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MEMOIRS

OF

ZEHIR-ED-DIN MUHAMMED BABER,

EMPEROR OF HINDUSTAN,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, IN THE JAGHATAI TURKI,

AND TRANSLATED, PARTLY BY

THE LATE JOHN LEYDEN, Esq. M.D.

PARTLY BY

WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq.

WITH

Notes and a Geographical and Historical Introduction:

TOGETHER WITH A

MAP OF THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE OXUS AND JAXARTES,

AND

A MEMOIR REGARDING ITS CONSTRUCTION,

BY

CHARLES WADDINGTON, ESQ. OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENGINEERS.

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1826.

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THE following Volume was sent from India as it now appears, and reached England in the course of the year 1817, but was not then published, in consequence of circumstances which it is unnecessary to mention. It is thought proper to take notice of the fact, chiefly in order to account for the silence of the notes as to any works of a later date.

EDINBURGH, *July* 22, 1826.

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TO THE

HONOURABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE,

BRITISH RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF POONA,

&c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR SIR,

WHILE employed in completing the following Translation, and in arranging the various prefatory and supplementary observations which accompany it, I have often indulged the wish of inscribing them with your name, as being the only appropriate return I could make for the perpetual assistance received as well from your advice and judgment, as from your valuable manuscript collections, which contain more information regarding the Geography, Manners, and Political Situation of the Countries that were the scene of the two first periods of Baber's History, than are to be found in all the printed and written authorities which exist in any other quarter.

That the work is still very imperfect, no one can be more sensible than myself. I might explain some of the difficulties which occasioned this imperfection, were such apologies ever attended to. Some of them, perhaps, should have deterred me from the undertaking, and others a more resolute scholar might have overcome. Had the work indeed been finished by the same hand by which it was begun, no such apologies would have been required. For the task, whether of translating or illustrating any work on Oriental history, Dr John Leyden was eminently qualified, as well as for greater things. The

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number and variety of the literary undertakings of that extraordinary man, many of which he had conducted far towards a conclusion, would have excited surprise, had they been executed by a recluse schólar, who had no public duties to perform, and whose time was devoted to literature alone. As he was cut off in the full vigour of his mind indeed, but suddenly, and without warning, he was prevented from putting the last hand to any of his greater works; yet from the knowledge which you possess of his researches, you will perhaps agree with me in thinking, that the full extent of his powers cannot be justly estimated from anything that he has published. The facility with which he mastered an uncommon number of languages, ancient and modern, European and Oriental, the extent and ingenuity of his antiquarian inquiries into the Literary History of his own country, and even the beauty of his poetical genius, are surpassed by the sagacious and philosophical spirit which he evinced, in the latter period of his life, in his different Memoirs regarding the languages of the East, and particularly those of Hindustan, Bengal, the Dekhan, and Northern India. The acute discrimination, the various and patient research which he brought to the task, combine to render them, unfinished as they unfortunately are, and imperfect as, from the nature of the subject, they necessarily must be, one of the most valuable literary gifts that India has yet bestowed on the West. These, or the substance of them, will, it is hoped, be given to the world under the care of some one who may do justice both to them and their author. The turn of mind that directs to the successful prosecution of studies so remote from the beaten tracts of literature, is so rare, that even the unfinished essays of an accomplished observer, with all their defects, are of singular value, and inconceivably lessen the happier labour of succeeding inquirers.

If the share which I have had in completing and correcting for the press the following papers, which, however, are of a very different kind, shall enable the Public to benefit by one of the lesser labours of Dr Leyden, of which it would otherwise have been deprived—or if it adds, in any degree, to the idea justly entertained of his learning, industry, and judgment, I shall be satisfied. I could have wished, on his account, that the execution had been more perfect. It would have been pleasing to me to have offered a tribute worthy of a friend endued with so many rare and valuable talents, warmed

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by every manly and generous feeling, and rendered doubly dear to me, as the only companion of my youthful studies and cares, whom I have met, or can ever hope to meet, in this land of exile.

Though I well know, that no man is so likely as yourself to be alive to the defects of the following pages, no European having seen so much of the countries described in them, or inquired so successfully into their history, yet I present them to you with more confidence than I might otherwise have done, as I seem only to pay you a debt which I owe in common with my excellent friend. And perhaps you will not judge me too hardly, should it seem that I am not uninfluenced by the vanity of letting it be known, that I too may pride myself in having shared some portion of your regard. Believe me to be,

Yours very faithfully,

W^M^. ERSKINE.

Bombay, 12*th April* 1816.

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Mr Robins says (the) Patriotic Medal
cannot be struck. The Lieutenant has ordered the dies
to be destroyed accordingly. Mr Brown found a purse
in England, and left it the only copy in the
country. It cost me £15.05"

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Bombay, 12*th April* 1816.

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PREFACE.

THE Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, of which the following pages contain a translation, are well known, by reputation, to such as are conversant with the history of India. They were written by that prince in the Jaghatâi or Chaghatâi Tûrki, which was his native language, and which, even down to the present time, is supposed to be spoken with more purity in his paternal kingdom of Ferghâna than in any other country. It is the dialect of the Tûrki tongue which prevails in the extensive tract of country that formed the dominions of Jaghatâi or Chaghatâi Khan, the son of Chengîz Khan, the celebrated conqueror, which extended from the Ulugh-Tagh mountains on the north to the Hindu-Kush mountains on the south, and from the Caspian sea on the west to the deserts of Cobi, beyond Terfân, Kâshghar, and Yârkend, on the east. It was, however, chiefly the language of the deserts and plains, as the cities, especially along the Jaxartes, and to the south of that river, continued to be, in general, inhabited by persons speaking the Persian tongue, while the inhabitants of most of the hills to the south retained their original languages.

The Jaghatâi Tûrki was a dialect of the language of that extensive division of the Tartaric nations, which, in order to distinguish them from the Monguls, or Moghuls, have recently, though perhaps erroneously, been more peculiarly denominated Tartars or Tatars. The language really spoken by that great race is the Tûrki; and the language of Kâshghar, of the Crimea, of Samarkand and Bokhâra, of Constantinople, and the greater part of Turkey, of the principal wandering tribes of Persia, and, indeed, of one half of the population of that country, of the Turkomans of Asia Minor, as well as of those east of the Euxine, of the Uzbeks, the Kirghis, the Kaizâks, the Bâshkirs, and numerous other tribes of Tartary, is radically the same as that of the Jaghatâi Tûrks. The most mixed, and, if we may use the expression, the most corrupted of all the dialects of the Tûrki, is that of the Constantinopolitan Turks,* which, however, for some centuries, has been the most cultivated and polished. The others all still very closely approximate, and the different tribes speaking them can easily understand and converse with each other.

The Tûrki language had been much cultivated before the age of Baber, and at that

* In order to discriminate the Constantinopolitan or Osmanli Turks from the Jaghatâi and other original Tûrks, I shall in the following pages denominate the former *Turks*, and their language *Turkish*; the latter *Tûrks* and their language *Tûrki*, pronounced *Toorks* and *Toorki*.

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period had every title to be ranked among the most perfect and refined in the East. The sovereigns of the different Turkoman and Tûrki dynasties to the south of the Caucasian range, the Caspian sea, and the river Sirr, (the ancient Jaxartes,) though many of them had been distinguished encouragers of Arabic literature in the kingdoms which they had conquered, and though several of the earliest and most eminent of the Persian writers flourished in their courts, had still continued to speak their native tongue in their families and with the men of their tribe. When Sir William Jones decided* that the Memoirs ascribed to Taimur could not be "written by Taimur himself, at least as Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, for one very plain reason, that no "Tartarian king of his age could write at all," he probably judged very correctly as to Taimur, who seems to have been unlettered, though, as to the other princes of Tartarian descent, his contemporaries, he perhaps did not sufficiently consider that two centuries had elapsed since the conquest of Chengiz Khan, and two more since the reign of Mahmûd of Ghazni, during all which time the territories to the east of the Caspian, as well as a great part of Persia, had been subject to Tûrki dynasties, and the country traversed by tribes of Tûrki race and speech; and that this period was far from being one of the darkest in the literary history of Persia. The want of a suitable alphabet, which he gives as a reason for doubting whether the language was a written one before the days of Chengiz Khan,† was soon remedied. The Arabic character is now used, as it was at least as early as the thirteenth century,‡ the age of Haitho. The fact only proves that the Tûrki language was, as Sir William Jones *justly* concluded, very little cultivated before the Tûrki tribes entered those provinces which had formed part of the immense empire of the Arabian Khalifs, in which the Arabian literature still prevailed, and the Arabian character was still used.

I may be permitted to add, that there seems to have been some mistake or confusion in the account given to Sir William Jones of the *Tûzûk*, or Institutes of Taimur. "It is true," says he, "that a very ingenious but indigent native, whom "Davy supported, has given me a written memorial on the subject, in which he "mentions Taimur as the author of two works in Turkish; but the credit of his "information is overset by a strange apocryphal story of a King of Yemen, who in"vaded, he says, the Emir's dominions, and in whose library the manuscript was "afterwards found, and translated by order of Alishir, first minister of Taimur's "grandson." ‖ He tells us in the same discourse,§ that he had "long searched "in vain for the original works ascribed to Taimur and Baber." It is much to be regretted that his search was unsuccessful, as, from his varied knowledge of Eastern languages, he would have given us more ample and correct views than we yet possess of the Tûrki class of languages, with the Constantinopolitan dialect of which he was well acquainted. The preface to the only copy of the complete Memoirs of Tai-

* Discourse on the Tartars. Works, vol. I. p. 69, 4to ed. † Ibid. p. 68.

