom they were held by Mokím Khan, as his lieutenant. They lay temptingly for the Mírza, who endeavoured to add them to his dominions by corrupting the fidelity of Mokim. Failing in this attempt, he threw off the mask, and besieged him in Anderáb. Unprepared for such an attack, Mokím contrived, nevertheless, to escape from

Humáyun's officers.

Frequent insubordi-

nation of

Revolt of Mirza Sul'eimán in shán.

fort which he could not defend, and succeeded in fighting his way to the hills, whence he returned to Kábul.

But the most important transactions of this period Misconduct were those of the Penjáb. When the Emperor marched Maali in from Láhúr to oppose Sultan Sekander, he commit- the Penjab. ted the management of the province to Ferkhat Khan as hákim or governor, with suitable officers to support him.* After the battle of Sirhend, when Sultan Sekander was threatening the Penjáb from the Sewálik hills, to which he had fled, Humáyun, as we have seen, sent Shah Abul Maali to command the army opposed to him, with orders to proceed to Jalindher, and there to establish his head-quarters, to watch the Sultan's motions, and to prevent his entering the low country. Scarcely, however, had Abul Maali reached the Penjáb, when his native arrogance exceeded even its usual bounds. He assumed the deportment and pomp of a prince, acted in every respect like an absolute sovereign, and so despotically, as to disgust and alarm all the officers of government. Instead of remaining at Jalindher, as he had been ordered, he proceeded to Láhúr. The Emperor's officers in authority there, having consulted together, agreed not to admit him into the city: but this resolution was not acted upon, and he speedily usurped all

* Bapús Khan was made foujdár or military collector, Mírza Shah Sultan, Amín or civil administrator, and Mehter Jouher (the Memoirwriter, and lately Humáyun's ewerbearer), treasurer of the Penjáb and Multán. Some time before this, Humayun had appointed Jouher to be collector of Haibatpúr-pati. The circumstances attending his introduction, when taking leave on setting out for his district, are illustrative both of the character of Humayun, and of the state of the public service. " My lad," said Humáyun,

"listen to what I say,-A Moghul having been sent from the camp on a duty similar to yours, took two blankets from a Ját, and seeing the man's surprise, exclaimed, ' What, you rascal, am I not come to collect ?" On hearing this insinuation, continues the ewer-bearer, I replied, that having had the advantage of pouring water on his Majesty's hands, for so many years, I would acquit myself with credit and honour. The Emperor replied, " Good comes of good, and evil of evil." Jouher's Mem. c. 29.

A. D. 1555.

BOOK VII. the powers of the government. Humáyun, however, partial to his favorite, for a long time would listen to none of the complaints preferred against him, till he found that he had gone so far as to displace Ferkhat Khan, the Emperor's governor of Láhúr, and to put a creature of his own in his place; and that he was squandering, with the wildest extravagance, the imperial treasure, and the revenues of the country. At length, the Emperor was plainly told that Abul Maali undoubtedly aimed at independence, an imputation in that turbulent age by no means improbable. To add to the other evils, Sultan Sekander, who hitherto had remained at Mánkót, collecting an army and taking into his pay all the mercenaries that were to be found, finding every check withdrawn, poured down his whole force into the Penjáb. Yet such was Humáyun's delicacy to the feelings of his favorite, that he superseded him only by giving the Penjáb to Akber, under the pretence that, as the imperial harem was about to pass through that country, he was the most proper person to be in command. Abul Maali was nominated to the charge of the imperial domain of Hissár Firúza, which had been held by Akber, so that he seemed merely to have exchanged governments with the prince.

But while the nominal authority in the Penjáb was given to the youthful Akber, the efficient power was vested in the stern Biram Khan, who attended him as his atálík or protector. It was about the end of the year when the prince and his governor set out. On reaching Sirhend, the object of Akber's coming being well understood, he was joined not only by the troops from Hissár, but by many imperial officers of the highest rank, serving in the Penjáb under Abul Maali, who came uncalled and without leave, the prince's approach being hailed as a fortunate relief from the extremities to which they were driven by the favorite's overbearing and tyrannical conduct. They were all graciously received ;

Beginning of А. н. 963. End of A. D. 1555.

He is su-

Akber.

perseded by Prince

and the army being increased by the arrival of several bodies of troops from the neighbouring districts, proceeded across the Satlej to Sultánpúr on the Bíah.

The unmilitary movement of Abul Maali from Jalindher to Láhúr having left the low country along the hills defenceless, Sultan Sekander, having descended into the plains, was enabled to occupy, and collect the revenues of the perganas, to a considerable distance around. Abul Maali, never deficient in bravery or in spirit, assembled the troops that were nearest Láhúr, and advanced towards the enemy by slow marches, to give time to those at a distance to join him. He gained some advantages in the field; but as soon as Akber's approach was known, he was deserted by his principal officers, to whom he had become odious. He, therefore, retreated to Láhúr, whence being summoned to attend the prince, he found himself compelled, most unwillingly, to wait upon him at Sultánpúr, not long after his arrival. He was coldly received, but, humbled as he was, his presumption did not desert him. Akber, from consideration for his father's partiality to the Syed, invited him to dinner, graciously pointed out to him his seat, and treated him, as his guest, with all politeness and attention. On his return home from the party, he had the insolence to send a message to Akber, to say, that the prince was no stranger to the relation in which he stood to Humáyun; reminding him that when he dined publicly with the Emperor at the ring-hunt of Júi-Sháhi, the prince himself had seen that he sat on the same cushion, and eat out of the same dish with the Emperor, while the prince waited by, and dined afterwards on a portion sent to him: whereas at the recent dinner, he had been placed on an ordinary rug, and served from a separate tray. The prince, smiling, bad the messenger go back, and express his surprise that Abul Maali could not distinguish between the becoming etiquette of Princes, and the familiarity of private attachment; and

A. D. 1556.

Who expels Sekander Shah,

Account received of the death of Humáyun.

poor vit. that, moreover, his pretensions betrayed an extreme ignorance of their relative situations. Abul Maali's mortification was extreme. Akber, soon after, put his army in motion, and attempted to come up with Sultan Sekander, who, on hearing of his approach, retreated into his mountain recesses, and once more pitched his camp at Mánkót.

The army had reached Hariána in its advance, when it was overtaken by a messenger bringing Biram Khan information of an alarming accident that had befallen the Emperor, which rendered it inexpedient to move farther onward, or to commence active operations : and the march of the army was directed on Kilánúr, to await the result. As they approached that place, another express arrived bringing a despatch, said to be written by orders of the Emperor himself immediately after his accident, and giving good hopes of his speedy recovery. But a third followed close after, with the authentic accounts of his death.

Humáyun's plans for the government of the empire.

From the time when Humáyun arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching the progress of the armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce different provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he projected was to separate the empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs. Delhi, Agra, Kanáuj, Juánpúr, Mándu, and Láhúr were among the capitals pitched upon. To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others; while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about twelve thousand horse, which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move in any direction. This plan, however, he never had time, had he even possessed sufficient steadiness, to carry into execution.

Having in some degree arranged affairs at Delhi, he Particulars of his death. was about to proceed to Agra; had conferred the government of Delhi on Terdi Beg, in public derbár; and had even sent forward his péshkhána *, or advanced set of tents, preparatory to his setting out. On Friday the 20th of January, 1556, in the evening, some of his old officers who had just returned from the pilgrimage of Mekka, as well as some who had come from Gujrát, were introduced to him, and he inquired with much interest into the news which they brought. He also received despatches from Monaim Khan in Kábul, with accounts of his family and harem that were still in that quarter. At the close of the day he went up to the terrace-roof of his library, in his palace in the Dínpanáh fort of Delhi, attended by such persons as happened to be with him, and presented himself as usual to the crowds assembled round the Grand Mosque close by, who made the customary obeisance or salutation: after which he went on with the inquiries in which he had been engaged. When it began to grow dark, he sent for some of his astronomers to observe the rising of Venus, it being his intention to hold a grand public audience, and to promote several of his Amírs, exactly at the propitious moment of the rising of that planet. As he was about to descend, and had reached the second step of the stairs, he heard the moizzin, or cryer from the minaret of the mosque, summoning the

* In India, persons travelling at their ease have two sets of tents, one of which is sent in advance and pitched, so as to be ready for the traveller on his arrival on the ground ; the tents which he quits

being immediately packed up, and sent forward to be ready in like manner, in their turn. The tents so sent in advance are called the péshkhána.



A.D. 1556.

faithful to evening prayer, and was preparing to sit down, out of respect, till the call was over, when his foot became entangled in the skirt of his mantle*, and the marble steps being smooth and slippery +, his staff slid, so that he lost his footing, was precipitated forward, and lighted on his head on the ground below. He was taken up insensible, was found to have received many bruises on his body, but in particular a violent contusion on the right temple, and a quantity of blood was observed to have oozed from his right ear. According to some accounts, he for a time recovered his speech. He lingered four days, being the greater part, or the whole of the time, in a state of insensibility, and expired on the evening of the 24th of January, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after a reign of rather more than twenty-five years.

Which is for a time concealed.

Rebi I. 11.

Jan. 24.

The heir apparent being at a distance, the great Amírs who possessed the chief influence very much dispersed, and the army still surrounded by formidable enemies, it was resolved by the nobles who were on the spot, to conceal this event till the suitable arrangements could be made. Expresses were immediately despatched to inform Akber of his father's death, and to call a meeting of the principal officers. The more effectually to lull suspicion, one Múlla Bekasi was dressed up in the imperial vestments, and presented to the public at the usual times, in an open gallery of the palace on the side next the river, which had been the late Emperor's

* Postin.

† "The stairs" we are told by Mr. Elphinstone (History of India, vol. ii. p. 175.), "in such situations are narrow steps on the *outside* of the building, and only guarded by an ornamental parapet about a foot high," — "so that the King fell headlong over the parapet."

‡ Abulfazl, Jouher, and Ferishta make his death happen on the 11th Rebi I.: the Tabakát-e Akberi, followed by the Taríkh-e Bedáuni, on the 15th. Abulfazl (f. 98.) says that the Emperor, after his accident, sent a letter to Akber by Názir Sheikh Joli to inform him that he was doing well: but this was probably a mere official intimation, issued for political purposes by those about his person.

avoirite seat, and where he was accustomed to receive the salutations of his subjects, who assembled in crowds below. For seventeen days the truth was unknown in Delhi. At last, on the tenth day of February, Terdi Rebi I. 28. Feb. 10. Beg, who officiated on the occasion as Amír-al-omra, a dignity to which he aspired, throwing off the mask, and attended by all the Amírs of the surrounding districts who had repaired to head-quarters, proceeded to the Grand Mosque, and caused the prayer for the Emperor to be recited in the name of Akber.

The announcement of the Emperor's death, circum- Alarm exstanced as affairs then were, produced great alarm and this event. encitement all over the country, which the nobles, assembled at Delhi, used every means in their power to allay. When the rites and ceremonies attending the sepulture and mourning for the Emperor were over, the leading Amírs hastened, each to his own government, to watch over the current of events, and to confirm the minds both of their own followers and of the natives of the country in their adherence to the new government. Terdi Beg Khan, as the most eminent of the ancient nobility and governor of Delhi, by a kind of election or recognition of the Amírs who were on the spot, assumed the general direction of affairs. One of his first acts was to send the insignia of empire with the crown jewels to the young Emperor, accompanied by the officers of the household, the imperial guards, and Mírza Abul-Kásím, the son of the late Kámrán Mírza, whose close alliance to the throne now made him an object of jealousy. The crisis was one of the Danger of deepest importance, for at that moment the conquest the crists. of India could be considered as only begun: and three formidable rivals contended with the youthful Akber for the throne of Delhi.*

* Akbernáma, ff. 98, 99.; Tar. Nizámi, ff. 205, 206.; Jouher, c. 33.; Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 177, VOL. II. MM

178.; Tar. Bedáuni, ff. 189-192.; Kholáset ul Towáríkh, f. 288.; Kháfi Khan.



Feb. 10.

BOOK VII. A. D. 1556.

53

Character of Humáyun,

The real character of Humáyun may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians, whose judgment was influenced, not only by that reverence with which Orientals regard the sovereign authority, but by a natural respect for the princes, his descendants, under whom they wrote. He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and unsteady. Per-sonally of distinguished bravery, he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he overran, first, the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujrát, and next those of Behár and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions; but, Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions; but, destitute of those powers of combination which are as necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest as bravery and a well-disciplined army are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all; and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions and anarchy, the fruit of his want of political firmness and determination. His disposition was na-turally generous, friendly and affectionate; his manners polite, frank and winning. He had a ready wit, ex-celled in repartee, and, from the anecdotes recorded by his ewer-bearer and other writers, seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes. But, though Haider Mírza, an excellent judge, speaks with much respect of his accomplishments, and of his talents and deportment as a prince, yet his generosity, guarded by no resolute sense of duty or steady feelings of self-respect, degenerated into prodigality, his attachments into weakness; and hence, down to the day of his death, he was the prey of flatterers and favourites. From his father he inherited a fondness for literature and the

arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and scientific men. Like many of the eminent personages of his age, he was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses; and Abulfazl mentions that a complete diwán of his composition was in the library of his son.* He is also said to have made no inconsiderable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronised such as were eminent in these sciences, and promoted several of them to offices of trust. At the time of his death he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose. † But a fatality seemed to attend even his merits. His astronomical knowledge was directed chiefly to the frivolous or pernicious doctrines of astrology and the occult sciences; and the course of his policy, as well as the actions of his ordinary life, was too often regulated by an absurd and childish attention to signs, omens and superstitious observances.‡

An incident that occurred in his early years exercised a considerable influence on his mind. Going one day a-hunting with his tutor, Humáyun proposed to take an omen as to the fortune of his future life, from the names of the three first persons he should meet. The tutor suggested that he might content himself with the first alone; but the prince kept to his purpose. It happened, we are told, whether accidentally or by pre-arrangement, that the first was a decrepid old man called Murád (Desire); the second, a man driving an ass loaded with firewood, was Doulat (Dominion); the third, who was found tending some cattle, was Saadet

* Specimens of his poetry are given by Ferishta and Kháfi Khan, and may be found scattered over the works of other historians.

† Akbernáma, f. 100.

‡ He never, in entering or leav-

ing house or mosque, put his left foot first; and if he observed any of his attendants do so, he called him left-handed, and made him go back, and advance again. Tar. Bed.

M M 2

A. D. 1556.

BOOK VII. (Good Fortune, or Success); a coincidence which delighted the prince, and from which he was led confidently to augur the accomplishment of his aspirations for extended sovereignty. The impression thus made on him induced him, when on the throne, to institute an arbitrary classification of his whole court and household under three heads. His brothers and other near relations, his Amírs and officers of state, with all the military, he classed as Ahil-e-doulat, or men of dominion, their aid being necessary for the attainment and . exercise of power. Doctors and men learned in the law, divines, syeds and religious men, múllas, poets, and such as were skilled in the sciences and arts, were ranked as Ahil-e-saadet, men of good fortune, as their presence was supposed to bring as well as to intimate the existence of prosperity; while the beautiful and elegant females of his domestic establishment, singers, musicians, dancers and other ministers of enjoyment, were the Ahil-e-murád, the objects of desire, as affording the means of elegant and sensual gratification.

These arrangements he mingled with his astrological fancies.* He constructed an extensive pavilion, in the principal hall of which the revolutions of the spheres, the place of each constellation, especially the signs of the Zodiac and the course of the planets, were represented. It contained also seven spacious apartments, each called by the name of one of the days of the week and of its presiding planet. These were richly fitted up with carpets and hangings, of the colour which custom had appropriated to the presiding star of each day; two of these apartments, with two days of the week, being devoted to each of the three before-

* The astrological fancies entertained by Humáyun, and the doctrines regarding the chapels of the -I-nets, and the corresponding dresses, mansions, days and seasons, are very ancient. See Pocock's Specimen Hist. Arabum, pp. 143-150.; Oxon. 1806. See also the Dabistáne Mozáhib, and the Desátír.

mentioned classes; and Humáyun gave public audience in them, occupying the apartment corresponding to the day of the week on which the audience was held. On these occasions the Emperor himself, the princes, the officers of state, and the whole court appeared dressed in the colour of the day. The details on this subject, as well as of a number of other artificial arrangements in which he delighted, - the drawing of the three golden arrows of the three classes; the twelve arrows of another of his divisions, founded on the twelve celestial signs, by which both political enterprises and promotions were often decided; and the arrangement of his household into four branches, corresponding to the four elements, - are given at great length by some historians of his reign, especially by Abulfazl, himself a believer in astrology and in omens. The observances are so minute, and must have been so inconvenient, that we can hardly believe they were ever long or very scrupulously adhered to, though in some important and not very creditable transactions of his reign we find traces of their existence. The astrology with which they were connected was then, indeed, a prevailing folly; but a powerful mind, though it might have yielded to the general impressions of the time, would not have suffered itself to be so deeply entangled in the idle and puerile observances of the art, nor accepted them as a substitute for rational and substantial knowledge.

The drum of justice was another of his institutions, borrowed from ancient tradition. A huge drum being placed near the imperial tent or pavilion, any one who suffered from injustice might claim redress by striking it according to certain rules, and the Emperor himself attended to the appeal. In early times, where law was very imperfectly and arbitrarily administered, and where complaints did not easily reach the ear of the despot, such an institution, rude as it is, or indeed any SP3

M M 3

A. D. 1556.

vii. other professing to forward the means of redress, was commendable, and might be useful. But its revival in a more advanced age betrays an extreme want of legislative skill; and it must be confessed that in this, as in many other of Humáyun's regulations that have been noticed, there is a great want of plain practical sense, a pedantic application of inapplicable learning, and too great an appearance of playing at kings.

He was a good Mussulman, rigid in the observance of the stated prayers and ceremonial of the law. He was, however, strongly suspected of leaning to the Shía sect, partly from his patronage of many Persians, or Shías, of distinction, such as Biram Khan, Abul Maali, and others; partly, perhaps, from the show of adherence to it which his political situation induced him to manifest when in exile in Persia.*

A floating palace several stories in height, with a garden and a bazar, or market, which he constructed at Agra on ships linked together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jamna, has been celebrated, and, as well as several other of his contrivances, evinces his fondness for the mechanical arts.

But though Humáyun was brave and good-tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered

* Such, we are told, was his reverence for the name of God, that he never pronounced it till he had performed the stated ablutions (wázu). One day he was observed to address Mîr Abdalla Hai, the Sadr, or Chief Judge, by the abbreviated name of Mír Abdal. Having subsequently performed the legal purifications, "Excuse me, Mír," said he to the Sadr, "for not having a little ago given you your full name; but Hai being one of the names of God, I could not, situated as I then was, pronounce it."

námrán Mírza, who was a Sunni,

and fond of religious disputation, had frequent arguments with his brother on the differences between the two sects. The Sunnis treat the Shías as being heterodox. One day, as they were riding together, they observed a dog, an unclean animal, lift its leg irreverently against a tomb-stone. "The man who lies there must be a heretic" (rafzi) said Kámrán. "Yes," said the Emperor; "and the dog an orthodox brute." Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 179. We have seen that he was himself occasionally a persecutor of such as he called heretics. on neighbouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a frivolity in his mind that neutralized his good qualities; and it is probable that, had he continued to fill his father's throne, he might have been the last emperor of India of his race. The bold, determined policy of Biram Khan, so different from the weak and vacillating conduct of Humáyun, had its full sway after that prince's death, and, aided by the rising genius of Akber, established the empire of the family of Taimur on the foundation which it has maintained, with more or less splendour, down to our own times.*

* Akbern. ff. 97-100.; Tab. Akb. ff. 168, 169. ; Tar. Niz. ff. 205, 206.; Tar. Bedáuni, ff. 191, 192.; Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. pp. 177-180. Humáyun had deeply studied the religious and mystical poetry of the Persians, to which his warm feelings, and lively imagination, gave him a natural partiality. This bias may account for an incident related by historians who are willing to believe that he had some supernatural presentiment of his death. They tell us that though, through life, he could not bear to hear death spoken of, and even forbad its being mentioned in his presence ; yet that, just before his last accident, he frequently started the subject himself, and took pleasure in listening to conversations upon it. He men-

tioned an occurrence that befel him at that time, and by which he was much affected. "I lately rose," said he, "after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired again to rest; when, just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses:

- " O Lord! of thine infinite goodness make me thine own:
- Make me a partaker of the knowledge of thy attributes:
- I am broken-hearted from the cares and sorrows of life;
- O call to thee thy poor madman (lover)! O grant me my release!"

He is said often afterwards to have repeated these mysterious lines with deep emotion, while the tears gushed from his eyes.

M M 4

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

ON THE STATE OF GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS IN KÁBUL AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES DURING THE REIGNS OF BÁBER AND HUMÁYUN.

As the course of events has brought us to the reign of Akber, when the Chaghatái government was finally established in India, and took a form which, with little change, it retained for nearly two centuries, it may be proper to take a slight review of the state of government and manners during the two preceding reigns in Kábul and the surrounding countries, where Báber and Humáyun spent most of their time. Though a space of more than fifty years, it was in general a period of war and confusion, leaving little leisure for any legislative efforts, or for the cultivation of the arts of peace.

Government and regal eti-quette.

The government was such as might be expected from a body of foreigners settling themselves by force, in a country, with the inhabitants of which they had no sympathy but that of a common religion, and was necessarily military. Everything was directed by the will of the King, who was surrounded by his Amírs and great officers. He was nominally absolute, as in all Asiatic states. His court exhibited, or affected, a great appearance of splendour, and had nearly the same establishment of officers that had existed under the powerful princes of Samarkand and Khorásán. We find the Master of the Household, Master of the Horse, Grand Huntsman, Master of Requests and Chamberlains, with body and night guards - besides all the officers of the harem and female apartments. The prince, whether in the capital or the camp, held daily levees-in the one case, in the Great Hall; in the other, in the Pavilion or Tent of Audience, at which the Amírs and men of note.