‡ Haitho observes that the *Jogour*, literas habent proprias. (Hist. Orientalis, c. 2, ed 1671.) The inhabitants of Turquestan, he says, vocantur *Turchæ*, literas non habent proprias, sed utuntur Arabicis in civitatibus, sive castris. Ib. c. 3. See also Hist. Orient. c. 3, ap. Bergeron, p. 7.

‖ Jones's Works, vol. I. p. 69 § Ib. p. 60.

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mur which I have met with in Persian, and which is at present in my possession,* gives an account of the work, and of the translation from the original Tûrki into the Persian tongue; but does not describe the original as having been found in the library of a King of Yemen, but of Jaaffer, the Turkish Pasha of Yemen. Now, Sir Henry Middleton, in the year 1610, met with a *Jaffer Basha*, a Turk, in the government of Senna,† or Yemen. It is curious, too, that we are told by the author of the *Tarikh Dilkushâ*, that a copy of the Memoirs, kept in Taimur's family with great care and reverence, fell into the hands of the Sultan of Constantinople, who suffered copies of it to be made. Some confused recollection of these facts seems to have been working in the mind of Sir William Jones's informant, and to have produced the mistatements of his memorial. The mistake of a copyist writing *Padshah* (king) for *Pasha*, might have produced part of the error.

The Tûzûk, or Memoirs themselves, contain the history of Tamerlane, in the form of annals, and conclude with the Institutes, which have been translated by Major Davy and Dr Joseph White. The Persian translation, in the manuscript to which I have alluded, differs considerably in style from the one published by the learned professor, which is an additional proof that there was a Tûrki original of some kind, from which both translations were made; a fact confirmed by the number of Tûrki words which are scattered over both translations; in which respect the Persian translation of Baber's Memoirs strongly resembles them. Whether these Memoirs of Taimur are the annals written by Tamerlane, or under his inspection in the manner described by Sherîf-ed-din Ali Yezdi in his preface,‡ I have not examined the manuscript with sufficient care to venture to affirm or deny. They contain, in the earlier part of Taimur's life, several little anecdotes, which have much the air of autobiography; while throughout there are many passages in a more rhetorical style than we should expect from that rough and vigorous conqueror; but that they are a work translated from the Tûrki, the same that has long passed in the East as being the production of Tamerlane, which Dr White, in his preface, regrets could no longer be found, and for which Sir William Jones sought in vain, there seems no reason to doubt. I confess that the hypothesis of the Nawâb Mozaffer Jeng appears to me the most probable, that they were written, not by the Emperor, but by Hindu Shah, Taimur's favourite, under the

* It belongs to my respectable friend, Muhammed Ali Khan, Shusteri.

† Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. I, p. 362.

‡ That author tells us that Taimur had always with him Tartar and Persian secretaries, whose business it was to describe all his remarkable words and actions, and whatever related to religion or the state; and as many officers and great lords of the Court had got accounts made of particular events of which they were eye-witnesses, or of which they had had the principal direction, he made all these be collected, "et eut la patience de les arranger lui-même, apres quoi il les fit verifier en sa presence de la maniere suivante. Un lecteur lisoit un de ces memoires: et lorsqu'il en etoit sur quelque fait important, ou quelque action remarquable, il s'arrêtoit, les temoins oculaires faisoient leur rapport, et verifioient les circonstances du fait, les rapportant telles qu'ils les avoient vues; alors l'Empereur examinoit lui-même la verité du fait, et ayant bien confronté ce que les temoins rapportoient avec le contenu des memoires, il dictoit aux secretaires la maniere dont ils devoient l'inserer dans le corps de l'ouvrage, et se le faisoit relire ensuite, pour voir s'il étoit tel qu'on ne pût y rien trouver, ni à ajouter, ni a diminuer."—*Hist. de Timur-Bec*, traduite par M. Petis de la Croix, preface de l'Auteur.

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direction of Taimur* himself. If the European public are not already satiated with works on Oriental history, they might easily be translated.

The period between the death of Tamerlane and that of Baber formed the golden age of Tûrki literature. From every page of the following Memoirs it will be seen that the spirit and enthusiasm with which Persian poetry and learning were then cultivated had extended itself to the Tûrki. I do not find that any works on law, theology, or metaphysics, were written in that tongue. But the number of poems of various measures, and on various subjects, the number of treatises on prosody and the art of poetry, on rhetoric, on music, and on other popular subjects, is very considerable. The palm of excellence in Tûrki verse has long been unanimously assigned to Ali Shîr Beg Nawâi, the most eminent nobleman in the court of Sultan Hussain Mirza Baikra, of Khorasân, and the most illustrious and enlightened patron of literature and the fine arts that perhaps ever flourished in the East. Many of the principal literary works of that age are dedicated to him. He is often praised by Baber in the following Memoirs, and his† own productions in the Tûrki language were long much read and admired in Mâweralnaher and Khorasân, and are not yet forgotten. Many Tûrki princes were themselves poets; and although the incursions of barbarians, and the confusion and unsettled state of their country for the last three centuries, have broken the continuity of the literary exertions of the Tûrki nations, they still cling with uncommon affection to their native tongue, which they prefer extremely to the Persian for its powers of natural and picturesque expression; and they peruse the productions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with a delight that reminds us of the affection of the Welsh, or of the Highlanders of Scotland, for their native strains. Unfortunately, however, as the Mûllas, or schoolmasters, in the cities of the countries north of the Oxus, regard the Arabic as the language of science, and the Persian as the language of taste, and measure their own proficiency, as scholars and men of letters, chiefly by the extent of their acquaintance with the language and literature of Arabia and Persia, the earlier works written in the Tûrki language run some risk of being lost, unless speedily collected. From these causes, and from the air of literary superiority which a knowledge of Persian confers, few works are now written in Tûrki, even in Tûrki countries. In the great cities of Samarkand and Bokhâra, though chiefly inhabited by men of Tûrki extraction, Persian is the language of business. Though the present royal family of Persia are Tûrks, and though the

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It is not difficult to discover how these Persian words flowed into the Tûrki language. The cities of Samarkand, Bokhâra, Ahsi, Andejân, and Tâshkend, as well as the other towns to the north of the Oxus and Jaxartes, were chiefly inhabited by Persians, the Tûrks long retaining their aversion to the life of a town, and refusing to submit to the drudgery of agriculture for the sake of supporting themselves on *the top of a tweed*, as they call wheat in derision. The cities and market towns in Mâweralnaher were therefore chiefly peopled, and the grounds were cultivated solely by the old inhabitants, the Sarts or Tâjiks, who had used, and continued to retain the Persian tongue. The courts of the Kings and Princes were usually held in the great cities, which necessarily became the resort of the chieftains and head men of the tribes that still kept the open country. The Tûrks, some time after leaving their deserts, had exchanged their former superstition for the religion of Muhammed. All religious, moral, and literary instruction proceeded from their priests and Mûllas, men trained to Arabic literature, and whose native language was the Persian. It became necessary for every Tûrk to know something of Persian, to enable him either to conduct his purchases or sales in the public markets, or to comprehend the religion to which he belonged; and the course of five hundred years, from the days of the Samanian dynasty to the birth of Baber, gave ample space for that corruption or improvement of the language, which a daily and regular intercourse with a more refined people in the common business of life must necessarily produce.

* The same was the case even under the Sufvi dynasty, as we learn from Kæmpfer. See Amœnitat. Exotic. It may appear singular, that while all the neighbouring courts used the Persian as the language of polite intercourse and diplomacy, the Tûrki was the court language in Persia itself; but it arose from its being the mother tongue of the sovereign, who belonged to a Tûrki tribe.

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Baber does not inform us, nor do we learn from any other quarter, at what period of his life he began to compose his Memoirs. Some considerations might lead us to suppose that he wrote them after his last invasion of India. That they must have been corrected after that period is certain, since in the first part of them he frequently refers to that event, and mentions some of his Begs as holding appointments in Hindustân. Perhaps, too, the idea of writing his Memoirs was more likely to have occurred to him after his success in India, than at any previous time, as he had then overcome all his difficulties, was raised to eminence and distinction, and had become not only an object of wonder and attention to others, but perhaps stood higher in his own estimation. His Memoirs may be divided into three parts, the first extending from his accession to the throne of Ferghâna, to the time when he was finally driven by Shaibâni Khan from his paternal kingdom, a period of about twelve years; the second reaching from his expulsion from Ferghâna to his last invasion of Hindustân, a period of about twenty-two years; and the third containing his transactions in Hindustân, a period of little more than five. The whole of the first part, and the three first years of the second, are evidently written chiefly from recollection; and the style and manner in which they are composed, appear to me far to excel that of the rest of the work; not only from the clearer connexion given to the various parts of the story, and the space given to incidents in proportion to their importance, but from the superior unity and rapidity of the narrative. This is, perhaps, in other respects also, the most agreeable portion of the Memoirs. During a great part of the period to which they relate, he was unfortunate, and often a wanderer; but always lively, active, and bold; and the reader follows him in his various adventures with that delight which inevitably springs from the minute and animated recital of the hazardous exploits of a youthful warrior.

A.D. 1519. The narrative, when renewed in the year 925 of the Hejira, after an interval of twelve years, partakes too much of the tedium of a journal, in which important and unimportant events find an equal space, and seems to be in a great measure the copy of one kept at the time. The same remark applies perhaps even more strongly to the greater part of the concluding portion of the work. In the earlier portions of the Memoirs we have a continuous narrative of details, such as a lively memory might furnish at the distance of many years. In the latter parts, trifling incidents are often recorded, which, if not committed to writing at the time, would soon have met the oblivion they merited. We are informed of minute particulars which can interest even the writer only by recalling particular events or peculiar trains of association—how often he eat a maajûn, or electuary—how often he got drunk, and what nameless men were his boon companions. These incidents, however curious as illustrative of manners or character, are repeated even to satiety. Yet these parts also contain the valuable accounts of Kâbul and of Hindustân; he gives an occasional view of his aims and motives, of the management of some of his expeditions, and particularly of his conduct during the alarming mutiny of his troops; while the concluding portion of his Memoirs, where the form of a journal is resumed, appears to be hardly more than materials for his private use, intended to assist him in recalling to his memory such incidents as might have enabled

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him to furnish a connected view of the transactions of that period. Still, however, all the three parts of his Memoirs, though the two last are evidently unfinished, present a very curious and valuable picture of the life and manners of a Tartar Prince, and convey an excellent idea of Baber's policy, and of his wars in Mâweralnaher, Afghânishtân, and India, as well as of his manners, genius, and habits of thinking; and perhaps no work ever composed introduces us so completely to the court and council, the public and private life of an Eastern Sultan.

A question may arise whether we have the Memoirs of Baber at the present day as perfect as he wrote them; and in spite of the various *hiatus* which they exhibit, one of which extends to a period of twelve years, I am inclined to believe that they never were much more perfect than we now possess them. This opinion I entertain first from the fact that all the copies and translations which I have seen or heard of, are deficient in the same important passages; and next, from the remarkable fact, that the narratives of the different authors who treat of Baber's reign, are more or less particular, exactly where the Memoirs, as we now possess them, are more or less minute. In many instances there are chasms in his history which no succeeding writer has supplied. This would not have been the case had he written and published the whole events of his reign in a continuous narrative. It is remarkable tôo, that, in commencing his fifth invasion of India, he makes a sort of recapitulation, which would have been unnecessary, had the events alluded to been explained immediately before, as they must have been, had he written an unbroken history of his reign.

Baber himself seems to have been satisfied with his labours, for, towards the close of his life, we find him sending a copy of his work from Hindustân to a friend in Kâbul. The Memoirs continued to be held in the greatest veneration at the Courts of Delhi and Agra after his death. From some marginal notes which appear on both copies of the translation, as well as on the Tûrki original, it appears that the Emperor Humâiûn, even after he had ascended the throne, and not long before his death, had transcribed the Memoirs with his own hand. In the reign of Akber, they were translated from the original Tûrki into Persian by the celebrated Mirza Abdal-Rahîm, the son of the Biram Khan, who acted so conspicuous a part in the reigns of the Emperors Humâiûn and Akber.*

* As his translation is so often referred to in the following pages, and may be regarded as in some degree a second original, a few anecdotes of the life of the author may not be here misplaced:—When Humâiûn, after his long misfortunes, was restored to the throne of Delhi, in order to attach to his interests the chief men of the various principalities of Hindustân, he encouraged intermarriages between their families and those of his chief Tartar officers. He himself married one daughter of Ismael Khan, the nephew of Hassan Khan of Mewât, so often spoken of in the third part of these Memoirs, and gave another daughter to Biram Khan, his minister and favourite. Of this last marriage, Mirza Abdal-Rahîm was born at Lahore on the 17th of December, 1556, in the first year of Akber's† reign. His father, who was thus connected with the imperial family, and who was unfortunately too powerful for a subject, after having been goaded into rebellion, was killed in Guzerat when on his way to perform the pilgrimage of Mekka. Abdal-Rahîm, his son, then only four years of age, was conveyed in safety to Ahmedâ-

† 14 Sefer, A. H. 964. See the Maaser al Omra, vol. I. folio. Art. Abdal-Rahîm, MS.—This work, which is well known in India, is a curious and very correct Biographical Dictionary of all the eminent statesmen and warriors who have flourished in that country since the time of Baber. It is in two large folio volumes.

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number and variety of the literary undertakings of that extraordinary man, many of which he had conducted far towards a conclusion, would have excited surprise, had they been executed by a recluse schólar, who had no public duties to perform, and whose time was devoted to literature alone. As he was cut off in the full vigour of his mind indeed, but suddenly, and without warning, he was prevented from putting the last hand to any of his greater works; yet from the knowledge which you possess of his researches, you will perhaps agree with me in thinking, that the full extent of his powers cannot be justly estimated from anything that he has published. The facility with which he mastered an uncommon number of languages, ancient and modern, European and Oriental, the extent and ingenuity of his antiquarian inquiries into the Literary History of his own country, and even the beauty of his poetical genius, are surpassed by the sagacious and philosophical spirit which he evinced, in the latter period of his life, in his different Memoirs regarding the languages of the East, and particularly those of Hindustan, Bengal, the Dekhan, and Northern India. The acute discrimination, the various and patient research which he brought to the task, combine to render them, unfinished as they unfortunately are, and imperfect as, from the nature of the subject, they necessarily must be, one of the most valuable literary gifts that India has yet bestowed on the West. These, or the substance of them, will, it is hoped, be given to the world under the care of some one who may do justice both to them and their author. The turn of mind that directs to the successful prosecution of studies so remote from the beaten tracts of literature, is so rare, that even the unfinished essays of an accomplished observer, with all their defects, are of singular value, and inconceivably lessen the happier labour of succeeding inquirers.

If the share which I have had in completing and correcting for the press the following papers, which, however, are of a very different kind, shall enable the Public to benefit by one of the lesser labours of Dr Leyden, of which it would otherwise have been deprived—or if it adds, in any degree, to the idea justly entertained of his learning, industry, and judgment, I shall be satisfied. I could have wished, on his account, that the execution had been more perfect. It would have been pleasing to me to have offered a tribute worthy of a friend endued with so many rare and valuable talents, warmed

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by every manly and generous feeling, and rendered doubly dear to me, as the only companion of my youthful studies and cares, whom I have met, or can ever hope to meet, in this land of exile.

Though I well know, that no man is so likely as yourself to be alive to the defects of the following pages, no European having seen so much of the countries described in them, or inquired so successfully into their history, yet I present them to you with more confidence than I might otherwise have done, as I seem only to pay you a debt which I owe in common with my excellent friend. And perhaps you will not judge me too hardly, should it seem that I am not uninfluenced by the vanity of letting it be known, that I too may pride myself in having shared some portion of your regard. Believe me to be,

Yours very faithfully,

W^M. ERSKINE.

Bombay, 12*th April* 1816.

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PREFACE.

THE Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, of which the following pages contain a translation, are well known, by reputation, to such as are conversant with the history of India. They were written by that prince in the Jaghatâi or Chaghatâi Tûrki, which was his native language, and which, even down to the present time, is supposed to be spoken with more purity in his paternal kingdom of Ferghâna than in any other country. It is the dialect of the Tûrki tongue which prevails in the extensive tract of country that formed the dominions of Jaghatâi or Chaghatâi Khan, the son of Chengîz Khan, the celebrated conqueror, which extended from the Ulugh-Tagh mountains on the north to the Hindu-Kush mountains on the south, and from the Caspian sea on the west to the deserts of Cobi, beyond Terfân, Kâshghar, and Yârkend, on the east. It was, however, chiefly the language of the deserts and plains, as the cities, especially along the Jaxartes, and to the south of that river, continued to be, in general, inhabited by persons speaking the Persian tongue, while the inhabitants of most of the hills to the south retained their original languages.

The Jaghatâi Tûrki was a dialect of the language of that extensive division of the Tartaric nations, which, in order to distinguish them from the Monguls, or Moghuls, have recently, though perhaps erroneously, been more peculiarly denominated Tartars or Tatars. The language really spoken by that ~~great~~ race is the Tûrki; and the language of Kâshghar, of the Crimea, of Samarkand and Bokhâra, of Constantinople, and the greater part of Turkey, of the principal wandering tribes of Persia, and, indeed, of one half of the population of that country, of the Turkomans of Asia Minor, as well as of those east of the Euxine, of the Uzbeks, the Kirghis, the Kaizâks, the Bâshkirs, and numerous other tribes of Tartary, is radically the same as that of the Jaghatâi Tûrks. The most mixed, and, if we may use the expression, the most corrupted of all the dialects of the Tûrki, is that of the Constantinopolitan Turks,* which, however, for some centuries, has been the most cultivated and polished. The others all still very closely approximate, and the different tribes speaking them can easily understand and converse with each other.

The Tûrki language had been much cultivated before the age of Baber, and at that

* In order to discriminate the Constantinopolitan or Osmanli Turks from the Jaghatâi and other original Tûrks, I shall in the following pages denominate the former *Turks*, and their language *Turkish*; the latter *Tûrks* and their language *Tûrki*, pronounced *Toorks* and *Toorki*.

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period had every title to be ranked among the most perfect and refined in the East. The sovereigns of the different Turkoman and Tûrki dynasties to the south of the Caucasian range, the Caspian sea, and the river Sirr, (the ancient Jaxartes,) though many of them had been distinguished encouragers of Arabic literature in the kingdoms which they had conquered, and though several of the earliest and most eminent of the Persian writers flourished in their courts, had still continued to speak their native tongue in their families and with the men of their tribe. When Sir William Jones decided* that the Memoirs ascribed to Taimur could not be "written by Taimur himself, at least as Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, for one very plain reason, that no "Tartarian king of his age could write at all," he probably judged very correctly as to Taimur, who seems to have been unlettered, though, as to the other princes of Tartarian descent, his contemporaries, he perhaps did not sufficiently consider that two centuries had elapsed since the conquest of Chengîz Khan, and two more since the reign of Mahmûd of Ghazni, during all which time the territories to the east of the Caspian, as well as a great part of Persia, had been subject to Tûrki dynasties, and the country traversed by tribes of Tûrki race and speech; and that this period was far from being one of the darkest in the literary history of Persia. The want of a suitable alphabet, which he gives as a reason for doubting whether the language was a written one before the days of Chengîz Khan,† was soon remedied. The Arabic character is now used, as it was at least as early as the thirteenth century,‡ the age of Haitho. The fact only proves that the Tûrki language was, as Sir William Jones justly concluded, very little cultivated before the Tûrki tribes entered those provinces which had formed part of the immense empire of the Arabian Khalifs, in which the Arabian literature still prevailed, and the Arabian character was still used.