SET.

and all such as were desirous of favour and attention, presented themselves. The Sovereign generally sat at the further end on cushions, or, on more ceremonious occasions, on a throne placed on a platform raised some steps above the rest of the hall or tent; and the places to be occupied by his sons and brothers, by his near relations, by foreign ambassadors, by his Amírs, by men of saintly reputation, by men of letters, and by all the various classes of his subjects, were fixed by the Master of Ceremonies with a most scrupulous nicety, according to their supposed rank or importance. The upper classes were in general allowed to be seated; the inferior remained standing. All, on entering, made their obeisance to the prince; but such as were introduced for the first time, or after an absence from court, were attended by the Master of Ceremonies, made their obeisance, first at a considerable distance, and afterwards nearer to the throne, according to their supposed dignity. This obeisance, among all the greater Oriental nations, was originally the act of prostration before the Monarch, to which the Mongol tribe added the ceremony of beating the head upon the ground nine times; but this had been softened, in the course of time, and by the progress of civilisation, into a grave and respectful inclination of the body, and a slight kneeling or bending of the knee. The court etiquette was loaded with forms, which, in quiet times, were strictly observed. On some festivals, and on grand occasions, there were magnificent banquets. The feast consisted of many courses of numerous dishes of all kinds: soups, roast, pillau, sometimes of animals dressed entire (stuffed with almonds, raisins and currants, and smothered in rice), stews, meat and game of every sort, carved and sent about on trays, fruits, preserves and sweetmeats, with sherbet, but no wine - a forbidden enjoyment which was indulged only in private, but, where enjoyed, indulged in to excess. The attendants were often arrayed in rich and showy . dresses. During the dinner, the guests were entertained by music, vocal and instrumental, by wrestlers, posture makers and jugglers; rarely perhaps, if ever, at that period to the west of the Indus, by dancers. It was usual, on such grand occasions, to invest with khiláts those who had performed important public services, or whom it was meant to distinguish by the royal favour. These khiláts generally consisted of a dress of honour, sometimes made of rich stuffs, of satin, velvet, cloth of gold, or adorned with embroidery; sometimes even of dresses that had been worn by the Sovereign himself, with various additions according to circumstances; shawls, sabres of fine workmanship with enamelled hilts, often enriched with jewels and precious stones, daggers, coats of armour, horses, and, occasionally, sums of money.

The charm which the courts of happier countries derive from the presence of female society, was of course entirely wanting to that of Kábul. The ladies of every rank were kept strictly to private apartments, which were accessible only to females, and eunuchs, and, at times, to very near relations.

The court.

The court was composed chiefly of the Amírs and Begs, who held the different provinces and districts of the kingdom, and of the officers of state and of the household. Though the usual and official language was that of unreserved obedience to the prince, yet they formed a real check upon his power. The army which had effected the conquest was composed of many bodies of men of different races, who each followed a particular leader, generally the chief person of a tribe or family. They were all soldiers of fortune, and regarded themselves as entitled to their share in the success. Many of them had joined the King voluntarily with their tribe or followers, and considered themselves at liberty to withdraw, or to shift their allegiance, when displeased. By means of combinations among themselves, they were

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS.

even able, on occasion, to overpower the monarch, who found it convenient, and indeed necessary, to keep them in good humour. Much, therefore, depended on the talents of the Sovereign. But even the romantic bravery and generous temper of Báber were not always sufficient to keep within the limits of duty haughty and ambitious tribesmen, who set a high, sometimes an inordinate, value on their own services; and dangerous revolts and rebellions occurred under both him and his son. There existed no hereditary nobility except in the heads of tribes; all was personal, and proceeded from the monarch. And even the men of tribes, when they had left their wilds, and, for a series of years, had lived in towns, or followed their individual pursuits, scattered over the country, felt less connection with their chief, who was compelled to look to local influence of another description for the support of his consequence. The power possessed by the leader of the tribe was thus gradually exchanged for that of governor of a province. This change was, of course, extremely favourable to the royal authority. But, though nobility was not hereditary, it generally continued to run very much in the same families; for the sons of Amírs and officers of note were generally, early in life, introduced at court by their fathers, and gradually promoted to situations of trust and influence.

The information we possess concerning the state of state of the the provinces under the Kábul government is but scanty. They would seem to have been governed very much according to the form ascribed to the early feudal states. The leading men in the conquering army, or at court, were sent to the various provinces, attended by their old followers, and districts were assigned to them. Of the state of landed property we have few details. The former inhabitants were not expelled from their lands. The labour and skill of the peasant and farmer are necessary under every government; there were no

provinces.

capitalists who farmed on a large scale. Every village-had probably, as in Persia, a kilanter or head man, and some village counsellors, who afforded a certain degree of protection and succour. The person appointed to the jágír settled himself on the spot, took possession of the forts and public buildings, and placed his immediate retainers in offices of trust within his government; probably, at the same time, assigning to them some allotments of land. Through them, though rarely by them, he collected the rents, or, more properly speaking, a share of the produce of the lands, and the public taxes, the measure and extent of which were often much at his discretion. As all powers, military, civil, and criminal, were vested in his person, the comfort, or misery, of the inhabitants was in his power, and was essentially influenced by his character. The complaint of a despised boor did not easily reach the court, and, if it did, was not likely, except in cases of crying and flagrant injustice, to be much attended to: and woe to the unhappy wretch who made a complaint, and afterwards returned under the power of his oppressor! Every governor was like an absolute prince while his power lasted. His chief danger arose from intrigues at court, where he was constantly obliged, either by his personal presence or through his friends, to maintain his influence. He was liable to be removed at any time at the pleasure of the King. It is plain that this system exposed the inhabitants to great extortions, and was, in many ways, unfavourable to the prosperity and improvement of the country. The governor, who held his office by an uncertain, and probably a short tenure, was anxious to make the most of his time, and apt to regard the possessions and property of the governed merely as the means of enriching himself and his dependents. The hen was too often killed for the golden egg.

The army.

The army did not resemble that of European governments, divided into regular regiments and troops, with

fficers each commanding and exercising a certain number of men dressed in a national uniform and paid by the state. It was composed of the immediate followers of the King, and of those of the great chiefs, attached to them from various considerations of family, or hope, or gratitude; and of portions of the tribes, as the Aimáks, Moghuls, Hazáras, under their native chiefs. Almost every man of rank had retainers, who attached themselves to him to share his good fortune, and his consequence depended on their bravery and number. Every leader had his standard, which marked his rank, the highest being that of the túgh, a standard surmounted by the flowing tail of the mountain cow, an object of great ambition, and granted only to a few. Round these standards they marched to battle, and round them they rallied, if broken. They had no uniform dress. Each wore that of his tribe or country, or such as he fancied.

Besides these greater leaders, there were independent warriors (Ekkeha) who joined the service, either alone, or with a few followers, as volunteer soldiers of fortune, some of whom rose to eminence.

The fighting men were in general Tartars, chiefly belonging to Túrki tribes, or descended of tribesmen, with some Persians and Aimáks. They consisted almost entirely of cavalry. The old inhabitants of Kábul, whether of the cities or plains, seldom adopted the trade of arms, but remained shopkeepers or peasants. A Tájik is sometimes, but rarely, mentioned as engaged in war.

The army gradually changed its form in progress of time. When the first generation of conquerors died away, local levies became common, and regular bands of mercenaries were formed. The earlier troops, having little or no pay, depended for their support chiefly on plunder, and the leaders looked to the command of dis-



tricts. There was nothing like a standing force. The army was composed of local troops, with a few mercenaries raised on the spur of the occasion.

When the royal army took the field, it was generally arranged in three divisions; centre, right wing, and left; with an advanced guard and reserve, and some flying pickets around. The household troops were generally placed in the centre, and officers of expe-Their rience named to the command of each division. arms were the sabre and dagger, sometimes the bow and arrow, and the spear or mace. There were already some companies of matchlock-men in the army, who seem always to have been trained mercenaries. Cannon had also begun to be used; but they were heavy and unmanagable, used chiefly in sieges or in distant cannonades. Shir Shah seems to have been one of the first who brought them with effect into the field. In . regular battles, the guns were frequently connected together by chains, or ropes of bulls' hides, which served as breast-works, behind which archers and matchlockmen were placed, to prevent the irruption of cavalry between the guns, especially during the rather long intervals between the discharge and re-loading of the ponderous ordnance.

The fate of an action being generally decided by the sabre, plate and chain armour, and shields, were in use, with helmets, and sometimes chain-cloth coverings for the horse.

Fortresses.

Their fortresses derived their strength from their situation on steep hills or grounds difficult of access, and from the height and thickness of their walls. They were sometimes regularly attacked by sap and battery, sometimes by mines, and defended by countermines. Night surprises, however, and assaults by scaling-ladders, were the most common modes of attack. Sometimes blockade was resorted to, and lines of circumvallation drawn round the place. The country had few large cities ; Kábul, Kandahár, Large cities Ghazni and Pesháwer were the chief. The amount of their population is uncertain. The smaller towns and villages were numerous, as the peasantry did not live in scattered dwellings, but in villages surrounded by walls; as a refuge for themselves and their cattle, in case of any sudden attack, or against the rapacity of marauders. The larger towns were inhabited by tradesmen and artisans, merchants, shopkeepers, the guardians of mosques and religious foundations and their dependents, public and private teachers, and labourers. The streets were narrow and dirty; the exterior of the houses mean, any attempt at elegance being reserved for the interior. The houses of the more wealthy were built in one or more squares, opening within into a court or parterre surrounded by piazzas.

The principal buildings were the mosques and the tombs of the kings or holy men, and probably a few of the palaces of the kings. Some of the bazars were built at considerable expense, and with some elegance, and were frequently arched over, and closed at night by gates. There were also caravanserais, of which the large court within was surrounded by small apartments, usually with an upper story, and sometimes having a flat roof, in which merchants and traders could be accommodated, with their goods and cattle, on arriving from foreign parts.

The kingdom of Kábul was inhabited by many dif- Inhabitants. ferent races of men, and was composed chiefly of hill-country, with some rich plains. The greater part of the inhabitants of the hills were tribesmen, in a great measure independent and supported by their flocks. The peasantry and shepherds of the lowlands were in general Tájiks, the descendants of the old inhabitants of the country, and used the Persian tongue. They cultivated various grains, and reared some cattle, but



were much exposed to be plundered by the tribes of the surrounding hills.

Administration of justice. As to the administration of justice, there was, properly speaking, no regular court of justice in the country, except that of the Kázi could be considered as such, which, however, was confined to questions of marriage, dowry and others arising out of the Muhammedan law. The jágírdárs, and under them their collectors, and, in the royal domains, the collectors or other officers of government, decided in all questions, civil and criminal. There was little form. The parties appeared in person to state their own cases ; and inquiries followed, liable to much partiality and corruption. The lower officers could fine and inflict corporal punishment to a certain extent. The powers of life and death, and of inflicting larger fines, were reserved to the higher officers alone.

But while the officers of government administered equity, according to usage or their ideas of right (for laws of enactment, except those of the Koran, there were none), in the plains or what may be called the conquered country, the tribes that wandered over and pastured the large mountain tracts, or partially cultivated the richer valleys and cattle lands, were little visited by the Sovereign's officers, but maintained, in a great degree, their independence. They made some annual payments as tribute, and preserved their ancient usages and customs. Each had its acknowledged chief, and a council of the principal men of the leading families, who managed its affairs and decided controversies.

The most difficult cases were such as related to blood-feuds, which, however, were left to the revenge of the injured family, according to the principle of retaliation of the Muhammedan law; and when the price of blood could not be fixed, or was refused, the prosecution of private revenge frequently occasioned assassinations and feuds for several generations.

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The religion of the country west of the Indus was Religion the Musulman. This may be called the legal religion of the country, though, properly speaking, there was no establishment. The Muhammedans have no stateestablishment of their religion, which, however, they consider as the only true faith, and as not given to them only, but to the whole world. They have no order of priesthood; as in patriarchal times, every father of a family is its priest. Everywhere, indeed, mosques, often of great magnificence, have been built for public use, and endowed often with extensive lands for their support, and that of the servants of the mosque. But this has been done by private piety, and not by the state, which makes no general provision for the celebration of religious services, or the extension, or purity of religious instruction. Yet, in no country does religion present itself more to the eye of the observer, or seem more deeply and habitually to influence individuals of every rank. Every mosque has its guardian, generally some descendant of the founder. The faithful are daily summoned five times to prayer by the voice of the moizzin from the minaret of the mosque. Some Múlla, or man of sup-posed piety, acts as Péshnamáz, by reciting the stated prayers, the congregation repeating them along with, or after him, and carefully following him in all the bendings and humble prostrations which he makes at the proper parts of the service, towards the kibleh, which marks the position of Mekka. He is qualified for his office by no imposition of hands, or other ceremony, but owes the preference he enjoys, to his piety, the favour of the guardian of the foundation, or the silent adherence of the people. His office confers, or implies, no supernatural effusion of sanctity, or of spiritual gifts. He may quit his situ-ation at will, and return, like any other man, to the business of the world.

VOL. II.

Men of learning and piety.

I recollect no mention of any colleges founded in Kábul for the instruction of students in the sacred or profane sciences, though such were common, and often very magnificent, in Máwerannaher, in Khorásán and in India. But there were always men of learning and piety, who devoted themselves, as private guides, to the teaching of others; and when they acquired reputation, numbers flocked to them for the benefit of their lessons. The ordinary schools taught the pupils who frequented them, to read and write the Arabic and Persian languages, with something of accounts. Men often read the Koran in Arabic, and recited their prayers in the same tongue, without knowing one word of the meaning, but, in so doing, they performed a religious duty. The superior instructors devoted themselves to various employments, such as teaching the artificial mode of reading the Koran, with its sacred intonations, delivering lectures on its import, and expositions of the hidden or recondite meaning of its texts, and the mystical sense of its facts and doctrines. The various teachers and various schools, of course, took different views of God and nature, some leading to the wildest enthusiasm and bigotry, others to the humblest piety. The mystical tendency of their speculations, directed to the annihilation of self and the exaltation of the Deity, often ended with a long course of metaphysical meditations on the doctrine of the non-existence of matter, and the non-entity of everything, except the Divinity. One of the most remarkable of these schools is that of the Sufis, which seems to terminate in a refined philosophical deism or pantheism, yet has produced volumes of the most beautiful poetry. The disciples of these meditative schools, whom research and reflection had rendered tolerant, lived retired, and mixed little in the world. But the men destined for public life, who had studied only the Koran and its observances, with the traditions of the prophet, were distinguished above all others for their intolerant bigotry, and for their detestation and persecution of every other religion.

To some it may appear singular that of no religion are the followers more penetrated with a feeling of its truth and superiority to all others, or more distinguished for their inflexible adherence to it under every trial, than those of the Mahomedan, a religion which yet has no regular priesthood, and no state establishment. But, at the same time, it must be remembered, that, though it has no regular state establishment, it has innumerable foundations, and lands of greater or less extent belonging to mosques, tombs, colleges and religious institutions, and supporting great numbers of zealous and active dependents in every part of the country, and that the influence of the wandering mendicants and derwishes is very great. But still the real secret of this heart-felt adherence must be sought for in a different quarter, in something inherent in the doctrines and practical observances of the religion itself, which strike the imagination and affect the heart, joined to the narrow spirit of an exclusive sect, that looks with contempt and pity on every other, and breeds up every Musulman, even in his early days, to regard himself as a partizan, and a warrior of the faith.

But, even among Musulmans, there were differences of belief, and the grand division between Sunnis and Shías occasioned controversies, and persecutions and wars. The Sunnis adhered to the four first Khalifs, as the legal successors of Muhammed; while the Shías, regarding Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, as his lawful heir, considered the three first Khalifs as usurpers, and cursed them in the public prayers of their mosques, and often in their private orisons and ejaculations, as traitors. In early times, the inhabitants of Máwerannaher, Khorásán and Kábul, had followed the Sunni faith, which was still adhered to by the

NN 2

HISTORY OF INDIA.

natives of the kingdom of Kábul, some of the hill tribes excepted. The doctrines of the Shías were introduced from Arabia, and diffused chiefly in Persia, and by the Persian conquests in Khorásán and elsewhere. There were some Kizelbásh, or Persian Shías in Kábul. The hatred of the partizans of the two sects towards each other was often extreme.

Almost every man had his spiritual guide, whom he consulted in his difficulties and doubts, and by whom he was much influenced in his conduct. Men eminently distinguished for piety were supposed to be sometimes visited by gleams of divine light; and though the Mahomedans are unitarians of the strictest kind, admitting of no partner to God, yet such men were reverenced after death, and pilgrimages were made to their tombs.

Literature.

Kábul could not be said to have any native literature or science. It appropriated, and imitated, that of the Persians. The poems of Ferdausi, Háfez, Sádi, Jámi and the other great Persian poets, were familiar to every man of education. But though the country produced no great poet, many individuals, some of the highest rank, wrote agreeable verses, and a taste for poetry was fashionable with every class. The subjects were generally love and religion. One is sometimes surprised to see so much tenderness and respectful delicacy of feeling, flowing from the pen of sturdy warriors, and addressed to females, who were shut up, and guarded, as prisoners and slaves. But war, which calls out and exercises many of the higher parts of our nature, is not necessarily hostile to the gentler affections, and, in every situation of life, nature vindicates her rights. This was the age of the great historians, Mír Khwánd and Khwand Amír, who wrote chiefly in Khorasan; but, except Báber's own Commentaries, we know of no historical work produced in Kábul.

Sciences.

The sciences, like the literature, of Kábul were bor-

rowed from those of the Arabs and Persians, but little proficiency and no improvement was made in them. Some few studied mathematics and astronomy chiefly as subservient to astrology, in which all were believers; and the marches of armies, and the movements of kings were directed by the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies. No journey or march was undertaken, no great work begun, but at the hour fixed by the astrologer.

Their medicine, where it was not empirical, they borrowed from the Arabs; and they, probably from constant experience, possessed considerable knowledge in the treatment of wounds.

Of their architecture we learn little. It was probably Architecborrowed from Herát and Samarkand. Some of the tombs still remaining are said to possess considerable elegance. The times were too turbulent to admit of attempting many of the works of peace: and means were not found to restore even the noble reservoirs and water-courses, constructed in earlier times for irrigating and enriching the country, but which had fallen into decay.

To estimate the condition of morals, and the degree state of of happiness or comfort existing in such a state of morals. society, is never an easy task. The practice of polygamy, accompanied, as a necessary consequence, by the seclusion of women, and the existence of slavery, which are common to all Musulman countries, have always a powerful and demoralizing influence on manners. But the plurality of wives and concubines is nearly confined to the upper ranks, and the more wealthy; and though the evil consequences of the practice are felt, in the undue importance and the prominence given to the sensual passions, in the debasing effects of jealousy and mistrust on the character, in the mischief of entrusting the education of the rising generation, the young of both sexes, to the nurture of women, totally strangers to the business and the virtues of active life; and in



addition to this, in the endless discords and enmities, which the claims of rival mothers introduce into the bosom of families; yet, being avowed and sanctioned by the law, it is attended with none of that degradation of feeling and character that attends the pursuit of promiscuous debauchery, or of unlawful concubinage, when the sense of duty is overpowered by the influence of a passion acknowledged to be guilty, and the indulgence is pursued with the feelings of a criminal, who is conscious that he is breaking the law. The connection of wife and concubine are equally lawful, and alike recognized by the Musulman religion, and the issue of both have their shares in the succession. The practice of slavery appears to have been confined to domestic slavery, a condition, in the East, in which the slave is generally treated as a favoured and confidential servant, often as a child of the family. We find no traces of agricultural servitude. The lower ranks seem all to have been free. Their wives were more fortunate than those of their superiors, since their duties required them to move about, and probably sometimes to assist in field-labour.

Condition of the higher ranks, The higher ranks, who lived in the possession of comparative wealth and plenty, seem to have had the usual and almost necessary virtues of their station bravery and liberality towards the dependents and followers who formed their strength. They were generally hardy, and with some skill in war, which was their trade, but was practised rather in the way of foray and skirmish than of regular tactics. Having the virtues and the vices of adventurers, they were not uniformly steady in their allegiance and fidelity to their Sovereign; their adherence to whom they considered as a matter to be regulated by considerations of mutual convenience, in which they were too often directed by notions of mere temporary expediency. Some of them we have seen were men of talent and generosity, and

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS.

many had some taste for liberal studies, and delighted in the Persian and Túrki poets and moralists.

The great body of the inhabitants, agricultural and pas- and of the toral, were probably a good deal oppressed. The exactions of government, joined to the constant march and devastation of armies, and the plundering incursions of the hill tribes, must have left them little that they could call their own. There was indeed, generally, some castle, or walled town, to which they could, in such cases, retire. But they were, nevertheless, often taken by surprise, when their families and cattle, and hoards of grain were liable to be carried away, and their standing corn trampled down, or consumed by the horses of the invaders. But, even in the most unfavourable circumstances, there is an elasticity and spring in the human mind, that long resist the pressure of the heaviest calamity. Oppression is never, indeed, directly favourable to the moral habits. Where force cannot be opposed to it, it calls up artifice and cunning. But it also sometimes calls up the nobler passions. The bonds of union between the members of communities and the members of families, are drawn closer by their sufferings, and by their exertions to avert them. The generous affections are brought actively into play; united efforts are made to oppose the common enemy; great sacrifices are submitted to for the sake of one another; the disinterested and domestic affections daily gain strength in the midst of suffering, and through the very agency of suffering. Men become more affectionate parents, more attached children and friends, and better members of the little community. There are little numberless pleasures that the eye of oppression cannot detect, or its hand interrupt. History in general gives little information as to the daily employment, and feelings of the great body. of the lower classes, but, in this instance, what little can be gleaned, is not unfavourable.

55

HISTORY OF INDIA.

These remarks of course apply chiefly to the inhabitants of the plains; the inhabitants of the hills and mountains preserved their old independence unchanged.

Revenue.

As to the revenue, its extent and nature, we know little. The principal was probably a land-tax, which from the mountaineers was levied in the form of tribute. Báber informs us that the revenue of Kábul from both these sources was only eight laks of Sháhrukhis, or about 33,3331. 6s. 8d. In addition to this, there were the tumgha, or custom duties, on all cattle, sheep and other articles brought into the country, and probably some transit duties and shop duties. There were, besides, the péshkeshes, and other offerings made to the prince on festivals and other great occasions. These consisted in money, horses, rich cloths and other rarities; and, though part of them went out again in the form of khilats and gratifications to favourite servants, the surplus in the king's favour was probably considerable. At the same time the revenue of Kabul was never great. Báber, soon after he conquered Kábul, levied on Kábul and another district, a contribution of thirty thousand loads of grain (kharwar) to distribute among the tribes who had accompanied. him in his conquest, but the burden was found to be too great, he tells us, and the country suffered extremely.

Absence of free institutions. The fixed and stationary condition of all large Asiatic kingdoms, which, from the first traces of history to the latest times, exhibit only the purely despotic form of government, has naturally excited the attention of all readers of history. No progress seems ever to have been made towards free or liberal institutions, or if any liberal laws or regulations were made under a good or great monarch, they totally disappear in the reign of his successor. Nothing is stable, but the absolute will of the sovereign. The great difficulty of obtaining anything like free or permanent institutions lies in this very

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS.