I may be permitted to add, that there seems to have been some mistake or confusion in the account given to Sir William Jones of the *Tûzûk*, or Institutes of Taimur. "It is true," says he, "that a very ingenious but indigent native, whom "Davy supported, has given me a written memorial on the subject, in which he "mentions Taimur as the author of two works in Turkish; but the credit of his "information is overset by a strange apocryphal story of a King of Yemen, who in"vaded, he says, the Emir's dominions, and in whose library the manuscript was "afterwards found, and translated by order of Alishir, first minister of Taimur's "grandson." || He tells us in the same discourse,§ that he had "long searched "in vain for the original works ascribed to Taimur and Baber." It is much to be regretted that his search was unsuccessful, as, from his varied knowledge of Eastern languages, he would have given us more ample and correct views than we yet possess of the Tûrki class of languages, with the Constantinopolitan dialect of which he was well acquainted. The preface to the only copy of the complete Memoirs of Tai-

* Discourse on the Tartars. Works, vol. I. p. 69, 4to ed. † Ibid. p. 68.

‡ Haitho observes that the *Joyour*, literas habent proprias, (Hist. Orientalis, c. 2, ed 1671.) The inhabitants of Turquestan, he says, vocantur *Turchae*, literas non habent proprias, sed utuntur Arabicis in civitatibus, sive castris. Ib. c. 3. See also Hist. Orient. c. 3, ap. Bergeron, p. 7.

|| Jones's Works, vol. I. p. 69. § Ib. p. 60.

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mur which I have met with in Persian, and which is at present in my possession,* gives an account of the work, and of the translation from the original Tûrki into the Persian tongue; but does not describe the original as having been found in the library of a King of Yemen, but of Jaaffer, the Turkish Pasha of Yemen. Now, Sir Henry Middleton, in the year 1610, met with a *Jaffer Basha*, a Turk, in the government of Senna,† or Yemen. It is curious, too, that we are told by the author of the *Tarikh Dilkushâ*, that a copy of the Memoirs, kept in Taimur's family with great care and reverence, fell into the hands of the Sultan of Constantinople, who suffered copies of it to be made. Some confused recollection of these facts seems to have been working in the mind of Sir William Jones's informant, and to have produced the mistatements of his memorial. The mistake of a copyist writing *Padshah* (king) for *Pasha*, might have produced part of the error.

The Tûzûk, or Memoirs themselves, contain the history of Tamerlane, in the form of annals, and conclude with the Institutes, which have been translated by Major Davy and Dr Joseph White. The Persian translation, in the manuscript to which I have alluded, differs considerably in style from the one published by the learned professor, which is an additional proof that there was a Tûrki original of some kind, from which both translations were made; a fact confirmed by the number of Tûrki words which are scattered over both translations; in which respect the Persian translation of Baber's Memoirs strongly resembles them. Whether these Memoirs of Taimur are the annals written by Tamerlane, or under his inspection in the manner described by Sherîf-ed-din Ali Yezdi in his preface,‡ I have not examined the manuscript with sufficient care to venture to affirm or deny. They contain, in the earlier part of Taimur's life, several little anecdotes, which have much the air of autobiography; while throughout there are many passages in a more rhetorical style than we should expect from that rough and vigorous conqueror; but that they are a work translated from the Tûrki, the same that has long passed in the East as being the production of Tamerlane, which Dr White, in his preface, regrets could no longer be found, and for which Sir William Jones sought in vain, there seems no reason to doubt. I confess that the hypothesis of the Nawâb Mozaffer Jeng appears to me the most probable, that they were written, not by the Emperor, but by Hindu Shah, Taimur's favourite, under the

* It belongs to my respectable friend, Muhammed Ali Khan, Shusteri.

† Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. I, p. 362.

‡ That author tells us that Taimur had always with him Tartar and Persian secretaries, whose business it was to describe all his remarkable words and actions, and whatever related to religion or the state; and as many officers and great lords of the Court had got accounts made of particular events of which they were eye-witnesses, or of which they had had the principal direction, he made all these be collected, "et eut la patience de les arranger lui-même, apres quoi il les fit verifier en sa presence de la maniere suivante. Un lecteur lisoit un de ces memoires: et lorsqu'il en etoit sur quelque fait important, ou quelque action remarquable, il s'arrêtoit, les temoins oculaires faisoient leur rapport, et verifioient les circonstances du fait, les rapportant telles qu'ils les avoient vues; alors l'Empereur examinoit lui-même la verité du fait, et ayant bien confronté ce que les temoins rapportoient avec le contenu des memoires, il dictoit aux secretaires la maniere dont ils devoient l'inserer dans le corps de l'ouvrage, et se le faisoit relire ensuite, pour voir s'il étoit tel qu'on ne pût y rien trouver, ni à ajouter, ni a diminuer."—*Hist. de Timur-Bec*, traduite par M. Petis de la Croix, preface de l'Auteur.

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direction of Taimur* himself. If the European public are not already satiated with works on Oriental history, they might easily be translated.

The period between the death of Tamerlane and that of Baber formed the golden age of Türki literature. From every page of the following Memoirs it will be seen that the spirit and enthusiasm with which Persian poetry and learning were then cultivated had extended itself to the Türki. I do not find that any works on law, theology, or metaphysics, were written in that tongue. But the number of poems of various measures, and on various subjects, the number of treatises on prosody and the art of poetry, on rhetoric, on music, and on other popular subjects, is very considerable. The palm of excellence in Türki verse has long been unanimously assigned to Ali Shir Beg Nawâi, the most eminent nobleman in the court of Sultan Hussain Mirza Baikra, of Khorasân, and the most illustrious and enlightened patron of literature and the fine arts that perhaps ever flourished in the East. Many of the principal literary works of that age are dedicated to him. He is often praised by Baber in the following Memoirs, and his† own productions in the Türki language were long much read and admired in Mâweralnaher and Khorasân, and are not yet forgotten. Many Türki princes were themselves poets; and although the incursions of barbarians, and the confusion and unsettled state of their country for the last three centuries, have broken the continuity of the literary exertions of the Türki nations, they still cling with uncommon affection to their native tongue, which they prefer extremely to the Persian for its powers of natural and picturesque expression; and they peruse the productions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with a delight that reminds us of the affection of the Welsh, or of the Highlanders of Scotland, for their native strains. Unfortunately, however, as the Müllas, or schoolmasters, in the cities of the countries north of the Oxus, regard the Arabic as the language of science, and the Persian as the language of taste, and measure their own proficiency, as scholars and men of letters, chiefly by the extent of their acquaintance with the language and literature of Arabia and Persia, the earlier works written in the Türki language run some risk of being lost, unless speedily collected. From these causes, and from the air of literary superiority which a knowledge of Persian confers, few works are now written in Türki, even in Türki countries. In the great cities of Samarkand and Bokhâra, though chiefly inhabited by men of Türki extraction, Persian is the language of business. Though the present royal family of Persia are Türks, and though the

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Tûrki is the ordinary language spoken in their families, and even at their* court, as well as by one-half of the population of Persia, particularly by the tribes around the capital, who compose the strength of the army, the Persian is the usual and almost only channel of written communication; nor am I aware that any work of note has, of late years, been written in the Tûrki tongue.

The Jaghatâi Tûrki, as contained in the Memoirs of Baber, is evidently not the same language which was brought from the wilds of Tartary by the Turkomans in the ninth century, or by the Tûrki tribes who accompanied Chengîz Khan in the thirteenth. It has received a very strong infusion of Arabic and Persian words, not merely in the terms of science and art, but in its ordinary tissue and familiar phrases. These words are all connected by the regular grammar of the Tûrki; but so extensive is the adoption of foreign terms, that perhaps two words in nine in the Jaghatâi dialect may be originally derived from a Persian or Arabic root. The language itself is, however, remarkable for clearness, simplicity, and force; the style far less adorned than that of the modern Persian, and as free from metaphor and hyperbole as that of a good English or French historian; and on the whole the Tûrki bears much more resemblance to the good sense of Europe than to the rhetorical parade of Asia. The style of all Tûrki productions that I have ever happened to meet with, is remarkable for its downright and picturesque naiveté of expression.

It is not difficult to discover how these Persian words flowed into the Tûrki language. The cities of Samarkand, Bokhâra, Ahsi, Andejân, and Tâshkend, as well as the other towns to the north of the Oxus and Jaxartes, were chiefly inhabited by Persians, the Tûrks long retaining their aversion to the life of a town, and refusing to submit to the drudgery of agriculture for the sake of supporting themselves on *the top of a ubeed*, as they call wheat in derision. The cities and market towns in Mâweralnaher were therefore chiefly peopled, and the grounds were cultivated solely by the old inhabitants, the Sarts or Tâjîks, who had used, and continued to retain the Persian tongue. The courts of the Kings and Princes were usually held in the great cities, which necessarily became the resort of the chieftains and head men of the tribes that still kept the open country. The Tûrks, some time after leaving their deserts, had exchanged their former superstition for the religion of Muhammed. All religious, moral, and literary instruction proceeded from their priests and Mûllas, men trained to Arabic literature, and whose native language was the Persian. It became necessary for every Tûrk to know something of Persian, to enable him either to conduct his purchases or sales in the public markets, or to comprehend the religion to which he belonged; and the course of five hundred years, from the days of the Samanian dynasty to the birth of Baber, gave ample space for that corruption or improvement of the language, which a daily and regular intercourse with a more refined people in the common business of life must necessarily produce.

* The same was the case even under the Sufvi dynasty, as we learn from Kæmpfer. See Amænitat. Exotic. It may appear singular, that while all the neighbouring courts used the Persian as the language of polite intercourse and diplomacy, the Tûrki was the court language in Persia itself; but it arose from its being the mother tongue of the sovereign, who belonged to a Tûrki tribe.

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Baber does not inform us, nor do we learn from any other quarter, at what period of his life he began to compose his Memoirs. Some considerations might lead us to suppose that he wrote them after his last invasion of India. That they must have been corrected after that period is certain, since in the first part of them he frequently refers to that event, and mentions some of his Begs as holding appointments in Hindustân. Perhaps, too, the idea of writing his Memoirs was more likely to have occurred to him after his success in India, than at any previous time, as he had then overcome all his difficulties, was raised to eminence and distinction, and had become not only an object of wonder and attention to others, but perhaps stood higher in his own estimation. His Memoirs may be divided into three parts, the first extending from his accession to the throne of Ferghâna, to the time when he was finally driven by Shaibâni Khan from his paternal kingdom, a period of about twelve years; the second reaching from his expulsion from Ferghâna to his last invasion of Hindustân, a period of about twenty-two years; and the third containing his transactions in Hindustân, a period of little more than five. The whole of the first part, and the three first years of the second, are evidently written chiefly from recollection; and the style and manner in which they are composed, appear to me far to excel that of the rest of the work; not only from the clearer connexion given to the various parts of the story, and the space given to incidents in proportion to their importance, but from the superior unity and rapidity of the narrative. This is, perhaps, in other respects also, the most agreeable portion of the Memoirs. During a great part of the period to which they relate, he was unfortunate, and often a wanderer; but always lively, active, and bold; and the reader follows him in his various adventures with that delight which inevitably springs from the minute and animated recital of the hazardous exploits of a youthful warrior.

A.D. 1519. The narrative, when renewed in the year 925 of the Hejira, after an interval of twelve years, partakes too much of the tedium of a journal, in which important and unimportant events find an equal space, and seems to be in a great measure the copy of one kept at the time. The same remark applies perhaps even more strongly to the greater part of the concluding portion of the work. In the earlier portions of the Memoirs we have a continuous narrative of details, such as a lively memory might furnish at the distance of many years. In the latter parts, trifling incidents are often recorded, which, if not committed to writing at the time, would soon have met the oblivion they merited. We are informed of minute particulars which can interest even the writer only by recalling particular events or peculiar trains of association—how often he eat a maajûn, or electuary—how often he got drunk, and what nameless men were his boon companions. These incidents, however curious as illustrative of manners or character, are repeated even to satiety. Yet these parts also contain the valuable accounts of Kâbul and of Hindustân; he gives an occasional view of his aims and motives, of the management of some of his expeditions, and particularly of his conduct during the alarming mutiny of his troops; while the concluding portion of his Memoirs, where the form of a journal is resumed, appears to be hardly more than materials for his private use, intended to assist him in recalling to his memory such incidents as might have enabled

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him to furnish a connected view of the transactions of that period. Still, however, all the three parts of his Memoirs, though the two last are evidently unfinished, present a very curious and valuable picture of the life and manners of a Tartar Prince, and convey an excellent idea of Baber's policy, and of his wars in Mâweralnaher, Afghânishtân, and India, as well as of his manners, genius, and habits of thinking; and perhaps no work ever composed introduces us so completely to the court and council, the public and private life of an Eastern Sultan.

A question may arise whether we have the Memoirs of Baber at the present day as perfect as he wrote them; and in spite of the various *hiatus* which they exhibit, one of which extends to a period of twelve years, I am inclined to believe that they never were much more perfect than we now possess them. This opinion I entertain first from the fact that all the copies and translations which I have seen or heard of, are deficient in the same important passages; and next, from the remarkable fact, that the narratives of the different authors who treat of Baber's reign, are more or less particular, exactly where the Memoirs, as we now possess them, are more or less minute. In many instances there are chasms in his history which no succeeding writer has supplied. This would not have been the case had he written and published the whole events of his reign in a continuous narrative. It is remarkable too, that, in commencing his fifth invasion of India, he makes a sort of recapitulation, which would have been unnecessary, had the events alluded to been explained immediately before, as they must have been, had he written an unbroken history of his reign.

Baber himself seems to have been satisfied with his labours, for, towards the close of his life, we find him sending a copy of his work from Hindustân to a friend in Kâbul. The Memoirs continued to be held in the greatest veneration at the Courts of Delhi and Agra after his death. From some marginal notes which appear on both copies of the translation, as well as on the Tûrki original, it appears that the Emperor Humâiûn, even after he had ascended the throne, and not long before his death, had transcribed the Memoirs with his own hand. In the reign of Akber, they were translated from the original Tûrki into Persian by the celebrated Mirza Abdal-Rahîm, the son of the Biram Khan, who acted so conspicuous a part in the reigns of the Emperors Humâiûn and Akber.*

* As his translation is so often referred to in the following pages, and may be regarded as in some degree a second original, a few anecdotes of the life of the author may not be here misplaced:—When Humâiûn, after his long misfortunes, was restored to the throne of Delhi, in order to attach to his interests the chief men of the various principalities of Hindustân, he encouraged intermarriages between their families and those of his chief Tartar officers. He himself married one daughter of Ismael Khan, the nephew of Hassan Khan of Mewât, so often spoken of in the third part of these Memoirs, and gave another daughter to Biram Khan, his minister and favourite. Of this last marriage, Mirza Abdal-Rahîm was born at Lahore on the 17th of December, 1556, in the first year of Akber's† reign. His father, who was thus connected with the imperial family, and who was unfortunately too powerful for a subject, after having been goaded into rebellion, was killed in Guzerat when on his way to perform the pilgrimage of Mekka. Abdal-Rahîm, his son, then only four years of age, was conveyed in safety to Ahmedâ-

† 14 Sefer, A. H. 964. See the Maaser al Omra, vol. I. folio. Art. Abdal-Rahîm, MS.—This work, which is well known in India, is a curious and very correct Biographical Dictionary of all the eminent statesmen and warriors who have flourished in that country since the time of Baber. It is in two large folio volumes.

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The translation which he executed of the Memoirs of Baber is extremely close and accurate, and has been much praised for its elegance. But, though simple and concise, a close adherence to the idioms and forms of expression of the Tûrki original, joined

bâd by his faithful attendants, who sustained repeated attacks of the assailants up to the very gates of that city. He was carried from thence to Lahore and Agra. When he came of age, Akber bestowed on him the title of Mirza Khan, and married him to Mahbânu, the sister of Khan Azîm Goge, an officer of high distinction. At the age of twenty-one, he got the government of Guzerat, and in his twenty-fifth year was promoted to the office of Mîr Arz, (or Master of Requests.) When twenty-eight years of age, he was made Atâlik, or Governor of Sultan Selîm, the Emperor's eldest son, who afterwards mounted the throne under the name of Jehângîr; and in the same year was sent into Guzerat against Mozeffer Shah, the King of that country, who, after being compelled to take refuge among the Katti with the Jâm at Jûnager,* had collected an army of forty thousand men, defeated the imperial generals, and seized Ahmedâbâd. The Mirza's army consisted of only ten thousand, and he had received instructions not to hazard the safety of the province by engaging in battle. But he did not decline an engagement, and the armies having come close upon each other, Doulet Khan Lodi, a very gallant officer, told him, that now was the moment either to make himself Khân-Khânân,† or to fall in battle. Abdal-Rahîm attacked the enemy at Sirkej, four or five miles from Ahmedâbâd. The conflict was bloody, and maintained with various success. At one period the battle seemed to be lost, and Abdal-Rahîm found himself obliged with three hundred men to face a firm body of six or seven thousand. Some of his friends seized the reins of his horse to carry him from the field; but he refused to retreat, and stood his ground with such bravery and conduct, that he changed the fortune of the day. Mozeffer in the end was defeated, and fled to Cambay,‡ whence, after plundering the merchants of the place, he sought refuge among the mountains of Nadout. Mozeffer soon after again ventured into the field, but, being once more defeated, fled to the Rajpipli hills, on the south of the Nerbudda. Where disobedience is eminently successful, the disobedience is generally forgotten, and the success only remembered. Abdal-Rahîm, according to the prediction of Doulet Khan, was promoted to the rank of an Emir of five thousand horse, with the high title of Khân-Khânân. It is said, that on the day of battle, after he had distributed all his jewels and property among his troops, a soldier having come to him and complained that he had had no share in the division, the Mirza, to satisfy him, took out and gave to him his enamelled inkstand, richly adorned with jewels, being the only article which he had retained. In the thirty-fourth year of his own age, and of the reign of Akber, he translated the Memoirs of Baber, which he presented to the Emperor, by whom he was highly complimented. We are told by Abulfazel, that they were translated at the desire of Akber when he was on a progress to Kashmîr and Kâbul. The same year he was raised to the distinguished rank of Vakîl-e-Sultanet, or Lord Lieutenant of the Empire, a title very rarely conferred. It would be tedious to follow him to the governments of Jonpûr, Multân, and Sind, which he successively held. He completely defeated the Hakim (or chief) of Sind, obliged him to cede Sehwân and some other districts, and married his son Mirza Irej to the Hakim's daughter. A revolt having ensued, Abdal-Rahîm obliged the Hakim and all his family to repair to Agra. The long wars that followed in the Dekhan, particularly that against Ahmednagger, gave him great opportunities to signalize his military talents. During the whole reign of Akber he was employed in the most important commands, and the relation in which he stood to the imperial family was drawn closer by the marriage of his daughter Jana Begum to Daniâl the Emperor's son. His influence continued under the Emperor Jehânger his former pupil, and he was selected for the chief direction of affairs wherever great talents were required, in the wide range of country from the Dekhan§ to Kandahâr, to which last place he was sent with Sultan Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehân, to repel the invasion of Shah Abbâs the Persian King. The history of his life would be a history of the public affairs of the empire of Delhi during half a century. He died at Delhi in the year 1626 or 1627, at the age of seventy-two, with the highest reputation for talents, valour, generosity, and learning.‖

* In the western part of the Peninsula of Guzerat.