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absolute power, and in the great extent of the kingdom. In a small district of hill country, separated by natural limits from other similar or different districts, the whole, or a great proportion, of the inhabitants can meet and confer about their concerns. They can agree about the acquisition of certain benefits, or the removal of certain wrongs, which affect them as a body. They can appoint the most powerful or popular man among them to watch over their rights, with certain powers conferred for what they conceive to be the general benefit. If no powerful chief or king is near, who has strength enough to subdue them, they may, for a greater or less time, preserve a certain degree of selfgovernment. The same is the case in towns, especially in commercial or trading towns. Their common interest and the direction of men of substance, of experience and knowledge, draw and knit them together. They engage in fraternities; every trade, or craft, or profession, forms unions, and draws together numerous bodies, who work for their own, or the common good, and, in process of time, acquire a corporation-spirit, that makes them ready to do and suffer much for a common cause. From governing their own little society, they acquire the habits that fit them for taking a share in the government of the town. Something of a representative constitution is the consequence. Their wealth enables them to fortify their town, and, in a country where many such towns exist, they can command troops, can employ their wealth, and form leagues or combinations, so as even to be a check upon the government, or to attain independence. Such were the free towns of Italy, of the Low Countries, and of Germany. In England, the towns, after obtaining the right of governing themselves, by joining with the crown or the great barons, became an important part of the political system. It is only by checks that any authority can be limited, and institutions are necessary

to support and maintain these checks. Thus, in Eng-land, the power of the nobles never could have been brought as an effective check upon the power of the king, had they not been of hereditary rank, and accustomed to meet together in parliament and elsewhere, as a recognized body; in a word, to consider themselves as a political corporation, having rights. They might, otherwise, have formed combinations and leagues, and engaged in rebellions and commotions; but these, if successful, would have terminated to the advantage of one or two of the chief leaders, not of the nobles as a body opposed to the king. Their rank, being here-ditary, gave them both permanence and cohesion, and enabled them to act in concert for the common interest. But in the East, nobility is only personal. Except where there are tribes, the personal influence of any individual is small. The nobles hold no assemblies as a separate body, and have no duties to perform as such. They cannot, therefore, combine or act in union, but by rebellion. There are no public institutions (not religious), in which they, or any other subjects of the state, meet for deliberation on ministerial or any other public purposes; no county meetings, no boards of justices, no juries, no town meetings. The means of combining, or of coming to a common understanding, are, therefore, limited. Absolute princes never favour the growth of privileges to nobles, or cities, or districts; they are more willing to destroy these rights. They centralize every thing, and make every thing depend on their own will and pleasure. Thus, were a movement to take place, even for the most beneficial objects, no hereditary leader can be found, no political body to assist, no permanent institution to give security to the object if attained. It is a rebellion which, if successful for the moment, falls away of itself, like a house built on and, and leaves not a trace behind. Thus such despotic governments do not afford the fulcrum to sup-



port the political lever, and the force is applied in vain. Inferior, internal political institutions, scattered over the country, or means of consultation and combination among powerful hereditary chiefs, are necessary, as checks to absolute power. They cannot long exist, without bringing a considerable degree of freedom in their train. Counties, and the public meetings they produce, towns, parishes, corporations, and, at a later period, courts of law and juries, are the great elements of liberty when the public meetings they of liberty. They bring men together, make them reason, and accustom them to act with foresight, with moderation, and in concert. The Mahomedan governments of the East have only two checks, the dangerous one of rebellion — and the power of religion and popular opinion, or custom, represented, sometimes successfully, sometimes without effect, by the Ulema, the heads of the religion and law. But revolution produces a change of governors, not of government. Any effectual change must go deeper, and begin with the fundamental elements of civil and political society. Yet, now that the Janissaries are gone, the Ulema is perhaps the nearest approach to a corporation of any body in Turkey.

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INDEX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

Abás Sultan, marries Humáyun's sister, 369. Leaves his camp, 369. Ab-Bárán, 380.

- Abdal-aziz, son of Obeid Khan, hurries
 - to Herát to support his father, 100 Marches to the relief of the Uzbeks, in Bálkh, 373.
 - Abdal Ghafúr (Mír Mál), sent on a mission to Yádgár, 228.
 - Abdal Hai (Mír), his conduct to Humáyun in the Germsír, 272. Surrenders to Humáyun, 304. Brings him intelligence of the death of Mírza Hindal, 402.
 - Abdal Khálik, advises Kámrán to conciliate Suleimán Mírza, 313.
 - Abdal Makri, his party expelled from Kashmír, 365. Applies for aid to Kámrán and Humáyun, 365.
 - Abdal Reshíd Khan, son of Sulta d Khan, of Káshghar, sends an embassy to Humáyun, 364. Receives from Humáyun an account of his conduct towards Kámrán, 421.
 - Abdal Simd (Khwája), deserts Kámrán, 891.
 - Abdal Wáháb, his mission to Sind, 265. Protects Humáyun in his flight from the rout of Kipchák, 383. At the battle of Shutergerden, 392. His death at Jirbár, 402.
 - Abdalla (Kázi), his mission to Shír Shah, 200. Taken by the Mírzas, 207.
 - Abdalla Khan, driven from Nousári, 82.
 - Abdalla Moghul (Mírza), engaged in the defence of Talixan, 355. Encourages Kámrán to return to his brother, 356. Escapes from the rout at Rostak, 373.
 - Abdalla Niázi (Sheikh), a leader of the Mehdevis, 476. His humility and fervour, 478.

- Abdalla Sultan, son of Sekander Sultan, defeated at Bálkh, 372.
- Abdalla Sultánpúri (Múlla), declares Sheikh Alái guilty of heresy, 480.
- Abdereh Pass, (the) Humáyun's passage through, 337.
- Abul Baká (Mír), prevails on Kámrán to give way to his brother, 206. Brings back Hindal and Yádgár to Humáyun, 207. His mission to Yádgár, 221. His death, 222.
- Abulfazl, his remarks on the conduct of Maldeo, 242. His account of Humáyun's treatment in Persia, 280.
- Abul Hasan (Mír), sent to detain Humáyun, 270.
- Abul Kásim (Mírza), son of Kámrán, sent to Akber on Humáyun's death, 529.
- Abul Kásim Beg, Governor of Guáliár, surrenders it to Shír Shah, 429. His devoted friendship to Biram Khan, 259. Is put to death, 259.
- Abulkhair, proposes to seize Humáyun, 267.
- Abul-Maali, his descent and character, 401. Shoots one of Humáyun's refractory leaders, 420. Defeats a large body of Afgháns near Dibálpúr, 512. His bravery and conduct at the battle of Sirhend, 518. Slays Shir Ali Khan, 518. Left at Jalin-Obtains the government dher, 520. of the Penjáb, 520. His arrogance and misconduct, 523. / Is superseded by Akber, and nominated to Hissar Firúza, 524. His insolence to Akber, 526.
- Abusaid Khan, son of Kuchum Khan, (Grand Khan,) disapproves of the war with Persis, 99.
- Abyssinian slaves in the army of Behåder Shah, 82.
- Achi Chak (Malek), Governor of Kash-



- mír, takes refuge with Shír Shab, 366. Enters Kashmír, and is routed, 366.
- Adam Gaker (Sultan), his embassy to Humáyun, 407. Offers to give up Kámrán Mírza, 407. 410. Waits upon Humáyun, 411. Receives Píraneh and his country, 419. Refuses to submit to Shír Shah, 425. Makes peace with Islám Shah, 466.
- Adel Khan, eldest son of Shir Shah, mediates between Shir Shah and Puran-Mal, 484. His weakness and profligacy, 448. He is passed over in the succession to the throne, 448. Meets his brother Islam, 449. Failure of Islám's scheme for seizing him, 450. His formal submission to Islám, 450. He retires to Biána, 451. Further attempt to seize him, 451. He flies to Khowás Khan, in Mewát, 451. Is joined by some of the chief amírs, 451. They march on Agra, 451. Are defeated, 453. Adel flies and disappears, 453, 454.
- Adeli. See Muhammed Shah Adel Shah. Afghánistán, state of, during Humáyun's residence in Sind, 264.
- Afghans, their formidable power in India, 4. Humáyun's campaign against those of Behar, 15. Their defeat by him at the battle of Doura, 10. 134. Those under Shir Shah defeat Humáyun at the battle of Kanáuj, 189. They pursue him across the Satlej, Their supremacy in India re-197. stored under Shir Shah, 210, 211. The Khalil and Mehmend Afgháns join Kámrán, 397. The different tribes submit to Humáyun, 400. They attack his camp under Kamran, 402. Are surprised and defeated by Humáyun, 406. Their country in Bangash wasted, 406. Those of Delhi assemble in great force in the Penjáb, 420. Subversion of their dynasty in Hindustán, 503. Remarks on the dynasty, and account of the five competitors for the throne, at the time of Humáyun's restoration, Defeated at the battles of 504. Máchíwára and Sirhend, 515. 517.
- Aghziwár Khan, Amír-al-omra of Khorásán, 101. Defeated and put to death in Kandahár, 102.
- Agra, Humáyun ascends the throne at, 2. Committed to the charge of Mir Muhammed Bakhshi, 139. Occupied by Shir Sheh, 196. Battle of, 453. Reoccupied by Himú Bakál, 503. Surrendered to Humáyun, 520.

- Ahmed, father of the historian Nizámed-dín, his skirmish with the troops of Maldeo, 245.
- Ahmed Lád (Malek), causes a night attack on Humáyun's camp, 61.
- Ahmed Khan Súr, governor of the Revolts from Adeli, Penjáb, 495. Assumes the title of Sekander 495. Shah, or Sultan Sekander, 495. Defeats Ibráhím Khan at Farra, 496. Occupies Agra and Delhi, 497. 514. Is declared Emperor by the Afghán nobles, 497. Dispatches Tátár Khan and Haibat Khan against Humáyun's advance, 498. 514. Who are defeated by Biram Khan at Máchíwára, 499. 516. Marches with a large force for the Penjáb, 499. 516. Defeated by Humáyun at Sirhend, 499. 517. His flight, 499. 518. Invades the Penjáb, 524. Expelled by Akber, 526.
- Ahmed Shah, son of Muhammed Shah, of Malwa, 30. Carried off by Sultan Ibráhím, 30. Placed in Chándéri by Báber, 34.
- Ahmed Shah, King of Gujrát, the founder of Ahmedábád, his power, 20.
- Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, Governor of Sístán, his hospitality to Humáyun, 275. Ordered to co-operate with him, 294.
- Ahmed Túrkomán (Mír), invites Shír Shah to Chunár, 192.
- Ahmedábád, foundation of, 20. Its splendour, 21. 77. Occupied by Imádul-múlk, 74. Surrendered to Humáyun, 76. Committed to Askeri Mírza, 77. Abandoned by him, 84.
- Ahmednagar, Behåder Shah acknowledged as King of, 38.
- Aimáks (the), plunder Kerácha Khan, 348. They entertain Humáyun, 384.
- Akber, son of Humáyun, his birth in the castle of Amerkot, 254. Left behind in the flight from Shál-Mustung, 269. Taken by Askeri to Kandahár, 270. Removed to Kábul, 304. Placed under the care of 304. Khanzáda Begum, 305. Removed to the charge of Kuch Kilán, 313. Removed from the care of Mir Atka. Exposed by Kámrán on the 336. walls of Kábul during the siege, 343. Left in nominal charge of Kábul, 380. A third time prisoner in the hands of Kámrán, 386. Restored to his father, Receives the jágír of Chirkh 395. in Logher, 394. Co-operates with Humayun in laying waste Bangash,



406. Defeats and puts to death Himá Bakál, 508. Appointed to Hissár Firáza, 520. Appointed to the Penjáb, 524. Expels Sekander Shah, 526. Expresses sent to inform him of his father's death, 528. The prayer for the Emperor recited in his name, 529. Has three formidable competitors for the throne of Delhi, 529.

- Ak Sultan, Governor of Ghazni, joins Humáyun, 323. Commands Kámrán's advance at the Dera Kipchák, 381. Commands Kámrán's left at the battle of Shutergerden, 392.
- Alá-ed-dín, or Alim, Lodi (Sultan), escapes from Kila Zefer to Gujrát, 41. Puts forward his pretensions to the throne of Delhi, 44. Leads a force to Kalinger, 44. His army retreats, 46.
- Alái (Sheikh), leader of the Mehdevis, account of him and his sect, 475-482.
- Aláma Taklu, his rebellion against Shah Ismael, 99. Quelled, 100.
- Alem Khan, discovers Behåder Shah's treasure at Champanír, 66, note.
- Aleng Kazan, Humáyun encamps there, 354.
- Ali (Mir Syed), his congratulatory embassy to Humáyun, 326. Receives the government of Duki, 327.
- Ali (Sheikh), proposes to surprise Deráwal, 239.
- Ali Akber Jámi (Sheikh), bis daughter married to Humáyun, 220.
- Ali Bakhshi (Sultan), Humáyun's paymaster, brings instructions for blinding Kámrán, 413.
- Ali Beg Jeláir (Sheikh), offers to surprise Shah Husein, 225. His skirmish with Maldeo's troops, 245. Defeats Jáni Beg, 256. Commands a detachment against Shah Husein, 260. Is defeated and slain, 261.
- Ali Dost, refuses to blind Kámrán, 413. Ali Kuli Korchi, attends Kámrán on
- his flight from Kabul, 345.
- Ali Kuli Sistáni, despatched to reduce Miratand Sambhal, 520. Puts Kamber Diwána to death, 520.
- Ali Penjshíri (Malek), assists Mírza Ibráhím of Badakhshán, 353. Defeats Temir Shagháli, 353.
- Ali Reza (Imám), his tomb visited by Humáyun, 297.
- Ali Sultan Taklu, his death before Bist, 304.
- Alíka Arghún (Mír), his defence of Schwán, 224.
- Alim Khan (Sultan). See Alim Khan Jigat,

- Alim Khan Jilál Khan Jigat, acquires Ráisen, Bhílsa and Chándéri, 37. Joins Beháder Shah, 51. Is mutilated by Humáyun, 58.
- Alim Lodi. See Alá-ed-dín Lodi.
- Alla-dost (Mír), his mission to Sind, 265.
- Alwar. See Mewát.
- Ambála, battle of, 458.
- Amber (Khwája), recaptures Askeri Mírza 321.
- Amerkot, Humáyun hospitably received there, 249. His stay there, 252. Birth of Akber there, 254.
- Anderáb, battle of, 303. Placed under Hindal, 332. Abandoned by Kámrán, 353. Given to Terdi Beg, 509. Besieged by Suleimán Mírza, 522.
- Anka Arghún (Mír), his mission from Shah Husein to Humáyun, 213.
- Arab Mekki (Mír), mediates between Kámrán and Humáyun, 356.
- Artillery, that of Behåder Shah under Rúmi Khan, 49. That of Humáyun at the battle of Kanáuj, 185.
- Aru, Humáyun's encampment at, 237.
- Army (the) of Báber and Humáyun described, 540.
- Asír, fort of, 79.
- Askeri Mírza, son of Báber, appointed to the government of Sambhal, 6. Commands the advanced guard in Gujrát, 75. Is surprised, 75. Defeats the Guzrátis, 76. Made Governor of Ahmedábád, 76; and Viceroy, 77. His arrogance, 83. Encamps at Sirganj, 84. Advised by Hindú Beg to declare himself independent, 85. Declines, but afterwards consents, 85. Retreats from Ahme-dábád, 85. Is pursued by Beháder Shah, 86. Reaches Champanír, 86. Is refused admittance there by Terdi Beg, 87. Marchestowards Agra, 88. Submits to Humáyun, 88. Accompanies Humáyun against Shír Shah, 139. His disgraceful stipulation, as the reward for assisting Humáyun, 154. Forces the passes into Behar, 155. Commands the right at the battle of Kanáuj, 190. Joins Humáyun in his flight, 192. His quarrel with Yadgar, 192. Leaves Delhi to proceed to Meets his three Sambhal, 195. brothers at Lahúr, 197. Receives the government of Ghazni from Kamrán, 264; and that of Kandahár, 265. His hostile preparations on the approach of Humáyun, 266. He advances to take him, 267. Arrives at Shil-Mustung, 270. Captures Ak-

er, 270. Besieged in Kandahar by Surrenders to the Humáyun, 306. Disclosure of his Emperor, 311. treasonable designs, 312. Imprisoned, Recaptured, Escapes, 321. 312. Committed to the custody of 321. Nadím Kokiltash, 321. Released, Appointed to the government 358. of Karatigin, 360. Left in charge of Kuláb, 377. Defeated by Chaker Joins Kámrán, 378. Ali Beg, 378. Flies from the route at Rostak, 378. Appointed by Kamrán to the government of Jelálábád, 387. Taken prisoner by Humáyun at the battle of Shutergerden, 393. Sent a prisoner to Badakhshán, 397. Dies between Mekka and Damascus, 397.

- Asof Khan, left with the Gujrát troops at Mándu, 32. Slain in battle, 33.
- Astáneh, Humáyun surprised at, 371.

Asterábád, overrun by the Uzbeks, 99.

- Astrology in the East, 135, note.
- Atkeh Khan, or Mir Atka. See Shemsed-din Muhammed Ghaznevi.

Aulía (Shah), shrine of, S71.

- Azerbáiján, rebellion in, 99.
- Azím Humáyun. See Haibat Khan Niázi.
- Bába Beg Jiláir, defends Juánpúr, 151, 152. Is slain, 171.
- Bába Jujkeh, his expedition to Kashmír, 203.
- Bába Kuli, an officer of Shah Husein, his negotiation with Yádgár Mírza, 227. His Mission to Humáyun, 262.
- Bába Saíd, aids Kámrán in his escape from Selím Shah, 409.
- Babái of Kuláb, wounds Humáyun, 382.
- Baban, or Biban, Khan Jilwáni, supports Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, 9. Preferred in command of his army to
- Shír Khan, 133. Babek Beg, Humáyun's mehmándar in Persia, 282.
- Báber, his invasion of Malwa, 34. Occupies Behár, 131.
- Báberlú, garden of, Humáyun resides at, 214.
- Badakhshán, the kingdom of, confirmed to Suleimán Mírza, 6. Invaded by Kámrán, 265. 302. Submits to him, 303. Kásim Birlás, appointed Governorj. 03. Itsaffairs under Kámrán, 313. Suleimán restored to the government, 313. Taken by Humáyun, 329. Given to Hindal Mírza, 330. Restored to Mírza Suleimán, 332.
- Badeh Tyeb Dánishmend (Sheikh), his fetwa against Sheikh Alái, 481.

Bagh (Khwája), surrenders the fort of Eibek to Humáyun, 370. Set at large, 376.

Baiké Begum, 153.

- Bakhshi-bánu Begum, daughter of Humáyun, removed from Kandahár to Kábul, 805. Betrothed to Mírza Ibráhím, 394.
- Bakhshui Langa, of Uch, receives the title of Khan Jehán, 208. Furnishes Humáyun with supplies, 208. Offers obstructions to the progress of Humáyun, 238.
- Baklán, or Bághlán, taken by Kámrán, 347. Humáyun arrives there, 370.
- Balkh, in possession of the Uzbeks, 368. Expedition of Humáyun against, 368.
- Baltu Khan, his quarrel with Khwája Moazem Sultan, 513.
- Balúches, their merciless robberies, 266. Their detention of Humáyun in the desert, 271. Their settlement in the Penjáb, 424.
- Bámián, government of, given to Shírefken, 331.
- Bangash, given to Hindál, 400. Laid waste by Humáyun, 406.
- Bápus Beg, chief minister of Kámrán, 313. Is appointed Atálík to his son-in-law, 323. Pardoned by Humáyun, 323. Joins his camp, 324. His wife dishonoured, and his chil dren murdered by Kámrán, 342. Deserts from Humáyun to Kámrán, 351. Forgiven by Hamáyun, 357. Appointed by Kámrán to Talikán, 377.
- Baróda, under Dost Beg Ishekágha, 77.
- Barúch, under Kásim Husein, 77. Taken by the partizans of Beháder Shah, 82.
- Basant Rái, title of Hímú Bakál, 491.
- Bayezid, his account of the rout of the Dera-Gez, 374.
- Bayerid Khan Fermuli, preferred to Shir Shah in the command of Sultan Mahmúd's army, 133.
- Bayezid (Sheikh), supports Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, 9. Slain at the battle of Doura, 10.
- Báz Beháder (Sultan), King of Malwa, his skill in music, 504. Succeeds his father, 505.
- Bedáun, conquered by Kamber Diwána, 520.
- Behåder (Sultan). See Khizer Khan.
- Behåder Khan Sistáni, appointed to Zemín-dáwer, 509.
- Behåder Shah, ascends the throne of Gujrát, 21. 33. Invades Malwa, and takes Chándéri, 34. Again invades Malwa, and takes Mándu, 35. De-

thrones Sultan Mahmud, and pro. claims himself King of Malwa, 35. Seizes Siláh-ed-dín, 36. His further successes, 38. His power in Gujrát, 5. Alarms Humáyun by his progress in Malwa and Nagor, 11. Sends an embassy to Humáyun, 12. Receives Muhammed Zemán Mírza, 13. Besieges Cheitúr, 14. 41. Retires on receiving large presents, 15. 41. Forms a league against Humáyun, 41. Anecdote of his magnificence, 42, note. Assists the Lodis, 44. Again besieges Cheitúr, 45. Storms and sacks the city, 48. Encamps at Mandsúr, 49. Entrenches his camp, 50. His troops disheartened, 51. Joined by Sultan Alim of Kalpi, 51. Distress in his camp, 52. His flight, 53. He reaches Mándu, 54. Makes overtures to Humáyun, 55. Surprised in Mándu, 56. Escapes to Champanír, 56. Flies to Cambay, 60. Burns his fleet, 60. Flies to Diu, 60. 72. Negotiates with the Portuguese, 73. 81. Deputes Imádul-mulk to collect the revenues of Gujrát, 74. Reaction in Gujrát in his favour, 81. Joins his troops at Patan, 83. Pursues the imperial forces, 86. Occupies Champanír and recovers all Gujrát, 88. Returns to Diu, 91. His transactions with the Portuguese, 91. His death, 92, 93. His character, 94, note. His alleged reappearance, 96. His mother and nobles retire to Ahmedábád, 96. His

- immediate successors, 96. Behár, overrun by Shír Shah, 89. Invaded by Nazret Shah, 126. Seized by Sultan Mahmúd, 129; who is expelled by Báber, 180. Reoccupied by Shír Shah, 151.
- Behar Khan Lohani. See Sultan Muhammed.
- Behár Khan Sirwáni, converted to the sect of the Mehdevis, 481. Deserts Adeli, 494.
- Behbúd Chobdár, 245.
- Behrám Mírza, brother of Tahmasp, appointed viceroy of Khorásán, 99. His presents to Humáyun, 283. His enmity to him, 290.
- Behsúd, Humáyun's winter encampment at, 405.
- Bekasi (Múlla), personates Humáyun on his death, 528.
- Bekrám (now Pesháwer), rebuilt by Humáyun, 420.
- Belgrám, the capital of Muhammed Sultan Mírza, 89. Taken by Hindal, 90. VOL. II.