† Khan of Khans, the title of one of the chief officers of the empire of Delhi. ‡ Kambâit.

§ It was during one of his battles in the Dekhan when his troops were broken, that some of his officers came to ask what was to be their rallying place in case of defeat, and where they were to look for him. His answer was, *under the slain!* He gained a bloody victory. Maasir-ul-Omra MS. as above.

‖ These details are chiefly taken from the Maaser-al-Omra, and from Ferishta.

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to a want of distinctness in the use of the relatives, often renders the meaning extremely obscure, and makes it difficult to discover the connexion of the different members of the sentence. The style is frequently not Persian, and a native of Persia would find it difficult to assign any sense to some of the expressions. Many of the Tûrki words are not translated, sometimes because they had no corresponding term in Persian, and sometimes perhaps from negligence, or, it may be, because they were then familiar to the Tûrki nobility of the court of Agra. But the whole is uncommonly valuable, and probably there are few persons now living even in Mâweralnaher, who could give an accurate translation of the original Tûrki of Baber's Memoirs without the aid of Mirza Abdal-Rahîm's Persian translation. To account for this fact, it must be recollected that the study of the language of past ages is peculiar to that antiquarian refinement which exists only in highly improved times, and may be regarded as one of the last luxuries of literary curiosity. The learned Langlés, in the article *Babour* of the Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne, affirms that the Commentaries were translated into Persian by Abdal-Rahîm after being enlarged by Jehângîr. I know not on what authority he hazarded this assertion, which is certainly erroneous. The Prince Selîm, who was afterwards Emperor under the name of Jehângîr, was indeed twenty years of age when the translation was published; and, at a former period, Abdal-Rahîm, who was his Atâlik or Governor, may have prescribed to him a perusal of the Memoirs in the original as an exercise in the language of his forefathers; but the coincidence of all the copies, the marginal notes of Humâiûn, and the nature of the work itself, may satisfy us that the other assertion is unfounded, and we certainly possess the Memoirs of Baber, whatever their value may be, in the state in which they were originally written by their imperial author.

The English translation now presented to the public was begun by the late Dr John Leyden, a man whose inquisitive mind left no department of literature unexplored. He found, I am uncertain whether in the Library of the College of Fort William, or in the collection of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, a copy of the original Tûrki. Being delighted with the novelty and merit of the work, he began translating it with all his characteristic ardour. He soon, however, found difficulties which his instructor, a Persian Tûrk of Ganj, could not solve. I had fortunately some time before procured at Bombay a copy of Mirza Abdal-Rahîm's translation, which is found in several of the public libraries of Europe, but of which Dr Leyden had been unable to meet with any copy in Bengal. At his desire, I had begun sending him the sheets of a transcript which I caused to be made, when he was called to accompany the late Earl of Minto in the expedition against Java. This interrupted his labours, and his premature death followed soon after in August 1811.

Feeling a warm interest in the preservation of his manuscripts, and desirous that nothing which could add to his reputation should be lost, I wrote to our common friend, Dr James Hare, junior, of Calcutta, in whose possession his papers then were, offering my assistance in completing the translation of Baber, which I knew was imperfect. Perhaps I engaged too rashly in the undertaking. At that time I happened

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to have in my service the Persian who had assisted Dr Leyden in his translation, and who had become pretty well versed in the language of the Memoirs. But before my letter reached Calcutta, Dr Leyden's papers and manuscripts had been sent home to Mr Richard Heber, his principal literary executor, and I relinquished all idea of seeing the work completed, at least in India. Some years before, I had translated a small portion of the Memoirs from the Persian, and was now strongly urged by General Sir John Malcolm and the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who were struck with their merit as a literary curiosity, to complete an English translation of the whole from the Persian alone. As both of these gentlemen had been on missions into the countries described by Baber, and were peculiarly versed in the manners and history of the Türki dynasties, more competent judges could not be found, and their advice had its natural weight with me. I accordingly undertook the task, which I had brought to a close, when, in the end of the year 1813, I was surprised by receiving from London a copy of Dr Leyden's translation, which, in consequence of my letter to Dr Hare, had been procured and forwarded by the kindness of that gentleman, who was then in England.

This acquisition reduced me to rather an awkward dilemma. The two translations differed in many important particulars; but as Dr Leyden had the advantage of translating from the original, I resolved to adopt his translation as far as it went, changing only such expressions in it as seemed to be inconsistent with the context, or with other parts of the Memoirs; or such as seemed evidently to originate in the oversights that are unavoidable in an unfinished work. This labour I had completed with some difficulty, when Mr Elphinstone sent me the copy of the Memoirs of Baber in the original Türki, which he had procured when he went to Peshâwer on his Embassy to Kâbul. This copy, which he had supposed to have been sent home with Dr Leyden's manuscripts from Calcutta, he was now fortunate enough to recover.

The discovery of this valuable manuscript reduced me, though heartily sick of the task, to the necessity of commencing my work once more. Being now possessed of the original, it was necessary to compare the whole translation with it. It appeared to me that, in many instances, Dr Leyden's translation was less accurate than the Persian, a fact not to be wondered at, as he had only recently begun the study of the Jaghátái Türki, and no part of the translation had received his last corrections, or perhaps been twice gone over. I therefore examined the whole with minute attention, comparing it with the Türki and Persian texts, and made such alterations as I was persuaded my friend would not have disapproved of, had he assisted in the labour. The rest of the Memoirs I then completed by the aid of the Türki original, of my own copy of the Persian translation, and of another copy, which Mr Elphinstone, with that readiness with which he invariably lends his aid to whatever has the semblance of forwarding useful knowledge, procured for me from Delhi, through Mr Metcalfe, the British Resident at that Court. From this last copy, though much less accurate than the other, I was enabled to correct many errors, and to supply several chasms in the Persian translation which I previously possessed. The Türki original, which is very correct, is unfortunately incomplete. The continued narrative closes before the great battle in

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which Sultan Ibrâhîm of Delhi was slain, and there is only one short fragment of a later period. Mr Metcalfe's copy of the Persian translation, though the most incorrect, is the most perfect of the three. It contains the whole Memoirs, with such errors and omissions alone as arose from the negligence of the copyist. My own copy has lost three leaves in different parts of the work, and is deficient in the journal of several months at the end. This last period is filled up on the authority of Mr Metcalfe's manuscript alone.

I ought to observe, that my own knowledge of the Jaghâtâi Tûrki would not have enabled me to complete the translation from the original, and that I relied principally on the Persian. The Persian Tûrk, on whose assistance I had at first relied, had unfortunately left Bombay before I received Mr Elphinstone's Tûrki copy. With the assistance of some natives of Uzbek Tartary, who happened to be in Bombay, but chiefly aided by the patience and skill of my worthy friend Mulla Firûz, so well known to all who have made the antiquities of ancient Persia their study, I went over the Tûrki text, and compared it with the translation. I hope that few errors have escaped. But this long account of the origin and progress of the translation, which at first sight may seem needless, was rendered necessary in order to account for any want of uniformity that may probably be discovered in its various parts, and for any errors that may have crept in, in the course of the different transmutations it has undergone. The Memoirs of Baber would undoubtedly have appeared to more advantage if clothed in the simple picturesque style, and illustrated by the varied erudition of Dr Leyden, whose success in the study of languages has rarely been equalled, and whose industry was indefatigable. My aim in the following work has been limited to exhibiting that part of the translation which he executed, as much as possible in the state in which he would have wished it to appear, had he been spared to revise it; and to completing what he left unfinished. Dr Leyden's translation is without notes, except occasionally verbal explanations; nor am I aware that he made any historical or geographical collections for completing or illustrating the Memoirs. The translation is close and literal to a degree which many will think faulty, and which few works written in an Eastern language would admit of; but such closeness is not without its use, as the style of a people generally exhibits in some degree the dress of their mind, and often leads to more just conclusions regarding their habits of thinking, than can easily be attained in any other way.

Of the Historical Introduction, and of the Supplements which fill up the various blanks in the Memoirs, little need be said. They were compiled from such books and manuscripts as were within my reach. For the copies of Khâfi Khan, and of the Maaser-ul-Omra, the former of which was of great use to me throughout, I was indebted to the kindness of Henry Russell, Esq. the British Resident at the Court of the Nizam, to whom I owe many similar obligations; the copy of the Alim-Arâi-Abassi, which I have followed in the account of Baber's latest transactions in Mâweralnaher, was furnished me by my friend Claudius James Rich, Esq. the British Resident at Bagdad. The curious anonymous history, which contains the singular anecdote regarding the succession of Humâiûn, I owe to Captain William Miles of the Bombay Establishment.