Benáres, besieged and taken by Shír Shah, 151.

- Bend-kusha, Humáyun's staythere, 359. Bengal, invaded and reduced by Shír Shah, 136. 142. Submits to Humáyun, 149. The government assumed by Khizer Khan Sirwáni, 428. Placed under the Amín Kázi Fazílat, 428.
- Berár, kingdom of, attacked by the Kings of Beder and Ahmednagar, 38; who are driven out by Beháder Shah, 38.
- Bhatta, the Raja of, defeats Sultan Ibráhím, 501.
- Bheker, city and fortress of, 209. Besieged by Humáyun, 218. Description of it, 226. Progress of the siege, 226. The siege raised, 229.
- Bhílsa, reduced by Sultan Mahmúd, 22. Assigned to Muhammed Shah, 29. Given to Siláb-ed-dín, 30. Given to Alem Khan Jigat, 37.
- Bhíra, Shír Shah's stay there, 424.
- Bhopal Rai, chief of Bijagar, occupies Mándu, 90.
- Bhopat Rai, son of Siláh-ed-dín of Bhílsa, 87. Escapes with Beháder Shah, 56. Recovers Ráisen and Chándéri, 429.
- Bhúl, or Behlúl (Sheikh), notice of him, 162. Sent on a mission to Hindal, 150. 162. Is put to death by Hindal, 152. 163.
- Biána, fortress of, 13. Pays tribute to Mahmúd Khilji, 22. Seized and ravaged by Tátár Khan Lodi, 45. Recovered by Humáyun, 46. Besieged by Muhammed Shah, 449, Sieg2 raised, 500. Reduced by Haider Muhammed Khan, 521.
- Bíbí Dúdú, her management of affairs in Behár, 125.
- Bidágh Khan Kajar, surrenders Kandahár to Kámrán, 106. Appointed Atálík of Sultan Murád Mírza, 294. Claims Kandahár for the King of Persia, 312. Dispossessed of Kandahár, 320.
- Bidágh (Shah), taken prisoner by the Uzbeks, 376.
- Bikermájít, (Rana) of Cheitúr, succeeds his brother Ruttonsi, 40.
 Besieged in Cheitúr by Behader Shah, 40.
 Purchases a peace, 15–41.
- Biram Khan, sent to clear the passes between Behár and Bengal, 145. Fails, 146. Joins the imperial camp at Jún, 258. Sketch of his history since the battle of Kanáuj, 258. Accompanies Humáyun to Persia, 281. Sent as envoy to Shah Tahmasp, 281.

00

562

The Shah's treatment of him, 281. Honoured by the Shah with the title of Khan, 288. Defeats Rafia, 307. Sent as ambassador to Kábul, 307. Returns to Humávun, 308. Appointed governor of Kandahár, 320. Assists in expelling Kámrán from Zemín-dáwer, 335. Visits Háji Muhammed at Ghazni, 398. Pre-Visits Háji vails on him to accompany him to Kábul, 399. Induces him to return when he had withdrawn, 399. Is honoured with the title of Khan Khánán, 399. Ordered to pursue Khanan, 399. Ordered to pursue Kámrán, 399. Returns to Kandahár, 400. Is suspected by Humáyun, 507. Entertains him with magnificence, 507. Joins him at Kábul, 509. Sent against Nasib Khan, 511. Takes Harhána, 512. Passes the Satlej, 514. Gains the battle of Máchíwára, 499. 515. Honoured with the title of Khan Khánán Yár Vafádár, 516. Reinforced and joined by Humáyun, 516. Battle of Sirhend, 499. 517. Sirhend bestowed on him, 520. Appointed Atálík to Akber in the Penjáb, 524. Receives the account of Humáyun's death, 526.

- Birkeh (Mír Syed), his message to Hindal, 322. He supports the wounded Emperor in his flight from Dera Kipchák, 383. Appointed to the government of Kunduz, 400.
- Birlás (Mírza Beg), surrenders to Humáyun, 329.
- Bist, besieged and surrenders to Humayun, 304.
- Blinding, modes of, 13.
- Bochak Beháder (Mír), appointed to Mahmúdábád, 77.
- Bohjat Khan, of Chándéri, forms a confederacy against Medíni Rai, 27. Withdraws from the camp of the confederates, 29. Again joins them, and concludes a peace with Sultan Mahmúd, 29.
- Bombay, included in the kingdom of Gujrát, 20.
- Bostám, overrun by the Uzbeks, 99.
- Búndi, conquered by Mahmúd Khilji, 22.
- Búranpúr, Humáyun's stay there, 99.
- Burhán-el-mulk Sistáni, operates against Humávun, 45.
- Burhán Nizám Shah, King of Ahmednagar, acknowledges Beháder Shah as King of Ahmednagar, 38. Offers to assist Humáyun, 139.
- Burnes, Sir A., his description of Rohri, 226.

- Cambay, its commerce, 21. Behåder Shah burns his fleet there, 60. Pillaged by Humáyun, 62. Under Dost Beg Ishekágha, 77. Recovered for Behåder Shah by Shitáb Khan, 83.
- Cháchkán, its geographical position, 217, note. Character of the country and of its inhabitants, 218.
- Chak, family of, in Kashmír, 364.
- Chaker Ali Beg Kulábi, or Chaker Khan, joins Humáyun against Talikán, 356. Appointed Amir-ulomra to Kámrán Mírza, 360. Expelled by Kámrán from Kuláb, 376. Plunders Kuláb, 378.
- Champanír, Raja of, tributary to Ahmed Shah of Gujrát, 20. His power, 20. Fortress of, taken by Mahmúd Shah Bigara, 20. Description of it, 62, 63. Captured by escalade, 64. Massacre of the garrison, 66. Immense booty, 66. Retaken by Beháder Shah, 88.
- Chand Khan, brother of Behåder Shah, flies to Mándu, 33.
- Chándéri, taken by Sultan Mahmúd Khilji, 22. Assigned to Medíni Rai, 32. Stormed by Báber, 34. Restored to Ahmed Shah, 34. Bestowed by Beháder Shah on Alim Khan Jigat, 37. Recovered by Bhopat and Puran Mal, 429.
- Chapergháta, battle of, 502.
- Cheitúr, or Mewár, besieged by Sultan Mahmúd Khilji, 22. Besieged by Beháder Shah, 14. 41. 47. Taken by storm, 48.
- Chibra-Mow, defeat of Táj Khan at, 489.
- Chilmeh Koka, his generosity to Kámrán Mírza, 418.
- Chirágh-kush, or Lamp-extinguishers, sect of, 281. Their persecutions, 281, note.
- Chirkh in Logher, given to Akber, 394. Chuchak Begum, daughter of Shah Husein of Sind, married to Kámrán, 335. Her devotion to her husband, 418.
- Chunár, fort of, its strength and importance, 10. 131. Besieged by Humáyun, 10. The siege abandoned, 11. Besieged by Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, 130. The siege raised, 130. Acquired by Shír Shah, 131. Besieged by Humáyun, 140. Capitulates, 141. Restored to Shír Shah, 170.

Chúpah Ghat, surprise of the, 171.

Chupi Behåder, informs Humáyun of Askeri's approach, 268. His mission from Humáyun to Shah Tahmasp, 273.

- Cities, (the large,) of Báber and Humáyun, 543.
- " Combat of Friends," the, 51.
- Court, (the,) of Báber and Humáyun, 536.
- D'Acuña (Nuña), Viceroy of Goa, furnishes assistance to Beháder Shah, 73. Sails to Diu, 91. Receives Beháder Shah on board his ship, 92. His part in the death of Beháder Shah, 92. His subsequent proceedings, 94.
- Dawa Beg, joins Humáyun, 310. 322.
- Deh Afghánán, a suburb of Kábul, battle of, 338.
- Delhi, disruption of the empire of, under Sultan Muhammed Toghlak, 17. The city entrusted to Mír Fakhr Ali, 189. Attacked by Hindal Mírza, 165. Occupied by Shír Shah, 196. Occupied by Humáyun, 503. 520. Taken by Hímú Bakál, 503.

Dera-Gez (the), the rout at, 374.

- Dera Kipchák (the), the battle at, 381.
- Deráwal, fort of, Humáyun's halt there, 239.
- Derwish Ali, governor of Ujein, his death, 79.
- Derwish Koka, his skirmish with the troops of Maldeo, 245.
- Derwish Maksúd Bengáli, rejoins the Emperor after the defeat at Chonsa, 175.
- De Souza, (Emannel,) Governor of Diu Castle, 92. His death, 93.
- Dhár, battle of, 19. Taken by Mozeffer Shah, 19. Taken by Sultan Mahmúd II. of Malwa, 32. Given by Shír Shah to Háji Khan, 431.
- Dhamoni, assigned to Muhammed Shah, 29.
- Dibálpúr, defeat of the Afgháns at, 511.
- Diláwer Khan, assumes the sovereignty of Malwa, 19.
- Diláwer Khan, Khan Khánán Lodi, commands Humáyun's advance, 153. Carried off by Khowás Khan, 154. His death in prison, 154, note.
- Dildár Agácheh, or Dildár Begum, mother of Hindal, her reproach of her son, 164. She entertains the ladies of the court at Páter, 220. Makes up the quarrel between Humáyun and Hindal, 220.
- Diu, 21. Behåder Shah's flight thither, 60. Its commercial importance, 72. Settlement of the Portuguese there, 72. The death of Behåder Shah there, 93. Is retained by the Portuguese, 95.

- Dost Beg Ishekágha, entrusted with Cambay and Baróda, 77.
- Doulat Khan Lodi, his friendship for Shír Shab, 117, 118.
- Doulat Khan Nouháni, his elevation at the court of Adeli, 486. Slays Shah Muhammed Firmuli, 488.

Doura, battle of, 10.

Durgáwati, daughter of Rána Sánga, her determined conduct and death, 37.

- Eder, reduction of, by Mozeffer Shah, 19. Eibek, besieged and taken by Humáyun, 370.
- Ekbál Khan, suspected of treason, 468.
- Ekhtiár Khan, defends Champanír, 63. 65. Surrenders to Humáyun, 65. His acquirements, 65.
- Elías Khan (Khwája), joins his brothers in rebellion, 489.
- Fakhr Ali (Mír), entrusted with the government of Delhi, 139. His energy in favour of Humáyun, 160. 164. His advice to Kánırán, 166. His death, 194.
- Farakh (Shah), advises Shah Husein not to join Humáyun, 71.
- Farra, besieged by Obeid Khan, 98.
- Fateh Khan Balúch Dudai, submits to Shír Shah, 424. Seizes Multan, 433. Is expelled by Haibat Khan, 433.
- Fateh Shab, the Chirágh-kúsh, defeated by Monaim Khan, 407.
- Fatehpúr-Gandava, 265.
- Fazáel Beg, or Fazil Beg, deserts Humáyun, 233. Deserts Kámrán, 310. Blinded by Kámrán, 336.
- Fazilat, or Fazihat (Kázi), appointed Amin of Bengal, 428.
- Fazli (Mír), Governor of Benáres, slain by Shír Shah, 151.
- Ferdausi, allusion to his works, 25.
- Ferid. See Shir Shah.
- Feríd Gúr (Mír), opposes Humáyun, 174. Sent in pursuit of Humáyun, after the battle of Kanáuj, 195.
- Feringi Khan. See San Jago.
- Ferkhat Khan, appointed to Lahúr, 523. Displaced by Abul Maali, 524.
- Filúdi, 240.
- Firózeh (Jám), his death, 62, note.
- Firúz Shah, King of Bengal, his accession, 136. His murder, 136.
- Firúz Shah Súr, King of Delhi, his accession, 483. His murder, 483.
- Fortresses (the), of Báber and Humáyun, 542.

Gagrown, held by Medini Rao, 32.

0 0 2

564

Besieged by Mahmúd II., 32. Reduced by Beháder Shah, 40.

- Gakers, account of their country and its princes, 411, note. They defeat Shir Shah's detachments, 425. Their contests with Islám Shah, 465.
- Germsír (the), Humáyun's visit to, 272. Its surrender to Humáyun, 304.
- Gházi (Khwája) of Tabríz, insults the Rána of Amerkot, 257. Quarrels with Kerácha Khan, 350. Bestored to the office of Dewán, 508, note.
- Gházi Khan, chief of a Balúch tribe, submits to Shír Shah, 424.
- Gházi Khan Súr, defends Chunár, 140. Receives his son, Ibráhím Khan, 493. Provisions Biána, 500. Is besieged in Biána, 521. Surrenders to Haider Muhammed, 522. Is put to death, 501. 522.
- Gházi Mahali, ordered to seize Adel Khan, 451. Imprisoned by Khowás Khan, 451.
- Ghaznevi (Mír). See Shems-ed-dín Muhammed.
- Ghazni, government of, bestowed by Kámrán on Askeri, 264. Bestowed on Hindal, 326. Surprised by Kámrán, 336. Shah Muhammed sent to secure it, 384. Given by Kámrán to Kerácha Khan, 387. Given to Hindal, 400. Bestowed, on the death of Hindal, on Akber, 404.
- Gholám Ali Sheshangusht, blinds Kámrán, 414.
- Ghurbend, given by Kámrán to Yasan Doulat, 387.
- Ghuri, placed under Hindal, 332. Taken by Kámrán, 345. Left in charge of Shír Ali, 345. Taken by Kerácha Khan, 346. Recovered by Kámrán, 347.
- Ghurjistán, reduced by Shah Tahmasp, 100.
- Girnál, or Júnagar, fortress of, taken by Mahmúd Shah Bigara, 20.
- Gondevána, the Rais of, join the Musulman confederacy against Medini Rai, 27.
- Gour, the capital of Bengal, captured by Shir Shah, 142. Occupied by Humáyun, 149.
- Government, state of, during the reigns of Báber and Humáyun, 536.
- Gowár tribes, they attack Humáyun's camp, 62.
- Gházanfer, is imprisoned by Askeri, and escapes, 84. Flies to the camp of Beháder Shah, 84.
- Guáliár, surrendered to Shír Shah, 429.

- Gujrát, becomes an independent kingdom, 17. Its early history, 18.
 Mozeffer Khan, 18. Its prosperity under Ahmed Shah and Mahmúd Shah Bigara, 20. Description and importance of the country, 21.
 Overrun by Mahmúd Khilji, 22.
 Beháder Shah succeeds to the throne, 33. Conquest of Humáyun, 60. 73.
 Anarchy, 73. Reaction in favour of Beháder Shah, 81. Abandoned by the Moghuls, 87. Recovered by Beháder Shah, 88.
- Gul-Balúch, Humáyun's stay there, 206.
- Gulchehreh-Begum, married to Abás (Sultan), 369.
- Gurdíz, given to Hindal Mírza, 400.
- Habshis (the), in the army of Behåder Shah, 81.
- Háfez, his works, 25.
- Haibat Khan Niázi, charged by Shír Shah with the building of Rhotas, 426. Reduces Multán, 433. Honoured with the title of Azím Humáyun, 433. Governor of the Penjáb, 455. Gives up Kutb Khan, 455. Excites the jealousy of Islám Shah, 457. Joined by Khowás Khan, 457. Defeated, 458. Defeats Khwája Veis Sirwáni, 464. Is totally defeated, 464. Slaiu, 467.
- Haider Mírza Doghlat, accompanies the Tartars in their inroad into Kashmír, 365. Returns to Káshghar, 365. Joins Kámrán, 105. Is left in charge of Lahúr, 105. His account of Kámrán's retreat from Delhi, 181. He adheres to Humáyun, 183. His account of the campaign against Shir Shah, 185. And of the battle of Kanáuj, 187. He joins Humáyun in his flight, 195. Turns his thoughts towards Kashmir, 199. Arranges for its conquest, 203. 365. Enters that country, 366. Defeats Malek Achi, 366. Acknowledged as ruler of Kashmír, 205. 366. Sends an envoy to invite Humáyun to Kashmir, 366. His character and administration, 367. Is slain, 368. His work, the Tarikh-é-Reshidi, 368.
- Haider Muhammed Khan, sent to reduce Biána, 520. His perfidy, 522. Superseded, 522.
- Haider Sultan, appointed to Kilát, 320.
- Háji Begum, Empress of Humáyun, taken prisoner, 171. Shír Shah's generosity to her, 173.



- Háji Khan Sultan, left in charge of Dhár, 431. Recalled, 432.
- Hamída Bánu Begum, her marriage with Humáyun, 220. Her descent, 220. Gives birth to Akber in the castle of Amerkot, 254. Her hurried flight from Shál-Mustung, 269. Gives birth to a daughter, 296.
- Harhána taken by Biram Khan, 512.
- Hari Kishen Birkís, (Raja) of Rhotas, 147. Treacherously expelled by Shír Shah, 148.
- Hasan, father of Shír Shah, 111. His history, 112. Receives Sahsarám and Kháwáspúr-Tanda in jágír, 112. His family, 113. Gives Shír Shah the management of his jágírs, 115. His death, 118.
- Hasan, (Shah) of Sind. See Shah Husein.
- Hasan, (Sheikh) of the Mehdevisect, 475.
 - Hasan Akhteh, brings Akber to his father, 393.
 - Hasan Khalifat, with the artillery in the battle of Kanáuj, 187.
 - Hasan Khan Jilwáni (Rai) deserts Adeli, 494.
 - Hasan Koka, joins Humáyun in Sistán, 276.
 - Háshem Beg, his loyalty, 234.
 - Hatia, in the Gaker country, 425.
 - Hazáras, predatory habits of the, 348. 385.
 - Herát, taken by Obeid Khan, 98.
 Recovered by Shah Tahmasp, 99.
 Again besieged by Obeid Khan, 99.
 Relieved by Shah Tahmasp, 100.
 Taken and pillaged by the Uzbeks, 103.
 Recovered by Shah Tahmasp, 104.
 Visited by Humáyun, 278.
 - Himú Bakál, bis elevation in the Court of Adeli, 486. Defeats Tájkhan Keráni, 490. His origin and character, 490. Sent by Islám Shah to receive Kámrán, 468, note. Becomes Prime Minister, 491. Assumes the title of Raja, 491. Defeats Sultan Ibráhím, 499. Besieges him in Biána, 499. Abandons the siege, 500. Again defeats him at Mandháker, 500. Defeats and destroys the army of Bengal, 502. Sent against Akber, 503. Reoccupies Agra and Delhi, 503. Defeats Terdi Beg, 503. Defeated and slain at the battle of Pánipat, 503.
 - Hindal Mírza, son of Báber, has Alwar assigned to bim, 6. His successful campaigns in the Gangetic Provinces, 89. 90. Returns to Agra, 90. Accompanies Humáyun against Shír Shah, 139. Receives Tirhut and

Purnía, 149. Proceeds to his jágírs, 149. Marches to Agra, 150. 159. Determines to revolt, 162. Brought back to his allegiance by Sheikh Bhúl, 162. Revolts, and puts Sheikh Bhúl to death, 152. 163. Proclaimed Emperor, 152. 164. Marches for Delhi, 164. Besieges it, 165. Abandons the siege and returns to Agra, Retires to Alwar, 166. Submits to Kámrán, 166. Is pardoned by Humáyun, 178. His humiliation, 178. Commands the advance at the battle of Kanáuj, 190. Accompanies Humáyun in his flight, 194. Proceeds to Alwar, 195. Rejoins Hu-máyun at Rahtak, 195. His treaty with his brothers, 198. Recommends an attack on Sind and Gujrát, 199. Sets out on this expedition, 202. Joined by Humáyun at Gul-Balúch, 207. Marches to Páter, 215. His camp visited by Humáyun, 220. Their quarrel, 220. Deserts Humáyun and marches to Kandahár, 221. Besieged in Kandahár by Kámrán, 253. 265. 302. Surrenders, and is carried prisoner to Kábul, 265. 302. Appointed to the jágír of Júi-Sháhi, 265. 302. Placed under surveillance at Kábul, 302. Escapes, 315. Joins Humáyun at Tiri, 322. Is rebuked by Humáyun for his indiscreet advice, 322. Commands the advance against Kámrán, 324. Appointed to the government of Ghazni, 326; and to Badakhshán and Kunduz, 330. His conduct on Humáyun's illness, 330. Made governor of Kunduz, Anderab, and the provinces beyond the mountains, 332. Entertains Humáyun at Kunduz, 333. Clears the Abdereh pass, 337. Defeats Kámrán's forces at the battle of Deh-Afghánán, 338. Pursues Kámrán, 344. Overtakes, but allows him to escape, 344. Throws himself into Kunduz, 347. Joins Humáyun, 354. Takes part in the siege of Talikán, 354, His division repulsed by Kámrán, 355. Joins Humáyun in his expedition against Balkh, 369. Engaged in the defeat of the Uzbek advance, 372. His part in the retreat from Balkh, 378. Distinguishes himself at Dera-Gez, 375. Flies to Kunduz, 376. Besieged there by Kámrán, 377. Declines there by Kámrán, 377. Declines Kámrán's advances, 377. Joins Hu-máyun at Khinjan, 385. Commands the left at the battle of Shutergerden,

392. Pursues Kámrán, 393. Éntrusted with the governments of Ghazni, Gurdíz, Bangash, and Logher, 400. Is slain at the surprise at Jirbár, 402. Particulars of his death, 403. His remains conveyed to Kábul, 403. His daughter betrothed to Akber, 403.

- Hindia, invaded by Sekander and Milu Khan, 79.
- Hindu Beg Kochín (Mír), left in charge of Muhammedábád, 60. His services in Gujrát, 77. 79. Advises Humáyun to settle the country, 77. Becomes Humáyun's Amír-ul-omra and commander-in-chief, 193. Left in charge of Juánpúr, 143. His death, 151.
- Hindus, their religion compared with Muhammedanism, 4. Character of the Hindu rule, 23.
- Hisám-ed-dín Ali (son of Mír Khalífa), repulses Kámrán in Zemín-dáwer, 335. Cruelly slain by Kámrán, 386.
- Hissár-Firúza, granted to Kámrán, 9. Given to Akber, 520. Assigned to Abul Maali, 524.
- Hosheng Ghúri (Sultan), King of Malwa, 19. Defeated and made prisoner at Dhár, 19. Released and reinstated, 20. Founds Mándu, 21. His death, 21.
- Hosheng II., or, Mahsós, King of Malwa, 26. Surrenders to Sultan Mahmúd, 27. Escapes and joins Muhammed Shah, 29.
- Hoshengábád, reduction of, by Sultan Mahmúd, 22.
- Huma, the, 291.
- Humáyun (Nasír-ed-dín Muhammed), succeeds his father, 1. Time and place of his birth, 1, note. Aspirants to the throne, 3. Unsettled state of Formidable power the empire, 4. of the Afghans, 4. Foreign relations, Humáyun's character, 5. He 5. assigns jágírs to his brothers, 6. Pretensions and progress of Kámrán, 6-8. Humáyun confirms him in his provinces, and gives him Hissar, 8. Besieges Kalinjer, 9. 133. Is invaded by the Afgháns, 9. 138. Defeats them at the battle of Doura, 10. 133. Returns to Agra, 10, 134. Besieges Chunár, 10. 134. Concludes a peace with Shir Khan, 11. 134. Receives an embassy from Behåder Shah, 12. Quells the rebellion of Muhammed Zemán Mirza, 13. Proceeds to the aid of the Raja, of Cheitúr, 14. Sends an ambas-

sador to Behader Shah, 14. With draws his forces, 15. Marches against the Afgháns of Behár, 15. Returns to Agra, 16. Calls on Behader Shah to dismiss the fugitives from his Court, 42. Behåder refuses, 43. Humayun prepares for hostilities, 43. He returns to Agra, 46. Defeat of his enemies at Mundráel, 46. He invades Malwa, 47. Encamps at Sarangpur, 47. Meets the army of Behåder Shah at Mandsúr, 49. The " Combat of Friends," 51. Flight of Behåder, 53. Pillage of the camp, 54. Humáyun pursues the fugitives, 54. Invests Mándu, 55. Receives overtures from Behåder, 55. Måndu taken and plundered, 57. Humáyun's supremacy in Malwa, 58. He marches into Gujrát, 59. Arrives at Champanír, 60. Flight of Behader to Cambay and Diu, 60. Humáyun pursues him, 61. Night attack on his camp, 61. Pillage of Cam-He escalades Champanir, bay, 62. 64. Takes an immense booty, 66. His indolence and revelry, 67. His cruel punishment of a party of revellers, 67. He puts an imam to death, 70. His remorse, 70. Induces Shah Hasan to aid him from Sind, 70. Neglects the settlement of Gujrát, 73. Marches against Imád-ul-mulk, 75. Surprise of his advanced guard, 75. He defeats Imád-ul-mulk, 76. His arrangements for the government of Gujrát, 77. Rejects the advice of Hindú Beg, to restore Behåder Shah, Receives alarming intelligence 77. from Agra and Malwa, 78. Returns to Mándu, 79. Halts at Búranpúr, 79. His troops abandon Gujrát, 87. He intercepts Askeri and Yádgár, 88. They return to Agra, 88. State of the Gangetic provinces, 89. Hindal the Gangetic provinces, 89. Mírza's successful campaign, 89. Humáyun loses Malwa, 91. State of his empire at this period, 108. His indolence at Agra, 109. He prepares to attack Shir Shah, 139. Is reconciled to Muhamed Zemán Mírza, 139. Besieges Chunár, 140. Capitulation of the fortress, 141. He advances to Benáres, 142. Calls on Shir Shah to submit, 143. Shir Shah refuses, 143. Humáyun marches towards Bengal, 143. Receives the expelled King of Bengal, 144. Approaches the Teriagarhi Pass, 144, His advanced guard surprised and routed, 146. He occu-Subjugates the pies Gour, 149.

whole province, 149. His indolence, 150. Unsatisfactory state of his affairs, 150. He despatches Sheikh Bhúl to bring back Hindal to his duty, 150. Shir Khan's progress in in Behár, 151. Revolt of Hindal at Agra, 152. Humáyun retires from Bengal, 153. His dangerous situa-tion, 154. The passes into Behár forced by Askeri, 155. He approaches the army of Shir Shah, 155. Reaches Chonsa, 157. Distress of the imperial army, 157. Rebellion of Hindal, 159. Kámrán's treacherous conduct, 167. Humáyun's continued distress at Chonsa, 167. Sends an envoy to Shír Shah, 168. Negotiates with him, 169. Negligence of Humáyun, Treacherous attack of Shir 170. Shah, 170. Slaughter of the Imperialists, 171. Humáyun's danger, 171. Is wounded, 172. Flies across the river, 172. His life saved by a water-carrier, 172. Annihilation of his army, 172. He flies with Askeri to Agra, 174. Joins Kámrán there, 177. Rewards the water-carrier, 179. Prepares again to attack Shir Shah, 179. Is abandoned by Kámrán, 181. Defeat of Shír Shah's advanced army, 181. Humáyun marches from Agra, 182. Is joined by Haider Mírza, 182. Haider's character of Humáyun, 183. Inefficient state of his army, 184. He marches to Kanáuj, 185. Panic and desertions in his army, 189. He is defeated at the battle of Kanáuj, 189. Flies from the field, 191. Is assisted by Shemsed-din Muhammed, 191. Joined by Askeri and Yádgár, 192. Arrives at Agra, 193. Visits Syed Rafía-ed-dín, 193. Proceeds to Síkri, 194. Joined by Hindal, with his family, 194. Pursued by Mir Ferid, 195. Reaches Delhi, 195. Flies towards the Penjáh, 195. Arrives at Labúr, 197. His treaty with his brothers, 198. Their want of union, 199. Treachery of Kámrán, 200. Humáyun abandons Lahúr, 201. Refuses to make away with Kámrán, 201. Is left by his brothers, 202. Meditates an expedition to Kashmir, 202. His plans towarted by Kamrán, 204, Again refuses to have Kámrán put to death, 205. Resolves to join Hindal and Yádgár against Bheker, 205. Proceed towards Sind, 205. Arrives at Gul-Balúch, 206. Is joined by Hindal and Yádgár, 207.

INUIA

Passes the territory of Bakhshui Langa, 208. Confers on him the title Khan Jehán, 208. Encamps near Bheker, 209. Review of his present state and past career, 209, 210. State of Sind on his arrival, 213. Conduct of Shah Husein, 213. Humáyun resides at Lohri, 214. Distress in his camp, 215. His embassy to Shah Husein, 216. The Shah endeavours to induce him to quit Sind, Humáyun besieges Bheker,
 218. Visits the camp of Yádgár,
 220. Visits Hindal, at Páter, 220. His marriage with Hamida Begum, 220. He returns to his camp, 221. Sends Abul Baká to prevent the desertion of Hindal, 221. His concessions to Hindal, 222. He dismisses Shah Husein's envoy, 222. Advances to Sehwan, 223. Besieges Sehwan, 224. Approach of Shah Husein, 224. Humáyun's difficulties, 224. Desertions from his camp, 225. He urges Hindal to act against Sbah Husein, 227. Sends Abdal Ghafúr to Yádgár, 227. Defection of Yádgár, 227. Humáyun's flotilla seized by Shah Husein, 228. He retreats from Sehwan, and loses his baggage, 229. Arrives at Rohri, 229. Crosses the Indus, 231. Rebellious conduct of Yádgár, 231. Dispersion of Hu-máyun's force, 232. Threatened attack of Yádgár, 234. Humáyun's despair, 234. He retreats to the desert of Márwár, 235. Marches to Uch, 286. Obstructed by Bakhshui Langa, 238. Marches to Deráwal, 238. Arrives in the Júdpúr terri-tory, 240. Sends Mír Samander to Maldeo, 240. Deputes Shems-eddin Atkeh and Rai-mal Soni to Maldeo's court, 241. Learns Maldeo's insincerity, 241. towards Jeselmir, 242. Retreats Forms a Skirmish of covering party, 244. the cavalry, 245. Receives a hostile embassy from Jeselmír, 246. Reaches Jeselmír, 246. Proceeds by the Greater Desert, 246./ Sufferings from want of water, 247. Receives a second embassy from Jeschnir, 248. Arrives at Amerkot, 249. Hospitably received by the Rana, 249. Anecdotes of Humáyun, 250, 251. His stay at Amerkot, 252. Humáyun resolves to invade Jún, 254. Places his family in Amerkot, 254. His rejoicings at the birth of Akber, Sends to attack Jani Beg,

567

256. Entrenches his camp at Jún, 256. Increases his forces, 256. Is opposed by Shah Husein, 257. Deserted by his Hindu allies, 257. Is unsuccess-fully attacked by Shah Husein, 258. Is joinel by Biram Khan, 258. Renewel scarcity in the Imperial camp, 259. Destruction of the foraging detachment, 261. He receives an envoy from Shah Husein, 262. Concludes an agreement with him, Abandons Sind, 263. Ad-262, vances towards Kandahár, 265. His difficulties, 266. Hostile preparations of his brothers, 267. He turns off towards Mustung, 267. Askeri's advance to seize him, 267. His flight towards Sistán, 269-271. Detained temporarily by the Balúches, 272. Hospitably treated by Malek Khati, 272. Enters the Germsir, 272. Sends a letter to the King of Persia, 273. Takes refuge in Sistán, 274. His reluctance to enter Persia, 275. His reception in Sistán, 275. Is joined by many of his followers, 275. Sets out for Herát and Meshhíd, 277. His regal entertainment, 277. He proceeds to Herát, 279. Visits Jám and Proceeds to join Meshhid, 279. Shah Tahmasp, 280. Sends forward Biram Khan as envoy, 281. The Shah's treatment of Biram, 281. Humáyun's arrival and residence at Kazvín, 282. He receives a deputation from the Shah, 282. His in. terview with Shah Tahmasp, 283. He proceeds with the Court to Sultanía, 284. Is neglected, 284. Visits the shrine of Sultan Muhammed Khudabendeh, 284. The Shah's intolerance, 285. His desire to convert Humáyun to the Shía faith, 285. Humáyun visited by Kázi Jehán, Signs a paper of conformity to 285. the Shia faith, 286. Attends a grand hunting party, 286. Misun-derstanding between the sovereigns, Humáyun makes Behrám 289. Mirza his enemy, 290. Change in the conduct of the Shah, 291. League between the monarchs, 291. Parting Humáyun's prefestivities, 292. paration for his journey to Kandahár, 296. Remarks on his treatment by the Shah, and his own conduct, 297 -- S00. His arrival in Sistán, 301. Affairs of his brothers, 302. The Germsir surrendered to him, 303. Bist reduced, SO4. Kámrán's preparations, 304. Akber removed to

568

Kábul, 304. Humáyun besieges Kandahár, 306. Sends Biram Khan as envoy to Kábul, 307. Progress of the siege of Kandahár, 308. Its surrender, 311. The Emperor's leniency to Askeri Mírza, 311. He delivers the fort to the Persian auxiliaries, 313. Dissensions between the Imperial and Persian troops, 316. Humáyun supplies himself with horses by plunder, 317. Uncertainty of his counsels, 317. He seizes Kandahár, 318. Sends ambassadors to Persia, 320. Divides the district among his nobles, 320. Proceeds to Kábul, 321. Is joined by Hindal and Yádgár, 322. Advance of Kámrán, 323. Desertions to Humáyun, 324. Embassy from Kámrán, 324. Humáyun occupies Kábul, 325. Recovers his son Akber, 325. Receives congratulatory embassies, 326. Imprisonsand tries Yádgár, 327. Marches against Badakhshán, 328. Puts Yádgár to death, 328. Defeats the army of Badakhshán, 329. Submission of the country, 330. Dangerous illness of Humáyun at Sháhdán, 330. His recovery, 331. Kábul retaken by Kámrán, 332. Humáyun concludes a treaty with Suleimán Mírza, 332. Leaves Hindal governor of Kunduz and other provinces, 332. Marches against Kábul, S33. Received by Hindal at Kunduz, 333. Halts at Khwája Syaran, 383. Is deserted by many followers, 337. Holds a a council, 337. Resolves to attack Kábul, 338. Proceeds by the Páyán pass, 338. Defeats Kámrán's general, 338. Takes the outer fortifications, 339. Joined by many of Kámrán's chiefs, 340, Intercepts and defeats Shir Ali, 340. Threatens to retaliate Kámrán's cruelties, 342. Receives submissive overtures from him, 343. Enters the town, and gives it up to pillage, \$46. Sends Kerácha Khan in pursuit of the fugitive Kámrán, 346. Marches against Kamrán, 348. Returns to winter at Kábul, 348. Rebellion of Kerácha Khan and others, 348. He sends in pursuit of the rebels, 348. Collects his forces, 352. Marches to Kárábágh, 852. The Governor of Badakhshan declares for him, 352. He advances, 353. Is joined by Hindal, 354. Encamps in the Aleng Kazan of Anderáb, 354. Besieges Talikán, 354. His troops repulsed, 355. Joined

by Suleimán Mírza and Chaker Khan, 356. Submissive offers of Kámrán, 356. Kámrán surrenders, 357. Humáyun pardons the rebels, 357. Generously receives Kámrán, 358. His stay at Bend-Kusha, 359. Settles his northern dominions, 359. Restores Taimur's fort of Perián, 361. Returns to Kábul, 361. State of his Court, 362. Orders Kerácha Khan and Mosáhib Bey to proceed to Mekka, 363. Receives an embassy from Abdal Reshid Khan, of Káshgar, 364. Despatches one to Shah Tahmasp, 364. Invited by Mirza Haider to Kashmir, 366. Prepares and conducts an expedition against Bálkh, 368. Joined by Mírzas Ibráhím, Hindal, and Suleimán, 369. Takes Eibek, 370. Advances, 371. Suddenly attacked by the Uzbeks, 371. Repulses the Uzbek advance, 372. Resolves to retreat, 373. Panic in his army, 374. Rout at the Dera-Gez, 374. Flies towards Kábul, 375. The Emperor's adventures, 375. Winters in Kábul, 376. Proceedings of Kámrán, 377. His party in Humáyun's Court, 379. Humáyun prepares to seize him, 380. Marches to Ab-Bárán, 380. Is surprised by Kámrán at the Dera Kipchák, 381. Want of zeal among Humáyun's chiefs, 382. He flies and is wounded, 383. Reaches the Sirtán pass, 383. Is joined by a reinforcement, 383. Proceeds to Kahmerd, 384. Joined at Khinjan by Hindal and others, 385. Prepares to return to Kábul, 385. Conduct of Kámrán, 385. He occupies Kábul, 386. The Emperor advances from Anderáb, 387. His compact with his chiefs, 387. The armies meet near Slutergerden, 390. Humáyuu endeavours unsuccessfully to negotiate, 391. Orders an attack, -392. Defeats and compels Kámrán to fly, 393. Reoccupies Kabul, 394. Sends Askeri to Mekka, 397. Proceeds again against Kámrán, 397. Puts to death Háji Muhammed and his brother, 400. Change in Humáyun's policy, 400. Tranquillization of Afghánistán, 400. The Emperor march s against Kámrán, 401. Night a tack on his camp at Jirbár, 402. Repels the assailants, 402. Winters at Belisud, 405. Surprises Kámrán's camp, 405. Re-turns to Kábul, 406. Lays waste Bangash, 406. Receives au offer from the Gakers to surrender Kamran,

INDIA

Kámrán submits and joins 407. Humáyun, 411. Humáyun consults as to his fate, 412. Deprives him of his eyesight, 412. Permits him to proceed to Mekka, 416. Has an interview with him, 416. Humáyun plunders the country, 419. Proposes to attack Kashmir, 419. Defection among his troops, 419. Recrosses the Indus, 420. Rebuilds and provisions Pesháwer, 420. Returns to Kábul, 421. 469. Favourable state of his affairs, 421. Resolves to reconquer India, 422. 506. Suspects Biram Khan, 507. Proceeds to Kandahár, 507. Is magnificently entertained by Biram Khan, 507. Returns to Kábul, 509. Is joined by Biram Khan, 509. Sets out, and reaches the Indus, 509, 510. State of India at this time, 510. He crosses the Indus, 510. Occupies Rhotas, the Northern Penjáb, and Lahúr, 511. He occupies Sirhend, 513. Continued distractions in Hindustán, 514. His army under Biram Khan crosses the Satlej, 514. He gains the battle of Máchíwára, 499. 515. Humáyun obtains a complete victory over Sekander Shah and the Afgháns, at the battle of Sirhend, 499. 518. Decisive effects of the victory, 519. He reoccupies Delhi, 520. Distributes the provinces, 520. Surrender of Biána, 521. Frequent insubordination of Humáyun's officers, 522. Revolt of Mirza Suleimán, 522. Misconduct of Abul Maali, 523. Humáyun's plans for the government of the empire, 526. Particulars of his death, 527. His death concealed for a time, 528. Alarm excited by the event, 529. Danger of the crisis, 529. His character, 530.

569

Husein Arghún (Shab), or Shah Husein Mírza, or Shah Hasan, Ruler of Sind, makes a diversion in favour of Humáyun, 71. Ravages Gujrát, 71. Retreats, 72. His character, 213. Humáyun enters his territory, 213. His apprehensions, 213. Receives a mission from Humáýun, 216. Procrastinates, 216. Attempts to induce Humáyun to quit Sind, 217. His defensive operations, 224. Intrigues with Yádgár, 227. Seizes Humáyun's flotilla, 228. His proceedings at Bheker and Sakar, 252. Advances against Humáyun, 257. Attacks Humáyun unsuecessfully, 258. Prepares for battle, 262. Concludes a peace 570

with Humáyun, 232. Receives Kámrán, 335. Gives him his daughter in marriage, 335. Aids him in recovering Kábul, 336. Receives him when blinded, 418.

Husein Kuli Sultan, his visit to Humáyun, 276. Serves with Humáyun's Persian allies, 294. His part at the rout at the Dera-Gez, 373. 375; and at Kipchák, 382. Taken prisoner by Kámrán, 386. Hewn to pieces by Kámrán's order, 386.

Ibráhím, grandfather of Shír Shah, 111. Ibráhím (Khwája), his prudent con-

- ducton the death of Mirza Hindal, 403. Ibráhím Khan, son of Kutb Khan, invades Behár, 127. His defeat by Shír Shah, and death, 128.
- Ibráhím Khan Súr, or Sultan Ibráhím Súr, slavs Sekánder Khan Firmuli, Rebels against Adeli in Biána, 488. 493. Defeats Isa Khan Niázi, 493. Takes Delhi and Agra, and assumes the sovereignty, 494. Extent of his territory, 495. Opposes Ahmed Khan at Farrah, 496. Defeated by Ahmed, 496. Escapes to Sambhal, 496. Again takes the field, 499. Defeated by Muhammed Shah, who besieges him in Biána, 499. Defeated by Himú Bakál at Khanwa, 500. His flight and fate, 501.
- Ibráhím Lodi, (Sultan) of Delhi, his reception of Shír Shah, 117.
- Ibráhím (Mírza), son of Kámrán, escapes with his father to Ghazni, 325.
- Ibráhím (Mirza), son of Mírza Suleimán of Badakhshán, carried captive by Kámrán into Kábul, 303. Permitted to retum to Badakhshán, 314. Joins Humáyun at Kárábágh, 353. Joins Humáyun in his campaign against Balkh, 369. Sent back to defend Badakhshán, 370. Joins Humáyun at Khinjan, 385. Commands the advance in the battle of Shutergerden, 392. Betrothed to Bakhshi Bánu Begum, 394.
- Imád Khan, joins his brother Táj Khan in rebellion, 489.
- Imád-ul-mulk, King of Berár, assisted by Beháder Shah, when attacked by the Kings of Beder and Ahmednagar, 38.
- Imád-ul-mulk Khaseh-khail, flies from Mandsúr, 53. Repairs Beháder Shah's fortunes, 74. Surprises Humáyun's advance, 75. Is defeated, 76. Places Mirán Muhammed Shah Farúki on the throne of Gujrát, 97.

Imad-ul-mulk Lodi, sent to aid Mu-

hammed Shah at Malwa, 28. His differences with Bohjat Khan, 29.

- Isa Khan, the Mír Hájib, his advice to Sultan Islám, 453.
- Isa Khan Hijáb Sirwáni, waits on Humáyun with Kutb Khan, 12. Causes Sultan Islám to be proclaimed, 448.
- Isa Khan Niázi, answers for the safety of Adel Khan, 449. Retires with him to Biána, 451. Retires, on Adel's defeat, to Mewát, 454. Advances with Khowás Khan against Islám Shah, 457. Withdraws his forces, 458. Retires to the mountains, 460. Defeated by Ibráhím Khan Súr, 493.
- Isa Khan Súr, placed in the government of Malwa, 463.
- Isa Terkhan, his command against Sheikh Ali Beg, 260.
- Ishak (Syed). See Shitab Khan.
- Isbak Sultan, defends Kila-Zefer against Kámrán, 377. Joined by Suleimán Mírza, 378.
- Ishan Taimur Sultan, accompanies Humáyun in his retreat from Júdpúr, 244. 249. Sent to support Sheikh Ali, 260. Is defeated, 261.
- Iskander Mírza, commands Kámrán's auxiliaries with Humáyun, 183.
- Iskander Sultan, deserts from the camp of Humáyun, 337.
- Islám Shah (Sultan), or Selím Shah Súr, second son of Shír Shah, proclaimed King of Delhi, 448. Cause of his preference to his elder brother, Adel Khan, 448. He invites Adel, 449. Meeting of the brothers, 449. Islám's scheme for seizing Adel fails, 450. He is publicly acknowledged as king, 450. Makes a further attempt to seize Adel, 451. Rebellion of Adel and the chief amirs, 451. Alarm of Islám, 452. He moves out to meet them, 453. Defeats them, 453. Secures his father's treasures in Chunár, 454. Procures the death of the hostile chiefs, 454. Returns to Agra, 455. Extent of his domi-nions, 455. His jealousy of the governors of Malwa and Multán, 455, 456. Threatened revolt in the Penjáb, 457. Constructs new works at Agra and Delhi, 457. Advances to the Penjáb, 457. Meets the army of the rebels at Ambála, 458. Defeats them, 458. His imminent danger, 459. Occupies the Penjáb, and repairs to Guáliár, 459. Quarrels with Shujaa Khan of Malwa, 463. Invades Malwa, 463. Puts Shujaa to flight, 463. Restores him to his

province, 463. Obtains a victory over Azim Humáyun, in the Penjáb, 464. His disgraceful conduct after the victory, 464. Advances to Rhotas, 465. His contests with the Gakers, 465. Discontents in his camp, 465. Makes peace with the Gakers, on their expelling the Niázis, 466; who are exterminated in the defiles, 467. Builds Mánkót, 467. Narrowly escapes assassination, 467. Visited by Kámrán, 408. 468. His haughty reception of him, 408. Islám's alarm at the approaching invasion of Humáyun, 468. He meditates the destruction of Lahúr, and the removal of the capital to Mánkót, 469. Mutual suspicions of Islám and his nobles, 470. His death, 471. His character, 471. His administration of justice, 475. His treatment of the

Mehdevis, 480. Islámábád. See Perián.