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Nor must I forget to acknowledge the use of a corrected copy of Dow's translation of Ferishta's Life of Baber, part of a revisal of the whole of Dow's translation of the History of Hindostan, by Captain John Briggs of the Madras Establishment, assistant to the Resident at Poona. The important and gross mistakes in names, in geography, and in the sense of the author, with which Dow's translation abounds, makes it to be wished that Captain Briggs would communicate to the public the result of his studies, either by presenting a more accurate translation of that excellent author, or by giving an original work on these periods of the history of India, which he has studied with so much industry and success.*

For the materials from which the Geographical Sketch of the Countries North of the Hindû-kûsh range are compiled, I am indebted almost solely to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. The description of these countries contained in geographical works and in books of travels, is very defective, and often erroneous. When Mr Elphinstone went on his Embassy to Kâbul, he exerted himself to procure, from merchants and travellers, such accounts as were to be had, of all the range of country as far as the borders of Russia. These he committed to writing, and even after his return to Hindustân and the Dekhan, he continued to add to his geographical treasures by conversing with such intelligent natives of these northern countries as happened to visit India, and securing the information which they afforded. Many of them he induced to write accounts of their own districts, or itineraries of their travels, in the Persian tongue.† The unreserved use of the whole of these collections, with his own remarks and corrections, Mr Elphinstone threw open to me, with that perfect frankness which belongs only to superior minds. Nor have I to acknowledge to him my obligations only in this part of the work. I received similar assistance from his accurate researches into the geography of Afghânistân and the Penjâb, and many of Baber's marches, particularly that of Chutiâli and Ab-îstâdeh, with the whole course of his progress to Khorâsân and return from that country, would have been unintelligible to me without the assistance which his descriptions and maps afforded; and I may add that I have rarely had occasion to consult him regarding the manners of the age, or difficulties of the language, without feeling the benefit of the same extensive and accurate knowledge.

Besides my obligations for the use of his own papers, my thanks are farther due to him for the communication of some valuable manuscripts of the late Lieutenant Macartney and of Captain Irvine of the Bengal Establishment, regarding the provinces to the north and west of Hindustân, from which I have freely drawn; and for procuring from Mr Moorcroft the use of a very curious journal in the Persian language, kept by Syed Izzet-Ulla, who had been sent by that gentleman on a route hitherto little frequented by travellers. The Syed went from the Sind to Kashmîr, thence across the

* Captain Briggs has not only revised the Histories of Hindostan and the Dekhan, which have been translated by Colonel Dow and Major Scott, but has completed a translation of all Ferishta's Histories of the separate Kingdoms of India. The publication of the whole would be of the greatest use to the history of our extensive Eastern dominions.

† It is almost unnecessary to remark that this was written before the publication of Mr Elphinstone's "Embassy to Kâbul."

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hills to Ly or Ladak, from thence to Yârkend and Kâshghar, whence he returned by Ush, Khojend, Uratippa, Samarkand, Bokhâra, and the Afghân country. This route traverses a very great proportion of the little-frequented districts so often spoken of by Baber, and lies through the heart of that Prince's paternal kingdom. The instructions of Mr Moorcroft appear to have been so judicious, that the Journal of Syed Izzet-Ulla, besides giving an accurate itinerary of the country through which he passed, contains many amusing facts regarding the manners and state of society of the inhabitants, and was found of the greatest service in the construction of the Map.

The countries which were the scene of Baber's early transactions are so little known, and so imperfectly laid down in all our maps, that I was desirous that a chart of at least Ferghâna and Mâweralnaher should be constructed with the assistance of the new materials afforded from different quarters, and my friend Mr Charles Waddington of the Bombay Engineers kindly undertook the labour. The mode which he adopted for laying it down, will be best explained by his own Memoir. Having only one fixed point by which to correct his positions, the difficulties he had to encounter were very great. How well he has overcome them the Map itself is the best evidence. The additions and improvements made in the geography of all the country beyond the Oxus, but especially in the country of Ferghâna and the districts near Samarkand, will be visible by comparing his delineation with any previous one of these countries. Mr Waddington laid me under the greatest obligations by the ready politeness with which, for a considerable period of time, he devoted to the completion of the Map, most of the few hours allowed him for relaxation from his professional duties; and it is not a little to his honour, that while still only in the first step of his professional career, he has exhibited not only a love of knowledge, but a judgment and science in the use of his materials, that would have done no discredit to the most experienced officer of the scientific corps to which he belongs. Of the following work this portion will very generally be considered as the most valuable.

Before concluding, it may be necessary to say something of the orthography adopted in writing Asiatic words. I have in general preserved that used by Dr Leyden. The vowels have the sound that is given to them in Italian; *i* has the sound of the English *ee*; *u*, of the English *oo*; of the consonants the *ghain* is expressed by *gh*; the two *Kafs* are not discriminated; *g* has always its hard sound; *shîn* is expressed by *sh*; *che* by *ch*, which has the sound of *ce* in *Italian*, and *j* expresses the Italian *gi*. *

* On the whole, however, I am but little satisfied with the orthography used throughout, as the novelty of the spelling often gives a strange and singular aspect to words that are well known. Were it not for the inconvenience attending all innovations in matters of popular usage, it would add much to the distinctness of the orthography of Oriental words if our *c*, which is an useless letter, were used before vowels of every description uniformly to represent the sound of our *ch*, or that given to *c* in Italian before *e* or *i*; *x*, which is also an useless letter, might represent the sound it sometimes has in Portuguese, of our *sh*. Indeed these letters are so used by Meninski, and this use has the good effect of making fewer artificial compounds necessary to represent simple sounds. But use has already fixed anomalously the spelling of so many words, that little uniformity can now be looked for in any great proportion of Eastern words. In some names which are familiar in English, as Lahore, Jumna, Ganges, &c. I have not altered the spelling, considering them as in some degree naturalised by use.

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INTRODUCTION,

PART FIRST;

CONTAINING

REMARKS ON THE TARTAR TRIBES;

AND ON

THE GEOGRAPHY OF UZBEK TURKISTÂN.

THE Emperor Baber was of Tartar race, and the language in which his commentaries are written, was that spoken by the tribes who inhabited the desert to the north and east of the Caspian. On the very edge of this desert he was born, but the changes of his fortune in the course of his eventful life, carried him sometimes as a fugitive, and sometimes as a conqueror, into various provinces of Asia. Some correct general idea of the character of the race to which he belonged, and of the geography of the several countries which he visited, is absolutely necessary, to enable the reader to follow him with pleasure in his chequered career. But the geography of the provinces which form the scene of his early story, and in particular that of the countries beyond the great river Oxus or Amu, one of which was his native country and hereditary kingdom, is peculiarly obscure; insomuch, that by one of our latest and best-informed geographers, it has been justly characterised as being "chiefly conjectural," and as "remaining, to the disgrace of science, in a wretched state of imperfection." * Some of these imperfections Mr Elphinstone's valuable collections, and the Memoirs of Baber themselves, may assist in removing. But the principal object of the following remarks, is to give such an idea of the natural divisions of the country as may render the position and extent of the various provinces mentioned by Baber, distinctly understood, as some of them are not to be found in the geographical systems of the present day.

The whole of Asia may be considered as divided into two parts by the great chain of mountains which runs from China and the Birman Empire on the east, to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean on the west. From the eastward, where it is of great

* Pinkerton's Geography, Vol. II. p. 37. Third ed. 4to.

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breadth, it keeps a north-westerly course, rising in height as it advances, and forming the hill countries of Assâm, Bootân, Nepâl, Sirinagar, Tibet, and Ladâk. It encloses the valley of Kashmîr, near which it seems to have gained its greatest height, and thence proceeds westward, passing to the north of Peshâwer and Kâbul, after which it appears to break into a variety of smaller ranges of hills that proceed in a westerly and south-westerly direction, generally terminating in the province of Khorasân. Near Herât, in that province, the mountains sink away, but the range appears to rise again near Meshhed, and is by some considered as resuming its course, running to the south of the Caspian and bounding Mazenderân, whence it proceeds on through Armenia, and thence into Asia Minor, finding its termination in the mountains of ancient Lycia. This immense range, which some consider as terminating at Herât, while it divides Bengal, Hindustân, the Penjâb, Afghanistân, Persia, and part of the Turkish territory, from the country of the Moghul and Tûrki tribes, which, with few exceptions, occupy the whole extent of country from the borders of China to the sea of Azof, may also be considered as separating, in its whole course, nations of comparative civilization from uncivilized tribes. To the south of this range, if we perhaps except some part of the Afghân territory, which, indeed, may rather be held as part of the range itself than as south of it, there is no nation which, at some period or other of its history, has not been the seat of a powerful empire, and of all those arts and refinements of life which attend a numerous and wealthy population, when protected by a government that permits the fancies and energies of the human mind to follow their natural bias. The degrees of civilization and of happiness possessed in these various regions may have been extremely different; but many of the comforts of wealth and abundance, and no small share of the higher treasures of cultivated judgment and imagination, must have been enjoyed by nations that could produce the various systems of Indian philosophy and science, a drama so polished as the Sakontala, a poet like Ferdousi, or a moralist like Sadi. While to the south of this range we everywhere see flourishing cities, cultivated fields, and all the forms of a regular government and policy, to the north of it, if we except China and the countries to the south of the Sirr or Jaxartes, and along its banks, we find tribes who, down to the present day, wander over their extensive regions as their forefathers did, little if at all more refined than they appear to have been at the very dawn of history. Their flocks are still their wealth, their camp their city, and the same government exists of separate chiefs, who are not much exalted in luxury or information above the commonest of their subjects around them.