- Ismáel Beg Duldi, appointed to the government of Zemin-dawer, 320. Deserts Humáyun, 351. Escapes to Kámrán Mírza, 352. Pardoned by Humáyun, 357.
- Ismáel Khan, a Belúch chief, submits to Shir Shah, 424.
- Jabar Kuli Korchi, his proposal to slay Kámrán, 205.
- Jámi, his poems, 25.
- Jamíl Beg, joins Humáyun in the march on Kábul, 323.
- Jámu, Raja of, refuses to receive the fugitive Kámrán, 410.
- Januha tribe, their fort given up to Sultan Adam Gaker, 419.
- Jehán Kazvíni (Kázi), minister of Shah Tahmasp, urges Humáyun to adopt the Shia faith, 285. His friendly feeling towards Humáyun, 290.
- Jehán Shirázi (Khan), his operations against Humáyun's officers in Gujrát, 82.
- Jehángér-Kuli Beg, his services in Behár and Bengal, 145, 146. Left in charge of Bengal, 153. Defeated by Shir Shah, 175. His death, 175.

Jemíl (Mír), his defence of Kandahár, 306 .

- Jonkinson, his reception at the Persian court, 298, note.
- Jeselmír, Humáyun's distresses in, 246. Jhárejas, (the,) 71. Chastised by Shah Hasan, 72.

Jiji Anka, 271.

Jilál Khan, son of Sultan Muhammed Lohani. See Sultan Jelál-ed-dín. Jilál Khan, second son of Shír Khan,

left to defend Chunár, 11. Engaged in the siege of Gour, 142. Occupies the Teria-garhi Pass, 144. Surprises Humáyun's advance, 146. Abandons the pass, 147. Defeats Yúsef Beg, 152. His share in the battle of Kanáuj, 190. Proclaimed King of Delhi, under the title of Islám Shah, 448. See Islám Shah.

- Jilál Khan Jilwáni, repels the attack of the Rájpúts on Shír Shah's camp, 438. Joins in the rebellion of Adel Khan, 451. Is put to death by Islám Shah, 454.
- Jilál-ed-dín Loháni (Sultan), succeeds to the throne of Behár, 125. Engages in a conspiracy with his relations against the minister Shir Khan, 126. Flies to Bengal, 127. Returns with an army, 127. Is defeated, and returns to Bengal, 128. Submits to Báber, 130. Is assigned a jágír by Báber, 131.
- Jilál-ed-dín Mahmúd (Khwája), joins Humáyun, 273. Appointed Mir Sámán, 273. His advice to Humáyun, 329, note. Appointed to the government of Kábul, 411.
- Jilál-ed-dín Sherki (Sultan), his claim to the throne of Behár, 128.

Jirbár, surprise of, 402.

- Jogi Khan, a servant of Kámrán, 407.409
- Jouher, notice of his "Memoirs," 280. His account of the death of Hindal, 402. His details of the blinding of Kámrán, 413.
- Juánpúr, taken by the Afgháns, 9. Besieged by Ulugh Mirza, 89. Besieged by Shir Shah, 151.
- Júdpúr. See Márwár.
- Júi-Sháhi (now Jelálábád), bestowed on Hindal Mírza, 265. Given by Kámrán to Mírza Askeri, 387. Given to Khizer Khwaja Khan, 400.
- Jún, Humáyun's invasion of, 254. Description of it, 255. Humáyun's intrenched camp at, 256.

Júnagar. See Girnál.

Juneid Birlás (Sultan), reinstated in the government of Juánpúr, 10. 'Governor of Karra-Manikpur, 122. Assists Shir Khan to regain his jágírs, 122, 123. Appointed to the government of Behar, 191. Abandons Juanpúr, 193. His death, 110, 139.

Kabul, the kingdom of, confirmed to Kámrán, 6. Festivities there on the triumphant return of Kámrán, SOS.

Justice, administration of, during the reigns of Báber and Humáyun, 544.

Retaken by Kámrán, 332. 336.
 Besieged by Humáyun, 338. The outer enclosure taken, 339. Siege of the town and citadel, 339. Surrendered, 344. Again taken by Kámrán, 386. Reoccupied by Humáyun, 394.
 Kabuli, his death, 371.

- Káder Shah, or Milu Khan, assumes the soveregnty of Malwa, 429. He quarrels with Shír Shah, 430. Shír Shah marches against him, 430. Apparent reconciliation between them, 430. Ordered to Laknou, 431. Escapes to Gujrát, 431. Totally defeated by Shujaa Khan, 432.
- Káfúr, the eunuch, 191.

72

- Kahmerd, government of given to Shír-efken, 331. Given to Hindal, 332.
- Kalinjer, besieged by Humáyun, 9, 133. Siege raised, 9, 133. Description of the fort, 440. Besieged by Shír Shah, 440. Captured, and Shír Shah's death there, 441.
- Kalpi, placed under the government of Yádgár Násir Mírza, 139.
- Kalúr, Raja of, entertains Kámrán, 410.
- Kambelmér, reduced by Mahmúd Khilji, 22.
- Kamber Ali, slays Kerácha Khan, 393.
- Kamber Diwána, his conquest of Bedáun, 520. Attacked and put to death by Ali Kuli Sistáni, 520.
- Kambhu (Raja), receives and entertains Kámrán, 409, 410.
- Kámrán Mirza, son of Báber, confirmed in the kingdoms of Kabul and Kandahár, 6. His ambitious views, 6. He marches towards Hindustán, 6. Captures Lahúr, 7. Occupies the Penjáb, 8. Concessions of Humáyun to him, 8. He acquires Hissár-Firóza, 9. Relieves Kandahár, 101; and Lahúr, 102. Retakes Kandahár from the Persians, 105. His power, 165. Called in to relieve Delhi, 165. Pursues Hindal Mírza, 166. Receives his submission, 166. Commands the confederates against Shir Khau, 167. His ambition, 167. Returns to Agra, 167. Is joined by Humáyun at Agra, 177. Meeting of the brothers, 178. His illness, 181. He returns to Labúr, 183. Receives Humáyun at Lahúr, 197. His selfish conduct, 197. His treaty with his brothers, 198. Their want of union, 199. Kámrán's treachery, 200. He makes overtures to Shir Shah, 2ºO. Receives his ambassador, 201. Abandons Lahúr, 201. Departs for Kabul, 202. Thwarts the plans

of Humáyun, 204. Besieges Hinda in Kandahár, 253. Assumes the royal insignia in Kábul, 264. Invades Badakhshán, 265. 302. Sends an ambassador to Shah Husein of Sind, 265. His power when Humáyun entered Persia, 274; and at the invasion of Kandahár by Humáyun, 302. He again invades Badakhshán, 303. Defeats Mírza Suleimán at Anderáb, 303. Captures Kila-Zefer, 303. His royal prisoners, 303. His apparent prosperity, 303. His apprehensions and preparations on the approach of Humáyun, 304. He removes Akber to Kábul, 304. Receives Biram Khau at Kábul, 307. His irresolution, 308. Defection of his chief nobles, 309. His perplexity, 313. Desertion of all the mírzas, 315. His isolation, 315. He advances to oppose Humáyun, 323. Amount of his army, 323, note. His alarm, 324. He sends an embassy to Humáyun, 324. Flies to the citadel of Kábul, 325. Proceeds to Ghazni, 325. Is refused admittance there, 326. Takes refuge in Sind, 326. 335. Marries Chuchak Begum, 335. Leaves Sind on hearing of Humáyun's illness, 335. Plunders Afghán hoise-dealers, 335. Surprises 335. Ghazni, 336. Retakes Kábul, 332. 336. Puts the governors to death, 336. His cruelties, 336. His general defeated by Hindal, 338. Besieged in Kábul by Humáyun, 339. Kámrán's brutal conduct, 341. His distress and submissive applications, 343. He escapes from Kábul, 344. Robbed by the Hazaras, 345. Takes Ghuri, 345. Flies to Badakhshán, 345; and thence to Bálkh, 346. Loses Ghuri, 346. Engages Pir Muhammed Khan in his interest, 346. Returns with an army from Bálkh, 347. Recovers Ghuri and takes Baklán, 347. Attacks Badakhshán, 347. Receives Kerácha and other rebels from Humáyun's camp, 352. Advances to relieve Talikán, 354. Repulses the besiegers, 355. Retires to the town, 356. Is besieged, 356. His distress, 356. His submissive offers to the Emperor, 356. Surrenders to Humáyun, 357. His generous reception by him, 358. Receives the province of Khutlán, 360. His dissatisfaction, 360. Sets out for his government, 360. -Quarrels with Chaker Khan, 368. Declines to repair to Kábul, 368. Fails to join Humayun in his expedition against Bálkh,

369. His continued absence, 372. Attemps to conquer Badakhshán, 377. Besieges Kunduz, 377. Calls in the Uzbeks, 377. Raises the siege, 378. Returns to Kuláb, 378. His camp plundered by the Uzbeks at Rostak, 378. His army dispersed, 378. Retires to Khost, 379. Excites a revolt in Kábul, 379. The Emperor pre-pares to seize him, 380. Kámrán surprises him at the Dera Kipchák, 381. Defeats him, and compels him to fly, 382. Kámrán occupies Kábul, 386. Increases his army and divides the provinces, 387. The Emperor advances against him, 387. Kámrán refuses the terms offered, 391. Is defeated at Ashterkerám, and escapes from the field, 393. 395. Plundered by the Afghans, 396. Takes refuge with Malek Muhammed of Mundrawer, 396. Driven to the country of the Khalil and Mehmend Afgháns, 397. Collects troops, and plunders the country, 397. Besieges Charbagh, 397. Retreats to Pesháwer, 398. Retires to Lamghán, 398. Flies towards the Indus, 400. Collects troops, and again advances against Humáyun, 401. Retires on the Emperor's rapproach, 401. Attacks the Emperor's camp by night, 402. Repulsed, 402. His distress at his brother Hindal's death, 403. Surprised by Humáyun, 405. Flies to Selim Shah, King of Delhi, 406. His humiliating reception, 408. His escape, 409. His subsequent wanderings and detention by the Gakers, 407. 410. He surrenders to Humáyun, 411. Dis-cussions as to his fate, 412. Is deprived of his eyesight, 412. His interview with Humayun, 416. De-serted by his attendants, 418. Proceeds to Sind and Mekka, 418. Devotion of his wife, 418. Their deaths, 419.

- Kanáuj, taken by Muhammed Sultan, 89. Recovered by Hindal Mírza, 89. Bestowed on Núr-ed-dín Muhammed Mírza, 139. Battle of, 187 et seq. Bestowed by Muhammed Shah on Sirmast Khan, 487.
- Kandahár the kingdom of, confirmed to Kámrán, 6. The town besieged by Sám Mírza, 101. Relieved by Kámrán, 101. Taken by Shah Tahmasp, 104. Surrendered to Kámrán, 105. Delivered by Kerácha Khan to Hündal, 265. Besieged and taken by Kámrán, 253, 265. Bestowed on

Askeri Mírza, 265. Besieged by Humáyun, 306. Distress and desertions in the garrison, 310. Surrender of the town, 311. Given over to the Persians, 313. Seized by Humáyun, 319. Joy of the inhabitants, 319. The provinces of, distributed by Humáyun, 320.

573

- Kanji Khwája, delivers the keys of Kandahár to Shah Tahmasp, 105.
- Kárábágh, 352.
- Karatigin, government of, given by Humáyun to Askeri, 360.
- Karra-Mánikpúr, reduced by Shah Mírza, 85.
- Kashmír, the exiled nobles of, apply to Haider Mírza for aid, 203. Unsuccessful expedition of Bába Jujkeh, 203. Its invasion recommended by Haider Mírza, 199. Humáyun resolves to attempt the conquest of, 202. He abandons the attempt, 205. Haider Mírza proceeds on the enterprise, 364. History of the country, 364. Haider Mírza takes possession of the capital, 366; and becomes master of the kingdom, 366.
- Kásim Ali (Moulána), slain at Chonsa, 173.
- Kásim Birlás, taken prisoner by the Badakhshán nobles, 314. Sent against Humáyun, 323. Occupies the Khimár pass, 323. Is dislodged, 323. Left in charge of Kábul, 380. Surrenders Kábul to Kámrán, 386.
- Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, appointed to Barúch and Nousári, 77. Abandons his capital, 82. Advises an instant attack on Shír Khan at Chonsa, 157. Aids in the defeat of Kutb Khan, 181. At the battle of Kanáuj, 190. Joins Humáyun at Delhi, 195. Joins Hindal in bis attempt on Gujrát, 202. Deserts to Yádgár Mirza, 233. Advises Askeri not to move against Humáyun, 267. Deserts Kámrán, 310. Joins Humáyun against Kámrán, 352. Flies at the rout of Kipchák, 382. Deserts to Kámrán, 386.
- Kásim Mokhlis, Kámrán's Master of Ordnance, 323.

Kattiawár, reduced by Mozeffer Khan, 19. Kazvín, Persian royal residence of, 281. Humáyun's sojourn there, 282.

- Kemál Gaker, his escape at Guáliár, 456, note.
- Kerácha Beg or Khan, seizes Lahúr by stratagem, 7. 1s Humáyun's prime minister, 330. 350. His decided conduct on the illness of Humáyun,

331. Clears the Abdereh Pass, 337. His part in the battle of Deh-Afghánán, 338. Takes Kámrán's general prisoner, 338. His son cruelly treated by Kámrán, 342. Takes Ghuri, 346. His unsuccessful expedition into Badakhshán, 347. His quarrel with Khwája Gházi, S50. He revolts against Humáyun, 351. Deserts, 351. Escapes to Kámrán, 352. Brought in chains before Humáyun, and pardoned, 357, note. Ordered to proceed to Mekka, 363. Allowed to return, 363. He again deserts from Humávun, 386. Appointed by Kámrán to Ghazni, 387. Slain at the battle of Shutergerden, 393.

5/74

- Khalid Beg, presents his horse to Humáyun, 249.
- Khalífa Sultan Shamlu, his defence of Khorásán, 102. Is defeated and slain, 102.
- Khalil (Sheikh), his mission from Shir Shah to Humáyun, 168.
- Khan-Khánán, title of, bestowed by Humáyun on Biram Khan, 399.
- Khan Khánán Lodi, See Diláwer Khan.
- Khanzáda Begum, her care of the infant Akber, 305. Her journey to Askeri, at Kandahár, 308. Her mediation between Humáyun and Askeri, 311. Her death, 322.
- Khati (Malek), his hospitality to Humáyun in the desert, 272.
- Khimár Pass, (the,) cleared by Humáyun's troops, 323.
- Khizer Khan, his defence of Patan-Nehrwála, 70, 71.
- Khizer Khan, son of Muhammed Shab Súr, succeeds his father in Gour, 504. Assumes the title of Sultan Beháder, 504. Is defeated by Muhammed Shab, 504.
- Khizer Khan (Khwája), accompanies the Emperor in his retreat from Dera Kipchák, 383. Appointed to the government of Júi-Sháhi, 400.
- Khizer Khan Hazára, escapes from Kandahár, 310. Receives Kámrán, 334. Escapes from Kábul, 339.
- Khizer Khan Sirwáni, assumes the sovereignty of Bengal, 428. Is thrown into prison, 339.
- Khodáidád Khan, put to death by Islám Shab, 454.

Khodáwend Khan, See Rúmi Khan,

- Khondemír, author of the Kabíl-usseir, his death, 79, note.
- Khorásán, invaded by Obeid Khan, 98. Relieved by Shah Tamasp, 100.

Again invaded by the Uzbeks, 102. Occupied by Shah Tahmasp, 104. Committed to the care of Sultan Muhammed Mírza, 104.

- Khosrou Beg Kokiltash, his treasonable designs, 160.
- Khosrou Shah, garden of, at Kunduz, 333.
- Khosrou Sultan, defeated by Háji Múhammed, 372.
- Khost, collectorate of, given to Monaim Beg, 330. Given to Hindal, 332.
- Khowás Khan, his operations in the conquest of Bengal, 142. He fortifies the Teria-garhi Pass, 144. Defeats Raja Mharta, 169. His part in the battle of Kanáuj, 190. Appointed Sipáhsalár by Shír Shah, 426. Acknowledges Sultan Islám, 449. Guarantees Adel Khan's safety, 449. Receives Adel Khan, 451. They are joined by some of the chief amirs, 451. They march on Agra, 451. Defeated by Sultan Islám, 453. Takes refuge in Mewát and Kemáun, 454. Joins in the rebellion of the Penjáb, 457. Withdraws his forces, 458. Defeats Yahia Salwái, 460. Is put to death by Táj Khan, 460. His character, 460. Veneration of his memory, 461.
- Khurram Begum, mother of Suleimán * Mírza, 314.
- Khutlán. See Kuláb.
- Khwája Pushteh, Pass of, 324.
- Khwája Syaran, Humáyun halts at, 333.
- Kicheri, an Indian dish, 295.
- Kilán (Amír Khwája), his brave defence of Kandabár, 101. Surrenders it to the Persians, 104. Is Kámrán's prime minister, 181. Proceeds to Bhíra, 204. Is seized there by Kámrán, 205.
- Kilát, bestowed on Shír-efken Beg, 320.
- Kila-Zefer, fort of, 41. Blockaded by Kámrán, 303. Surrenders, 303. Taken by the Badakhshán conspirators, 314.

Kizelbáshes. See Persians.

Koh-Aakabein, 339.

- Kokan, the Northern, included in the kingdom of Gujrát, 20.
- Kóli tribes, (the,) attack Humáyun's Camp, 61, 62.

Kota, pays tribute to Mahmúd Khilji, 22.

Kuláb or Khutlán, bestowed by Humáyun on Kámrán, 359. Besieged by Chaker Ali Beg, 378.

Kuli Choli (Mírza), his disaster at the Dera Kipchák, 382. Rumbha, a Rájpút chief, his bravery, 438. His death, 439.

- Kunduz, given to Hindal, 330. 332. Beseiged by Kámrán, 377. Given to Mír Birkeh, 400. Taken by Ibráhím Mírza, 401.
- Kutb Khan, son of Shír Shah, joins Humáyun's camp, 11. Escapes to his father, 12. Retires from Chunár, 140. Defeated and slain in battle, 181.
- Kuth Khan, Governor of Mongeir, his defeat and death in Behár, 126.
- Kutb Khan Náib, mediates between Shír Shah and Puran Mal, 434. Guarantees Adel Khan's safety, 449. Empowered by Selím Shah to negotiate, 452. Recalled to camp, 453. Sent in pursuit of the rebels, 454. Flies to the Penjáb, 455. Surrendered to Selím Shah, 455.

Kútb-ed-dín (Múlla), of Shiráz, 96.

- Lád Malek, wife of Táj Khan, 131. Her marriage with Shír Shah, 132.
- Lahúr, captured by Kámrán, 7. Unsuccessfully besieged by Muhammed Zemán Mírza, 102. Occupied by Shír Shah, 424.
- Lankern (Rái), Raja of Jeselmír, 246.
- Latíf Khan, his imprisonment in Burhánpúr, 97.
- Lawang Balúch, acknowledges Humáyun, 327. His appointment to the government of Shál and Mustung, 327.
- Law, Muhammedan, General Kennedy's "Abstract" of, notice of, 23, note.
- Literature, (the,) of Persia and Arabia, its value, 24.
- Lohri, or Rohri, Humáyun's encampment at, 209. Description of the place, 214.
- Logher given to Hindal Mirza, 400.

Máchíwára, battle of, 515.

- Máham Begum, mother of Humáyun, 2, note.
- Máhum Anka, Akber's nurse, 271.
- Mahmúd II. (Sultan), King of Malwa, 25. Intrigues of his minister, 26.
 Flies from his palace, 27. Supported by Medíni Rui, 26. Repels the invasion of Muhammed Shah, 28.
 Makes peace, 29. Determines to dismiss his Rájpúts, 31. His imprudence, 31. Attempts to assassinate Medíni Rai and Salbhan, 31. Escapes to Gujrát, 31. Is replaced on the throne, 32. Besieges Gagrown, 32. Is deféated and made prisoner

by Rána Sánga, 33. Restored, 33. Receives Chand Khan of Gujrát, 33. Attacks Rána Rattonsi, 34. Is besieged in Mándu by Beháder Shah, 35. Taken prisoner, 35. Put to death, 35.

- Mahmúd Khan Bhekeri (Sultan), his command in the army of Shah Hasan,
 70. Phunders in Gujrát, 71. Is governor of Upper Sind and Bheker,
 214. Declines to surrender Bheker to Humáyun, 215. Defends the fort,
 218. Relieves Humáyun's distress for provisions, 232. His disgrace,
 252. He defeats Sheikh Ali Beg Jeláir, 260.
- Mahmúd Khilji (Sultan), becomes King of Malwa, 21. His conquests and power, 22. His defeat near Ahmedábád, 22.
- Mahmúd Lodi (Sultan), his claim to the throne, 5. 129. Proclaimed king, 130. Acknowledged by Shír Khan, 130. Expelled by Báber, 130. Flies to Bengal, 5. 130. Again collects an army, 132. Joined by Shír Khan, 133. Takes Juánpúr, 9. 133. Deserted by Shír Khan, 138. Defeated by Humáyun at Doura, 10. 134.
- Mahmud Shah Bigara, his successes, 20. Origin of his name, 20, note.
- Mahmúd Shah (Sultan), King of Bengal, his murder of his nephew, 136. His usurpation, 136. Besieged in Gour, 136. 142. Takes refuge with Humáyun, 142.
- Mahmúd Shah, son of Latíf Khan, his reign in Gujrát, 97.
- Mahmúd Shah Púrabi, his daughter married to Khizer Khan Sirwáni, 428.
- Mahmúdábád, ravaged by Shah Hasan, 71. Under the government of Mír Bochak Beháder, 77.

Mahsos. See Hosheng II.

- Makhdúm Alim Khan, allies himself with Shír Shah, 126.
- Makhdúma Jehan, mother of Behåder Shah, 96.
- Makri, family of, in Kashmir, 364.
- Maldeo, Rái of Júdpúr or Márwár, his dominions, 235. Sends spies into Humáyun's camp, 240. His insincerity, 241. His power and dominions, 485. He quarrels with Shír Shah, 436. Is attacked by him, 436. Advances to oppose Shír Shah, 437. Suspects treachery, 438. Retreats, 438. Discovers the plan to deceive him, 439.

Maldeo, son of Rái Lankern, 246.



Malek Saka, his defeat and death, 122. Malu Khan. See Milu Khan.

376

- Malwa, becomes an independent kingdom under Diláwer Khan, 17. 21. Hosheng, 21. Its power under Sultan Mahmúd Khilji, 22. Power of the Hindu chiefs, 25. Character of its princes, 25. Sultan Mahmúd II., 25. Power of the Rájpúts, 27. Confederacy of Musulman nobles, 27, Their struggle for the ascendancy, 28, et seq. Peace concluded, 30. Subsequent history, 30-33. Its dismemberment, 33. Invaded and conquered by Behåder Shah, 11. 35. Invaded and conquered by Humáyun, 46. 58. Insurrections, 79. Quelled by Hu-máyun, 79. The province wrested from Humáyun by Káder Shah, 91. 429. Invaded by Shir Shah, 429. Conquered, 431. The government bestowed on Shujaa Khan, 432.
- Mandelgar, conquered by Mahmúd Khilji, 22.
- Mandráel, battle of, 46.
- Mandsúr, conquered by Mahmúd Khilji, 22. Rout of, 50.
- Mándu, foundation of, 21. Taken by Sultan Mahmúd, 32. Massacre of the Rájpúts, 32. Besieged and taken by Beháder Shah, 35. Date of this capture, 35, note. Invested by Humáyun, 55. Description of the city, 55. Escaladed, 56. Plundered by Humáyan's troops, 57. Abandoned by Humáyun, 90. Occupied by Bhopal Rái, 90.
- Mánkót, or Mánghar, built by Islám Shah, 467.
- Márwár, or Júdpúr, under the government of Maldeo, 435. Invaded by Shír Shah, 436.
- Matter-Sín (Raja), delivers up Biram Khan to Shír Shah, 258.
- Medíni Rao, or Rai, aids Sultan Mahmúd II. to regain the throne of Becomes prime minis-Malwa, 26. ter, 27. Musulman league against him, 27. Defeats Mozeffer Shah of Gujrát, 28. Advances against Muhammed Shah, 28. Effects a peace, Receives Chandéri, 30, Re-29. quired by the Rájpúts to depose Sultan Mahmúd, 31. Attempt to assassinate him, 31. Attacked by Sultan Mahmud, 31. Applies for aid to Advances to re-Rána Sánga, 32. lieve Gagrown, 32. Defeats Sultan Mahmúd, 38. Is defeated by Baber, and slain in Chanderi, 34

Mehdevis, account of the, 475.

- Mehdi Kásim Khan, his service under Askeri Mírza, 267.
- Mehdi Khwájá (Syed), a competitor for the throne of Delhi, 3.
- Mehter Sagái (afterwards Ferkhat Khan), saves Humáyun from death, 383.
- Mehter Vakíla, blinded by Kámrán Mírza, 336.
- Mehter Zambúr, his flight to Ujein, 79.
- Meshhid, taken by Obeid Khan, 98. Overrun by the Uzbeks, 99. Again besieged by Obeid Khan, 103. Visited by Humáyun, 279. 296.
- Mewát, assigned to Hindal Mírza, 6. Given to Terdi Beg Khan, 520.
- Mharta (Raja), his defeat and death, 169. Mhow, in Sind, 288.
- Mían Tansín, 504.
- Milu (or Malu) Khan, Governor of Malwa. Flies with Beháder Shah from Mandsúr, 53; and on the capture of Mándu, 56. His position in Malwa, 56, note. Plonders Hindia, 79. Assumes the crown of Malwa, 91. 429. See Káder Shah.
- Mírak (Beg), appointed to Chunár, 142.
- Mírak (Sheikh), his mission to the Emperor Humáyun, 217. His return to Tatta, 222.
- Mirán Muhammed Khan Fárúkhi, Prince of Kundesh, 38. Flies from the intrenchments of Mandsúr, 53. Joins Bhopal Rao in Mándu, 91. Raised to the throne of Gujrát, 97.
- Mírza Beg, joins Kámrán in his flight from Kábul, 345.
- Mírza Beg Birlás, Governor of Ghuri, defeated by Kámrán, 345.
- Moazem Sultan (Khwája), left in charge of the family of Humáyun, at Amerkot, 254. He divides Humáyun's presents among the Persians, 295. His quarrel with Baltu Khan, 513.
- Mobárek Bokhári (Syed), his engagement with Yádgár Násir Mírza, 86.
- Mobárez Khan, his position in the army of Shír Shah at Kanáuj, 190. See Sultan Muhammed Shah Adel Shah.
- Moháfez Khan, places Muhammed Shah on the throng of Malwa, 26. Driven into exile, 26. Invades Malwa, 28. Is defeated and slain, 29.
- Mokadam Beg, 191.
- Mokim Khan, besieged by Mirza Suleimán in Anderáb, 522.
- Monaim Beg, or Khan, sent on a mission to Shah Husein, 229. His attempted desertion, 238. He retreats with Humáyun, 244, 249. Deserts Humáyun, 258. Arrives in the camp

- of Humáyun, 322. Appointed to the collectorate of Khost, 330. Cooperates with Humáyun in chastising the Afgháns, 407. Defeats Fateh Shah, 407. Contrives an interview between Humáyun and Kámrán, 416. Left to finish the rebuilding of Bekrám, 420. Enjoys the Emperor's confidence, 507. Appointed to Kábul, under Muhammed Hakím, 509.
- Mongeir, occupied by Khan Khánán Lodi, 153. Burnt and taken by Shír Shah, 154.
- Mosábib Beg, submits to Humáyun, 324. His son cruelly treated by Kámrán, 342. Rebels against Humáyun, 351. 'Escapes to Kámrán,
- 352. Conveys the families of the rebels to Talikán, 353. Ordered to proceed to Mekka, 363. Allowed to return, 363.
- Moveiíd Beg Duldi, his cruelty, 141. His advice to Humáyun, 155. 157.
- Moyín Khan, of Sivás, joins Sultan Mahmúd, 34. Receives the title of Masnad Khan, 34. Deserts to Rána Ruttonsi, 35. Seized by Shujaa Khan, 431.
- Mozeffer Beg Turkomán, sent to support Hindal, 197. Driven from his position on the Bíah by Shír Shah, 201.
- Mozeffer Khan, or Shah, becomes King of Gujrát, 18. His origin, 18. Defeats Hosheng, King of Malwa, 19. Reinstates Hosheng, 19. His descendants, 20.
- Mozeffer Shah II., his reign in Gujrát, 20. Called in to aid in Malwa against the Rájpúts, 27. Advances to Dhár, 28. Defeated by Medini Rai, 28. Again invades Malwa, 31. Takes Dhár and Mandu, 32. Reinstates Sultan Mahmúd in his capital, 32. His death, 33.
- Muhammed (Melek) of Mandráwer, entertains Kámrán, 896.
- Muhammed (Sultan), King of Behár and Juánpúr, 120. His elevation of Shír Shah, 120.
- Muhammed (Syed), founder of the Mehdevis, 476.
- Muhammed Afghán (Shah), prepares to arrest Humáyun in his flight from Chonsa, 174.
- Mubammed Ali (Moulána), slain at Chonsa, 173.
- Muhammed Ali Taghái, Governor of Kábul, refuses to put Yádgár to death, 328. Slain by Kámrán, 336.
- Muhammed Bába Kushke (Háji). See Háji Muhammed Koka.

VOL. H.

Muhammed Bakhshi (Mír), appointed Governor of Agra, 139. His exertions to equip the troops, 160. His distress at the murder of Sheikh Bhúl, 164.

5710

- Muhammed Barghiz (Múlla), his mission to Shír Shah, 168.
- Muhammed Bergholi (Moulána), 56. 70.
- Muhammed Farghari (Moulána), his character, 184. Muhammed Firmuli (Shah), his re-
- Muhammed Firmuli (Shah), his remonstrance with Islám Shah, 466. Deprived of the government of Kanáuj, 487. Put to death in the derbár at Guáliár, 487.
- Muhammed Gházi Taghái, sent as envoy by Hindal to Núr-ed-din Muhammed Mírza, 161. 163.
- Muhammed Hakím (Mírza), son of Humáyun, appointed Governor of Kábul, 509.
- Muhammed Kásim Khan Birlás. See Kásim Khan.
- Muhammed Kásim Khan Mochi, strangles Yádgár, 328. His wife cruelly treated by Kámrán, 342. Left in charge of Kábul, 353.
- Muhammed Khan Rúmi, his part in the battle of Kanáuj, 187.
- Muhammed Khan Sherf-ed-dín Ughli Taklu, appointed Amír-ul-omra of Khorásán, 104. Receives Humáyun at Herát, 279.
- Muhammed Khan Súr, takes part with Suleimán against his brother, Shír Khan, 119. Casts doubts on Shír Khan's fidelity, 120. Expels him from his jagírs, 122. Is driven out by Shír Shah, 122. Conciliated by Shír Shah's generous conduct, 123. Governor of Bengal, 500. Assumes the sovereignty, 500. Defeated by Hímá Bakái, 502.
- Muhammed Koka (Háji), or Háji Muhammed Baba Kushkeh, flies from Humáyun's camp, 153. Joins Hin-dal's rebellion, 160. Joins Hudal's rebellion, 160. Joins Hu-máyun in Sistán, 276. Honoured by Shah Tahmasp with the title of Sultan, 288. Seizes Kandahár by stratagem, 319. Clears the Khimár pass, 323. Severely wounded at the siege of Kabul, 339. Joins Humáyun at Kárábágh, 352. Defeats the Uzbeks near Balkh, 372. Honoured with the patent of Khan, 375. Sent towards Bamian, 381. Joins Humáyun after his defeat at Kipchak, 383. Proposes that Humayun should bind himself to act on the advice of his nobles, 388. Com-

P P

578

mands the reserve at the battle of Shutergerden, 392. Appointed minister to Akber, 394. Withdraws to Ghazni, 396. Summoned to attend Humáyun against Kámráu, 397. Entertains Biram Khan in Ghazni, 398. Suspected of treachery, 398. Prevailed on by Biram to accompany him to Kábul, 398. Escapes from Kábul, 399. Returns, and is reconciled to Humáyun, 399. Found guilty of rebellion, and put to death, 400.

Muhammed Khodábendeh, shrine of, 284.

Muhammed Khorásáni (Shah), 251.

- Muhammed Murád Mírza (Sultan), son of Shah Tahmasp, commands the Persian auxiliaries, 294. 302. Receives possession of Kandahár, 313. His death, 318.
- His death, 318. Muhammed Shah, King of Kashmír, expelled from the throne, 365.
- Muhammed Shah Adel Shah (Sultan), or Adeli, or Mobárez Khan, murders his nephew, Firúz Shah, 485. Account of him, 484. His accession to the throne of Delhi, 485. His character, 485. Hated and despised by his subjects, 487. Up-roar and murder in his derbár, 487. 488. He quells the revolt of the Keránis, 488. Sketch of his minister, Hímú Bakál, 491. Spread of disaffection, 493. Revolt of Ibrá-hím Khan, 493. Adeli abandons Agra and Delhi, 494. Distracted state of the kingdom, 495. Defeat of Ibráhím, 499. Adeli deleats the king of Bengal, 502. Prepares to oppose Humáyun, 503. Defeated by Sultan Behåder, and slain, 504.
- Muhammed Shah Chándéri, raised to the throne of Malwa, 26. His exile, 26. Invited to return, 27. Returns with powerful auxiliaries, 28. Concludes a peace with Sultan Mahmúd, 29. Dies, 30.
- Muhammed Shah Súr (Sultan), King of Bengal, 495. Defeated and slain at Chapergháta, 502.
- Muhammed Sultan (Shah) of Hissar, attacks Humáyun's camp, 372.
- Muhammed Sultan Mirza, aspires to the throne of Delhi, 3. Rebels, is defeated and made prisoner, 13. Ordered to be blinded, 13. Escapes, 14. Assumes the sovereignty in Behár, 75, 89. Fixes his seat of government at Belgrám, 89. Defeated by Hindal, 90. Again de-

feated at Oud, 90. Flies to Kuch-Behár, 90. Is pardoned, and joins Humáyun, 180. Deserts Humáyun, 185. Joins Kámrán, 206. 303.

- Muhammed Zemán Mírza, made Governor of Juánpúr by Báber, 181. Aspires to the throne of Delhi, 3. His parentage and history, 12. Is defeated and made prisoner, 13. Pardoned, 13. Escapes to Gujrát, 13. 42. His conduct at Mandsúr, 52. Flies on the dispersion of Behader Shah's army, 53. His fruitless ex-pedition against Lahúr, 96. 102. Joins Behader Shah's family, 96. Proclaimed King of Gujrát by the Portuguese, 97. Defeated and driven from Gujrát, 97. Reconciled to Humáyun, 97. 102. 139. Slain at Chonsa, 173.
- Mubammedábád-Champanír, burnt by Beháder Shah, 60.
- Mujáhid Khan, of Júnagar, his junction with Imád-ul-mulk, 75.
- Multán, submits to Shír Shah, 433.
- Múlúk (Beg), waits upon Kámrán, 415. Deserts him, 418.
- Murád Afshár (Sultan) of Farra, joins Sám Mírza in his invasion of Kandahár, 101.
- Murád Mírza (Sultan). See Sultan Muhammed Murád Mírza.
- Mustung, given by Humáyun to Lawang Balúch, 327.
- Musulmans, their religion contrasted with that of the Hindoos, 4. Their early position in India, 22. The nature of their rule, 22. Causes of the extension of their influence, 23. Their literature, 24. Their confederacy against the Rájpúts in Malwa, 27.

Nadím Koka, 244.

Nadim Kokiltash, his charge of Askeri Mírza, 321.

Nagór, invaded by Behåder Shah, 11. Nander, hills of, 426.

- Nasir Khan, supports his father, Moyin Khan, 432. · Defeated by Shujaa Khan, 432.
- Nasir-ed-dín Muhammed Humáyun. See Humáyun,
- Nasret Shah, King of Bengal, invades Behár, 126. Repulsed, 126. Receives Sultan Jilál-ed-dín, 127. Aids him with an army, 127. His death, 136.
- Nazer Ali (Mir), his rebellion against Kámrán's governor of Badakhshán, 813.



Mazúk Shah, King of Kashmir, driven out by Mirza Haider, 366.

Nehrwala. See Patan.

Niázis, the, defeated by Islám Shab, 464. They are exterminated, 467.

- Nilber valley, beauty of, 369.
- Nishabhr, Humáyun's visit to the turquoise mines of, 280.
- Nizám, brother of Shír Shah, 113. Left in charge of his brother's jágírs, 123. Accompanies him to Patna, 125.
- Nizam, the water-carrier, 172. 179.
- Nizám Aulía, 172, and note.
- Nizám Khan Súr, his family, 484.
- Nizam-ed-din Ahmed, his remarks on the conduct of Maldeo, 242.
- Nousári, under Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, 77. Occupied by the friends of Beháder Shah, 82.
 - Núr-ed-dín Muhammed (Hakím), physician of Shah Tahmasp, uses his influence with the Shah in behalf of Humáyun, 290. 292.
- Núr-ed-dín Muhammed Mírza, appointed to the government of Kanáuj, 139. Plots against Humáyuu, 161. Puts Sheikh Bhúl to death, 163.
- Obeid Khan, invades Khorásán, 98. Expelled, 99. His second invasion, 99. His repulse, 100. Lays siege to Meshhíd and Herát, 103. Retreats, 104. His death, 106. Oulía (Sheikh), 29.

Pakheli, added to Kashmir, 367.

Pánipat, battle of, 503.

- Panúj, pass of, surmounted by Mírza Haider, 366.
- Parsád (Rána), Raja of Amerkot, generously receives Humáyun. Gives up Amerkot, 254. Preceeds against Jún, 254. Leaves Humáyun's camp in disgust, 257.
- Patan-Nehrwála, capital of Gujrát, 19.
 Its defence by Khizer Khan, 70, 71.
 Bestowed on Yádgár, 77.
 Taken by the troops of Beháder Shah, 83.
 - Patna, 125: Confusion in the native historians in writing the name, 129, note. Reduced by Sh.r Shah, 135.
- Pehlewan Badakhshi (Mír), his death, 171.
- Penjáb, occupied by Kámrán Mírza, 8. Confirmed to him by Humáyan, 8. Penjshír, valley of, 353.
- Perián, fort of, founded by Taimur, 361. Restored by Humáyun, and its name charged to Islámábád, 361.
 Persia, Humáyun's residence in, 275.
 Persian auxiliaries, the, with Hu-

máyun, 302. Their operations in Kandahár, 308. 309. Their quarrels with Humáyun's troops, 316. Are driven out of Kandahár, 319.

Persians, the, lose Balkh, 368.

Pesháwer. See Bekrám.

- Piraneh, chief of the Janúha tribe, surrenders to Humáyun, 419. Delivered to Sultan Adam, 419.
- Pír Muhammed Atkeh, slain at Kipchák, 382.
- Pir Muhammed Khan, assists Kámrán, 346. Takes Balkh from the Persians, 368. Defeats Humáyun at the Dera-Gez, 376. His generous treatment of the prisoners, 378.
- Portuguese, their wars with Mahmúd Shah Bigara, 20. Their settlements in India, 72. Their fortress at Diu, 73. Their treaty with Behåder Shah, 73. They possess themselves of Diu, on his death, 95.
- Prubhan (Raja), covers Humáyun's flight from Chonsa, 174.
- Puran-Mal, recovers Ráisen and Chándéri, 429. Surrenders Ráisen to Shír Shah, 434. Treacherously put to death, 434.

Purnía, given in jágír to Hindal, 149.

Rafía, defeated by Biram Khan, 307.

Rafía-ed-dín (Syed), 193.

Rafík Koka, repulses Suleimán Mírza, 347.

Rahik, the pass of, 333.

- Rái-mal Soni, his secret mission to the Court of Júdpúr, 241.
- Rái-Ráian, the, of Malwa, 31.
- Ráisen, assigned to Muhammed Shah, 29. Given to Silbádi, 30. Catastrophe of, 37. Given to Alem Khan Jigat, 37. Submits to Humáyun, 47. Recovered by the sons of Silhádi, 429. Surrenders to Shír Shah, 434.
- Surrenders to Shír Shah, 434. Rájpúts, their power on Humáyun's accession, 5. Their ascendency at the Court of Malwa, 27. 30. Nineteen thousand massacred at Mándu, 32. Their successes in Malwa, 33. Defeated by Báber, 34. Their despair at the sack of Cheitur, 48. Their slaughter at Ráisen, 435. Their power in Márwár, 437. Defeated by Shír Shah, 439.

Rajuri, annexed to Kashmir, 967.

- Rakn Daúd, causes a night atlack on Humáyun's camp, 61.
- Rámchander (Raja), defeats Ibráhím Khan Súr, 501.
- Rantambór, annexed to Malwa, 2?. Surrendered to Shir Shah, 432.

Regalia, the celebrated, given by Rána Bikermájít to Beháder Shah, 15. Their history, 15, note. 94, note. Rhotas, in Behár, 145. Treacherously

- Rhotas, in Behár, 145. Treacherously taken by Shír Shah, 147. Its importance, 148. Sir A. Burnes's description of it, 427, note. Abandoned by the Afgháns, 510. Taken by Humáyun, 511.
- Rohri. See Lohri.
- Rostak, rout at, 379.
- Roushen Beg Koka, his services in Schwán, 230. Informs Humáyun of the intended desertion of the Begs, 233. Sent to get guides, 243. Takes his horse from Humáyun's Begum, 249. Visits the Persian Court, 288. Intrigues against Humáyun, 288. His punishment, 292.
- Rúmi Khan, or Khodáwend Khan, his artillery under Beháder Shah, 48-50. He deserts to Humáyun, 55. His operations at Chunár, 140. Ancedote of him, 140, note. His death, 142.
- Rúmi Khan Sefer, builds Surat Castle, 82. Defends Surat, 82. His narrow escape at the time of Beháder Shah's death, 93.
- Ruttonsi (Rána) of Cheitúr, succeeds his father Rána Sánga, 34. His war with Sultan Mahmúd, 34. Overruns Malwa, 36. His death, 40. Length of his reign, 40 note.
- Sadr Khan, deserts Sultan Mahmúd, 29. His advice to Behåder Shah, 47, 49. His flight from Mandsúr, 53. His gallantry at Mándu, 57. Honourably received by Humáyun, 58. Slain in the night-attack near Cambay, 62, *uote*.

Sadi, his works, 25.

- Sahsarám, given in jágír to Hasau, 112. Managed by his son, Feríd, 115. Disputes regarding, 117-121.
- Said Khan, brother of Azim Humáyun, visits Islám Shah, 456. Escapes from his camp, 457. Attacks Islám Shah, 459. Is slain, 467.
- Said Uzbek, plunders Kámrán's camp at Rostak, 378.

Sakar, description of, 226.

- Salbhan, his assassination, 34.
- Samander (Mir), his mission to Shah Husein, 216; and to Júdpúr, 240. Sent on a mission from Haider Mirza to Humáyun, 366.
- Sambal Khan, commands Humáyun's artillery, 348.

Sambala, battle of, 464.

Sambhal, assigned to Askeri Mírza, 6.

- Sám Mírza, brother of Shah Tahmasp, Viceroy of Khorásán, 100. Besieges Kandahár, 101. Defeated, 101. Flies to Tabas, 102. Pardoned by Shah Tamasp, 104.
- Sánga (Rána), his aid solicited by Medíni Rái, 32. Defeats Mahmúd II., 33. Restores him his kingdom, 33. Defeated by Báber, 34. His death, 34.
- Sangái Nagóri, his secret mission to the camp of Humáyun, 240.
- San Jago, or Feringi Khan, his employment by Behåder Shah, 49.
- Sanjer (Mírza), 253.
- Sarang (Sultan), refuses to submit to Shir Shab, 425.
- Sarangpúr, Humáyun's encampment there, 47.
- Sazáwal Khan. See Shujaa Khan.
- Sebzáwár, overrun by the Uzbeks, 99.
- Sehwan, or Siwi, or Siwistán, invaded by Humáyun, 223. Description of the province, 223. The fort besieged, 224. The siege raised, 229.
- Sekander Khan of Bhilsa, adheres to Sultan Mahmúd, 27. Rebels, and defeats Mahmúd's army, 28. Invades Hindia, 79.
- Sekander Khan Firmuli, his death in the derbár, 487.
- Sekander Khan Uzbek, appointed to the command of Bekrám, 421. Repels the Uzbeks, 421. Raised to the rank of khan, 510. Occupies Sirhend for Humáyun, 513. Retreats, 514. Sent by Humáyun to occupy Agra, 520.
- Sekander Lodi (Sultan) of Delhi, called into Malwa against Medini Rái, 27. Withdraws his troops, 29.
- Sekander Shah (Sultan). See Ahmed Khan.
- Sekander Sultan, assists in the defeat of Kuth Khan, 181.
- Sekander Topchi, his junction with Haider Mirza, 204. His retirement into the mountains of Sarang, 205.

Selim Chishti (Sheikh), 452. 475.

- Selim Shah. See Islam Shah.
- Selimgarh, foundation of, 457.
- Senjer Birlás (Mírza), deserts Humáyan, 337. Taken prisoner by Humáyun, 340.
- Seráis, established by Shir Shah, 442.
- Setelmír, Humáyun's halt at, 244.
- Shadi, his success against Shir Shah's troops, 122.
- Sháhbáz Khan Niázi, given up to Islám Shah, 455. Slain, 467.
- Shah-berdi Khan, his arrival in the camp of Humáyun, 324.



Shah-kuli Sultan Istajlu, his reception of Humáyun at Meshhíd, 279.

- Shah-kuli Sultan Afshár, his command in the Persian auxiliaries, 294.
- Shah Mírza, his defeat and imprisonment,
 13. Escapes, 14. Revolts in Behár,
 78. Reduces Karra-Mánikpúr, 89.
 Again deserts Humáyun, 185. Under surveillance at Kábul, 303. Recaptures Askeri, 321. Slain, 363.
- Shah 'Muhammed, seized and put to death by Humáyun, 400.
- Shah Sultan (Mírza), his mission to the camp of Kámrán, 391.

Sháhdán, Humáyun's illness there, 330.

- "Shahzáda Khánum, betrothed to Humáyun, 397.
 - Shál, hestowed on Haider Sultan, 320. Given by Humáyun to Lawang Balúch, 327.
 - Shehr-Bánu Begum, sent with her son, Sanger, to her husband Yádgár, 253. Her death, 253.
 - Shems-ed-dín Muhammed Ghaznevi, or Atkeh Khan, or Mír Atka, or Mír Ghaznevi, saves Humáyun at the battle of Kanáuj, 191. The fosterfather of Akber, 192. Is gratefully received at Lahúr, 197, note. Is deputed to the Court of Maldeo, 241. Returns secretly to Humáyun, 242. Sent to seize some guides, 243. Has charge of Akber, 270, 271. 305, note. Deprived of his charge, and imprisoned by Kámrán, 313. Again relieved of his charge by Kámrán, 336.
 - Shemshir Khan, his elevation by Adeli, 486.
 - Shias, persecuted by the Sunnis at Herát, 104. Their religious tenets, 276.

Shibertu, the defile of, 333.

- Shir Ali, fortifies and abandons the Abdereh Pass, 337. Defends Kåbul against Humåyun, 339. Plunders a caravan near the city, 340. His retreat cut off, 340. Defeated at the Sejáwend Pass, 341. Joins Kámrán in his flight from Kábul, 345. Left in charge of Ghuri, 345. Besieged in Ghuri by Kerácha Khan, and escapes, 346. Brought as a prisoner to Humáyun, 354. Honoured by the Emperor, 354. Appointed minister to Mirza Hindal, 360.
- Shir Ali Khan, slain by Abul Maali, 518.
- Shir-ofken Beg, deserts Kámrán, 310. Receives the government of Kilát, 320. Appointed to the governments

of Kahmerd, Zohák, and Bámián, 331. Deserts to Kámrán, 332. 336. Defeated by Hindal at the battle of Deh-Afghánán, 333. Taken prisoner, 338. His head struck off, 339. Shír Shah, son of Khizer Khan, 504. Shír Khan, See Shír Shah.

Shir Shah Súr-Shir Khan-Ferid, his character, 110. His family, 111. His early history, 112, et seq. His acquirements, 114. Appointed to manage his father's jágírs, 115. His judicious and bold measures, 115. Prosperity of his districts, 116. Jealousy of his step-mother, 117. He resigns the jágírs, 117. Repairs to the court of Sultan Ibráhim Lodi, 117. Succeeds to his father's jágirs, Favoured by Sultan Muham-118. med of Behár, 120. His prowess and elevation, 120. Honoured with the title of Shir Khan, 120. In-trigues of his enemies, 120. The division of his jágírs ordered, 121. The He refuses to divide them, 121. Is expelled, 122. Regains his jágírs, 122. Increases his territory and forces, 123. His generous policy, 123. Visits Báber at Agra, 123, 124. He meditates the restoration of the Afghán empire, 124. Báber's prediction of his rise to future greatness, 124. Withdraws suddenly from the Court, 125. His reconciliation to the King of Behár, 125. Becomes prime minister, 125. Repulses an invasion from Bengal, 126. The Loháni Afgháns conspire against him, 126. Flight of the King, his master, He defeats the Bengal army 127. under Ibráhím Khan, 128. Acknowleges Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, 180. Occupies Benáres, 130. Submits to Baber, 130. Extends his jágirs and his power, 131. Rises to great distinction among the Afghans, 10. Acquires Chunár, 10, 131, 132. Joins Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, 193. Betrays him, 133. Refuses to give up Chunár and his jágírs, 134. Makes peace with Humáyun, 11, 134. Extends his power, 184. Plunders north of the Ganges, 135. Defeats Ulugh Mirza, 135. Occupies Southern Behar, 89. 135. Invades Bengal, 136. Besieges Gour, 136. Humáyun prepares to attack him, 139. Shir Khan's operations in Bengal, 142. Takes Gour, 143. Reduces Bengaland Behar, 143. Refuses to submit to Humayun, 143.



Humáyun's approach, 144. Shír Khan orders the Teria-garhi Pass to be fortified, 144. His plans, 145. Surprise and rout of the Imperial advanced guard, 146. Shir Khan acquires Rhotas, 147. Reoccupies Behar and the passes, 151. Takes Benáres, and besieges Juánpúr, 151. Blockades Chunár, 152. Assumes the title of Shah, or king, 155. Raises the siege of Juánpúr, 156. His tactics, 156. Meets the army of Humáyun at Chonsa, 157. Fortifies his camp, 157. Receives Humáyun's envoy, 168. Proposed terms of treaty, 169. He attacks Humáyun's camp, 170. Slaughters the Imperialists, 171, 172. His proceedings, 173. His generosity to the captive family of Humáyun, 173, 174. 445. His supremacy in Behar and Bengal, 175; and in the lower Gangetic provinces, 176. He advances to meet Humáyun, 180. His advance defeated, 181. He defeats the Imperialists at the battle of Kanauj, 187, et seq. Occupies Agra and Delhi, 196. Sends in pursuit of the fugitive Emperor, 197. Negotiates with Kámrán, 200. Occupies the Penjáb, 201. 423. Restores the Afghán supremacy in India, 210, 211. Assists the fugitive Malek Ali Chak of Kashmir, 366. Opposed by the Gakers, 425. They defeat his detachments, 425. He erects the strong fortress of Rhotas, 426. Returns to Delhi and Agra, 427. Quells a revolt in Bengal, 428. Resolves to reduce Malwa, 428. Guáliár surrenders, He quarrels with Kader Shah 429. of Malwa, 430. Marches against him, 430. Their apparent reconcilia-tion, 430. Shir Shah's artifice, 431. Compels Káder to fly to Guzrát, 431. Attempts to seize the nobles of Malwa, 481. Takes Rantambor, 432. Returns to Agra, 432, Multán occupied by his forces, 432, His ad-ministration, 433. He returns to Malwa, 434. Compels Ráisen to capitulate, 434. His treachery and massacre of the garrison, 434, 435. His schemes on Márwár, 435. Invades it with a large army, 486. Excites dissension among the Rájpúts, 437. His camp desperately attacked by the Rájpúts, 438. He marches into Me vár, 459. Besieges Kálinjer, 440. Captures the place, 440.

His death, 440. His character, abilities, and great designs, 441. Scanty records of his civil administration, 446. Anecdotes of him, 444--446.

- Shitáb Khan, or Syed Ishák, recovers Cambay for Beháder Shah, 83.
- Shujaa Khan, or Sazáwal Khan, blockades Guáliár, 429. Ordered to perform obeisance to Káder Shah, 431.
 Appointed to the government of Sivás, 431. Seizes and imprisons Moyín Khan of Sivás, 431. Defeats Moyín's son, Nasír Khan, 432. Totally defeats Káder Shah, 432.
 Appointed sole governor of Malwa, 492. His nearly despotic power, 455. 461. Joins Islám Shah, 457.
 Attempt on his life by an Afghán, 462. He quarrels with Islám Shah, who invades Malwa, 463 Flies from Malwa, 463. Restored, 463. 495. His death, 505.

Shutergerden, battle of, 392.

- Siah-ab, affair of. 401.
- Sikri, Humáyun's halt there, 194.
- Siláh-ed-dín, or Silhádi, receives Ráisen and Bhilsa from Rána Sánga, 32, Deserts to Rána Ruttonsi, 35. Meets Beháder Shah at Dhár, 36. Is made prisoner, 36. His death, 37.
- Silhádi. See Siláh-ed-dín.
- Sind, its condition under Shah Husein, 213. Humáyun's residence there, 213.
- Sirhend, occupied by Sekander Uzbek, 513. Evacuated, 514. Reoccupied by Biram Khan, 516. The battle of, 517. Given to Biram Khan, 520.
- Sirkich, in Gujrát, 77.
 - Sirmast Khan Sirpani, appointed to the government of Kanáuj, 487. Slain by Sekander Firmuli, 488.
 - Sivás given by Shír Shah to Shujaa Khan, 481.
 - Siwi, or Siwistán. See Sehwán.

Sodha tribe, the, 72.

Soliman the Magnificent, his celebrated crown and girdle, 15, note. Solicited for assistance by Behåder Shah, 73. Invades Persia, 100.

Sóngar, fort of, 56.

- Srínagar, capital of Kashmír, taken by Mírza Haider, 366.
- Sufián Khalífa, defeats the Uzbeks in Khorásán, 102. His death, 103.
- Suleimán, brother of Shír Shah, 113. Appointed to manage his father's jágírs, 117. Dislodged by his brother, 118. Flies to Muhammed Khan Súr, 119.

Suleimán Khan Keráni, brother of Táj

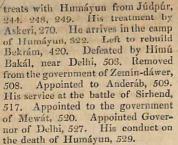
Khan, joins his brother in rebellion, 489.

- Suleimán Mírza, or Mírza Suleimán, confirmed in his government of Badakhshán, 6. Defeated by Kámrán Mírza, 265. Recovers his territory, 302. Defeated by Kámrán at Anderáb, 303. Carried captive Restored to his into Kábul, 303. Restored to his government of Badakhshán, 314. His congratulatory mission to Humáyun, 326. He seizes Kunduz, Khost, and Anderáb, 323. Humáyun's expedition against him, 328. Suleimán defeated at Tirkerán, S29. His flight, 329. Restored to Badakhshán by Humáyun, SS2. Rejects Rethe overtures of Kámrán, 345. pulsed by Rafik Koka, 347. Joins Humáyun before Talikán, 356. Obtains Talikán from Humáyun, 360. Joins Humáyun in his expedition against Bálkh, 369. Attacks the Uzbek advance, 372. Flies to Badakhshán after the route at Dera-Gez, 376. Driven thence by Kamrán, 377. Forms a junction with Iskak Sultan, 378. Joins Humáyun Commands the at Khinjan, 385. right at the battle of Shutergerden, 392. Rewarded by Humáyun, 394. His daughter betrothed to Humáyun, 397. His revolt in Badakhshan, 522. Besieges Mokim Khan in Anderáb, 522.
- Sultánum Begum, wife of Askeri Mírza, placed in charge of the infant Akber, 270.
- Sultánum Khánum, sister of Shah Tahmasp, her friendship for Humáyun, 290.
- Sunnis, their persecutions of the Shins in Herát, 98, 104. Their religious tenets, 276.
- Súr dynasty, the, its character and effects, 461.
- Surat, 21. Under Kásim Husein Sultan, 77. Occupied by the partizans of Beháder Shah, 82. The castle of, built by Rúmi Khan Sefer, 82, note. Surajpár, battle of, 136
- Taher Sadr (Mir), his mission to Shah
- Husein, 216. Tahmasp (Shah', King of Persia, expels the Uzbeks from Khorásán, 99. Relieves Herát, 100. Again drives the Uzbeks from Khorásán, 104. Occupics Kandahár, 104. Quits Kandahár, 105. His regal reception of the Emperor Humáyun, 277. Meet-

ing of the two monarchs, 283. The Shah's insulting behaviour to Humáyun, 284. His intolerance, 285. He gives a grand hunting party, 286. His unfriendly feeling towards Humáyun, 289. He attempts to convert the Emperor to the Shia faith, 290. Changes his conduct, 291. League between the monarchs, 291. The Shah punishes Roushen Beg, Parting banquets of the two 292. princes, 295. Remarks on the Shah's treatment of the Emperor, 297-300. His congratulatory embassy to the Emperor, 326.

583

- Táj Khan, at the rout of Mandsúr, 49.
- Táj Khan Keráni, his treachery to Khowás Khan, 460. Escapes from Guáliár, 489. Routed at Chibra-Mow, 489. Appears in open rebellion, 489. Defeated at Chunár, 490. Flies to Bengal, 490.
- Táj Khan Sarangkhani, holds Chunár, 131. Murdered by one of his sons, 132.
- Takhji Beg, put to death by Kámrán, 386.
- Takhteh-púl, defeat of the Uzbeks near the, 372.
- Talikán, given to Bápus, 330. Besieged by Humáyun, 354. Given by Humáyun to Suleimán Mírza, 360. Given by Kámrán to Bápus Beg, 377.
- Taríkh e-Reshídi, valuable work of Haider Mírza, 868.
- Tátár Khan Kási, retreats from Rhotas, 510.
- Tátár Khan Lodi, son of Ala-ed-dín, advances to claim the throne of Delhi, 16. Takes refuge in Guirát, 41. His operations against Humáyun, 45. Advances to Agra, 45. Seizes Biána, 45. Is defeated and slain at Mandráel, 46.
- Temir Shagháli, left by Kerácha Khan in charge of Penjshír, 352.
- Teria-garhi Pass, the, foutified by Jilal Khan, 144. Description of it, 145. Abandoned by the Afgháns, 147.
- Terdi Beg Khan, left in command in Champanír, 7.5. Appointed to the government of the place, 77. His loyalty, 86, 87. Abandons Champanir, 88. His honourable reception by Humáyun, 68. Accompanies Hamáyun to Sind, 204. Brings him assistance in Schwán, 227. His quarrel with the Ishek-Agha, 230. His mission to Malmád Bhekeri, 252. His attempt at desertion, 233. Re-



- Terdi Beg Kuch Beg, slain at Chonsa, 171.
- Tersún Beg, his death, 243.
- Tibet, Great and Little, added to Mírza Haider's dominions of Kashmír, 367.
- Tirkerán, battle of, 329.
- Tirenda, slays Hindal, 403.
- Tirhut, given in jágír to Hindal, 149.
- Tírí, bestowed on Ulugh Mírza, 320.
- Toder Khetri, employed to build Rhotas, 427.
- Túgh, the, 187, note,
- Tulik Khan Kochin, at the rout at the Dera-Gez, 876. His loyalty, 984, note.
- Uch, Humáyun's encampment at, 238.

Ujein, besieged and taken by the Afghans, 79.

- Ulugh Mírza, rebels, 13. Defeated by Yádgár, 13. Sentenced to be blinded, 13. Escapes, 14. Revolts with his father, in Behár, 78. Besieges Juánpúr, 89.
 Defeated by Shír Shah, 135. Deserts Humáyun at Kanáuj, 185. Under surveillance at Kábul, 303. Joins Humáyuu, 310. Is appointed to the government of Tírí, 320. Appointed to Zemín-dáwer, 326. Assists in driving Kámrán Mírza from Zemíndáwer, 335. Slain by some Hazáras, 363.
- Urf, the, the customary law of the Ma-
- homedans, 23, note. Ustád Ahmed Rúmi, commands in Humáyun's artillery at the battle of Kanáuj, 187.
- Ustád Behzád, a famous painter, 62,
- Uzbeks, the, invade Khorásán, 98. Expelled, 99. Again appear, 99. Are again repulsed, 100. Again invade Khorásán, 102. Pillage Herát, 103, 104. Driven out of Khorásán by Shah Tahmasp, 104. Their possession of Balkh, 368. Their country invaded by Humáyun, 368. Their sudden attack on his eamp, 374.

Their advance repulsed at the Takhteh-púl, 372. They pursue and rout Humáyun's army at Dera-Gez, 374. Flunder Kámrán's camp by mistake, 378.

- Valad Beg, his mission from Shah Tahmasp to Humáyun, 326.
- Veis Sirwáni (Khwája), defeated by Azím Humáyun, 464.
- Vikramájít (Raja), title assumed by Hímú Bakál, 491.
- Wáli Khub Mírza, defeated and made prisoner by Yádgár, 13.
- Wásilpúr, Humáyun's halt at, 240.
- Water, mode of drawing it in the desert, 247.
- Yádgár Násir Mírza, defeats the rebels Pursues the fuat Bhújpúr, 13. Appointed to gitive Gujrátis, 54. Patan Nehrwála, 77. Attends Askeri Engages the at Ahmedábád, 83. Gujrátis, 86. Appointed to Kalpi, His loyalty to Humáyun, 160.
 He defends Delhi against Hindal, 165. Defeats Kuth Khan, 181. Commands the left at Kanauj, 190. Joins Humáyun in his flight, 192. Quarrels with Askeri, 192. Sets out with Hindal for Sind and Gujrát, 202. Driven back by the Balúches, 207. Joined by Humáyun at Gul Balúch, Moves to Dárbila, 215. Is 209. visited there by Humáyun, 220. Encourages Hindal to desert, 221. Reconciled to Humáyun, 222. Sti-pulates for certain territory, 222. Left in the government of Upper Sind, 223. Blockades Bheker, 226. Intrigues with Shah Husein, 227. Renounces his allegiance, 232. Flies from Sind, 253. Under surveillance at Kábul, 303. Escapes to the camp of Humáyun, 315. 322. Escorts Humáyun's family from Kandahár, 326. Imprisoned for treason, 327. Put to death by Humáyun, 328.
- Yádgár Taghái, Governor of Biána, escapes with his prisoner, Muhammed Zemán, to Gujrát, 13. 42.
- Yákúb Seferchi, his murder in Persia, 296.
- Yasan Doulat, sent in pursuit of Humáyun, 386. Appointed by Kámrán to the government of Ghurbend, 397.
- Yúnis Ali (Mír), Governor of Labúr, deprived of the city by stratagem, 7. His release, 8.



Masef Beg, assists in the defence of Juánpúr, 151. His defeat and death, 152.

GOVERNINEN

INDIA

- Yúsef Korchi, attends Kámrán at his interview with Humáyun, 426.
- Záhid Beg, his insolence to Humáyun, 153. Flies from Bengal, 153. Rebels with other nobles, 160. Surprised by Kámrán in Ghazni, and put to death, 336.

Zemín-dáwer, bestowed on Ismael Beg,

- 920. Entered by Kámrán, 335. Governed by Hisám-ed-dín Ali, 355. Bestowed on Ulugh Mírza, 336. Given to Beháder Khan Sistáni, 508.
- Zhindah-fil Ahmed Jám, his tomb at Herát, 279.
- Zindár Beg, his flight from Humáyun's camp, 153.
- Zirefshán garden, the, at Agra, 179. 184.
- Zohák, government of, given to Shírefken, 331.

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	transfer to the second se	

Z

B

CLASSIFIED INDEX.

3	/./	Pag	
यते	Defence of Eclipse of Faith .	-	7
/	Eclipse of Faith	-	7
170	Greg's Essays on Political an	nd	
-	Social Science	-	8
	Haydn's Book of Dignities .	-	9
	Hole's Essay on Mechanics' Ins.	15-	
	tutions		9
	Holland's Mental Physiology	-	- 9
	Hooker's Kew Guide	-	9
	Howitt's Rural Life of England	-	10
	" Visitsto RemarkablePh	aces	10
	Jameson's Commonplace Book	-	10
	Jeffrey's (Lord) Contributions	-	11
	Loudon's Ladies' Country Comp		14
	Macaulay's Crit. and Hist. Essay	B	14
	" Speeches	-	14
	Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Wor	ks	14
	Memoirs of a Maitre-d'Armes	-	23
	Maitland's Churchin the Catacon	abs	14
	Pascal's Works, by Pearce -		17
	Pycroft's English Reading -	-	18
	Report on Industrial Instruction	-	10
	Rich's Comp. to Latin Dictional	ry.	18
	Riddle's Latin Dictionaries -	-	18
	Rowton's Debater -		19
	St. John's Nemesis of Power -	-	19
	Schoolmaster's Difficulties -	-	19
	Seaward's Narrative of his Shipw	recl	:19
	Sir Roger de Coverley	-	20
	Smith's (Rev. Sydney) Works	-	21
	Southey's Common -place Books	-	21
	" The Doctor &c	-	21
	Souvestre's Attic Philosopher		23
	" Confessions of a Wor	k-	
	ing Man		23
	Stephen's Essays	-	21
	Stow's Training System -	10	21
	Thomson's Outline of the Laws	01	22
	Thought	-	22
	Townsend's State Trials -	-	
	Willich's Popular Tales -	12.	24 24
	Zumpt's Latin Grammar -		
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Contand's Dictionary of Medicine -	6
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Gwilt's Architecture	8
Johnston's Geographical Dictionary	11
Loudon's Agriculture	13
" Rural Architecture -	13
" Gardening	13
" Planta	13
** Trees and Shrubs	13
M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary	14
" Dictionary of Commerce	14
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Calling and Responsibilities of a	
Calling and Responsionnees of a	1
Governess -	1.5
Calvert's Wife's Manual	- 3
Conybears and Howson's St. Paul	
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Corner's Sunday Hous	14
Dale's Domestic Liturgy	1.9
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Farl's Daughter (The)	-26
Finti a Laughter (Sup)	12.5
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	20
Gertrude	~
Harrison's Light of the Forge -	1
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Horne's Introduction to Scriptures.	1
A hyldermont of ditte	26

Par	zes.
Jameson's Sacred Legends	10
" Monastic Legends	11
" Legends of the Madonna	11
Jeremy Taylor's Works	11
Kippia's Hymns	11
König's Life of Luther	8
Laneton Parsonage	20
Letters to My Unknown Friends +	11
" on Happiness	11
Litton's Church of Christ	13
Maitland's Church in the Catacombs	1 14
Margaret Percival	20
Martineau's Church History	15
Milner's Church of Christ	15
Montgomery's Original Hymns -	16
Moore On the Use of the Body -	16
" " Soul and Body -	16
" 's Man and his Motives -	16
o mail and mis protitio	17
Neale's Closing Scene	
" Resting Places of the Just " Riches that Bring no	17
Sorrow	17
" Risen from the Ranks -	17
Newman's (J. H.) Discourses -	17
Ranke's Ferdinand & Maximilian	23
Readings for Lent	18
" Confirmation	18
Robinson's Lexicon to the Greek	
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Saints our Example	19
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Southey's Life of Wesley	21
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Taylor's Loyola	22
Wesley	22
Thumb Bible (The)	22
Turner's Sacred History	44

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9 10

3

20 23

Baker's Rifle and Hound in Ceylor	1	3
Berkeley's Reminiscences of	2	
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