The belt of mountains that forms the boundary between the pastoral and civilized nations, is inhabited, in all its extent, by hill-tribes who differ considerably from both of the others. The countries to the east of Kashmîr, at least those lying on the southern face of the range, are chiefly of Hindû origin, as appears from their languages; while the countries to the west of Kashmîr, including that of the Dards, Tibat-Balti or Little Tibet, Chîtral and Kafferistân,* which speak an unknown tongue, with the Hazâras and Aimâks, contain a series of nations who appear never to have attained the arts, the

* From the researches of Mr Elphinstone, it appears that the language of Kafferistân is probably of Hindû origin.

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ease, or the civilization of the southern states; but who at the same time, unlike those to the north, have in general settled on some particular spot, built villages and towns, and cultivated the soil. No work of literature or genius has ever proceeded from this range. The inhabitants, justly jealous of their independence, have rarely encouraged any intercourse with the civilized slaves to the south, and do not appear, till very recently, to have had much commerce with their northern neighbours. The labour of providing for subsistence, the remoteness of their scattered habitations, and the limited means of intercourse with each other, appear, in all ages, to have stifled among them the first seeds of improvement.* Yet even among these mountains, the powerful influence of a rich soil and happy climate, in promoting civilization, is strongly visible. The vale of Kashmîr is placed near their centre; and such has been the effect of the plenty and ease resulting from these circumstances, that that fortunate country has not only been always famous for the richness of its productions, and the skill of its manufacturers, but was, at one period, the seat of a considerable empire; and its historians furnish us with a long catalogue of its authors on every art and in every department of literature, some of whom are still held in deserved estimation.

Baber was descended from one of the tribes that inhabited to the north of this range. That immense tract of country which is known by the general name of Tartary, extends over nearly all the north of Asia, and over a considerable part of the south-east of Europe. It corresponds very nearly with the ancient Scythia. The tribes that inhabit it, differ from each other in manners, features, and language. Of these, the most powerful and numerous seem to belong to three races: 1st, The *Mandshûrs*, called also *Manjûrs* and *Manchûs*, to the east, who extend from the Eastern Ocean along the north of China. 2dly, The *Monguls* or *Moghuls*, who chiefly occupy the central regions between the other two: and 3dly, The people, by Europeans, and particularly the Russians and latter travellers, exclusively called *Tartars* or *Tatars*, and sometimes *Western Tartars*, names not acknowledged by themselves, but who may with more propriety receive their original name of *Tûrks*, by which their principal branches still designate themselves.†

The country of the Mânchûs, containing all that lies east of the Siolki Mountains, and north of the range of Kinchan, may be neglected on the present occasion; the influence of its inhabitants having been confined chiefly to China, of which they are now the rulers.

The Moghul and Tûrki tribes have exercised a far more important influence on the nations around them. The Moghuls extend over all the country between the Siolki Mountains and China on the east; the mountainous country from China towards Leh or Ladak on the south; a line from Leh through the desert of Kobi to the east of Terfân, and thence by the Ulugh Tagh,‡ the Chiû river, and the Kuchik Tagh hills§ on

* The same may be said of the indigenous population of Afghanistân, particularly of the hill country.

† None of these three great classes have any general name to comprehend the whole tribes of which they consist. Each little tribe has a separate name. The grand distinction and affinity are marked chiefly by language.

‡ Great mountains.

§ Little mountains.

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the west; and by a very indefinite line north of the Altaian Chain on the north. The Tûrki nations have the western boundary of the Moghuls as their eastern frontier; on the south they have the Muz-Tagh,* the Belût-Tagh,† the Hindû-kûsh, and the limits of the cultivated country of Khorasân down to the Caspian, a line drawn across that sea to the Caucasian range, the northern shore of the Euxine as far as the sea of Azof, including the Krim, and thence their western boundary extends along the eastern limits of Europe to the Ural and Altai mountains. Some Tûrki tribes, however, have settled even south of the Danube, and others far in Russian Siberia; and in like manner detached tribes of Kalmuks still inhabit along the Wolga, and down to Astrakhan, and probably may be found insulated even in more remote situations.

In a country so extensive, there is, as may be imagined, almost every variety of climate and of soil; but by much the greater part of the land, particularly that to the eastward, is barren, mixed in many instances with sandy deserts, while the climate is inhospitable, so that the difficulty of procuring subsistence on one spot, or at a moderate distance from their habitations, has compelled the inhabitants in all ages to adopt a wandering life. The many noble rivers which intersect the country, of course supply numerous fertile tracts along their banks; but in the greater part of this region, the districts capable of profitable cultivation are too few, too remote from each other, and too much surrounded by desolate sands, to admit of the formation of a permanent kingdom or state devoted to agriculture sufficiently extensive to protect the cultivator, and to check the predatory tribes of the desert by which it would be surrounded on all sides. The cities that have been built, and the districts that have been cultivated, in the flourishing times of any particular tribe, have always therefore rapidly declined.

The country lying between the Amu and Sirr rivers, (the Oxus and Jaxartes of antiquity,) and usually called Great Bucharia, or Mâweralnaher, though now overrun and governed by Tûrki tribes, was not perhaps originally a part of Tartary, and must be excepted from this description. It is a region abounding with fine tracts of land, defended by inaccessible mountains and barren deserts, and watered by numerous streams. The natural condition of this country is that of a civilized and commercial state, abounding with large towns; a situation which it has always rapidly attained, when its governors possessed sufficient power to secure it from foreign enemies.

The Moghul and Tûrki tribes, though now confined to the limits that have been described, have, however, successively changed the aspect of the civilized world. The Huns, (whom their historian the learned Des Guignes regards as being of Tûrki race, though some circumstances in the hideous description given of them by the Roman historians would lead us to conclude, that, with a mixture of Tûrks, they consisted chiefly of the Moghul tribes,)‡ passing from their deserts beyond the Caspian, poured

* Ice hills. † Dark or cloudy mountains.

‡ The ample details afforded by Des Guignes concerning the history of all the Tartar tribes who had any connexion with China, might be expected to throw much light on their early history. But though the *History of the Huns* is a monument of learning and research that has rafely been equalled, it has two defects, which, though unavoidable at the time it was written, yet detract considerably from its value; the first is the indistinctness of its geography of Tartary, and the second, the mistake of confounding together the different races of Tartars, merely because they happened to be united under an empire

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into the richest provinces of the empire of the Romans, and under the ferocious Attila, the scourge of the human race, broke the already declining force of that mighty people. Still later, in the tenth century, the rich and cultivated provinces of Samarkand and

bearing a common name. He knew only the Eastern and Western Tartars, the former Manchus, the latter Tûrks and Moghuls, whom he believes to be the same race, the latter descended from the former. (See Hist. des Huns, vol. I. pp. 209 and 272.)—Hence he considers the Huns as being properly a Tûrki race. The Empire of Hiong-nou, or Huns, however, had its origin north of the Great Wall of China, and conquered as far as Korea and the Caspian. It is said to have begun twelve hundred years before Christ, (Hist. des Huns, vol. I. p. 213,) and the tribes composing it do not appear to have been conquered or driven westward by the Chinese, till the 93d year of the Christian era. Those who retired to Aksû, Kâshghar and the Jaik, or who had maintained their possessions there, entered Europe at a later period in the reign of Valens. As this empire had its origin in the centre of Tartary extending both ways, it is probable that it originated among the Moghul tribes, and that the chiefs even of the minor divisions were of the ruling race of Moghuls. This presumption is confirmed by the descriptions preserved of Attila, which bear such strong marks of Moghul extraction, that Gibbon justly characterizes them as exhibiting the genuine deformity of a modern Kalmuk. " His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin ; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck ; a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form." Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. VI. p. 41.—It is almost unnecessary to remark that the Kalmuks are one of the most numerous tribes of Moghul extraction. But though the chief, and many of the tribes that accompanied him, were Moghuls, he probably, like his countryman Chengiz Khan in later times, had in his army numerous bodies of men of different nations, comprising the inhabitants of the various parts of his Empire, and particularly many of Tûrki origin, as tribes of that race appear, from the earliest accounts in history, to have extended from the Wolga to the Desert of Kobi. The observation made on the composition of the Empire of Attila will equally apply to most of the other great empires mentioned in the history of the Huns. They were not composed purely of one race, but of races of various descent, Tûrki, Moghul, Fennic, and Manchû. Such was the famous Kara Khitan dynasty, which rose from the ruins of that of Khitâ, and was first established at the sources of the Obi and Aksu rivers, along the desert of Kara Khitâ. Their Gurkhan (or Grand Khan), a title afterwards claimed by the descendants of Taimur, established his capital at Kâshghar, also called Urdukend (*i. e.* Camp-town), in Eastern Turkestân.—Hist. des Huns, vol. I. p. 204, 212.

It seems probable, that while the northern Hiong-nou kingdom was chiefly Moghul, the southern was principally Tûrki. See Des Guignes ut supra, pp. 213, 220. Hia (p. 222) was perhaps Manchû. The Tou-ki-chi, the To-kine-chi, and the Western Turks, chiefly Tûrki. But it would require a dissertation to disentangle the history of the races of the various dynasties. Indeed it may perhaps be assumed as a general rule, that in almost every extensive dynasty of the Tartar nations, there were tribes of different races united under one chief or conqueror ; and this union seems gradually to have introduced a considerable similarity in language as well as manners, between many of the Moghul and Tûrki Uluses or tribes.

In the curious relation of the Embassy of Maximin and Priscus beyond the Danube, to the camp of Attila, there are several circumstances that strongly indicate the Tartaric origin of the Huns. Contrary to the general usage of the East, the Queen was accessible ; her mansion was raised on round columns, and the ornaments were curiously carved ; she received the ambassadors sitting, or rather lying on a couch : (Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. VI. p. 74,) and Joannes de Plano Carpini, one of the ambassadors sent into Tartary by the Pope, A. D. 1246, tells us that he was received by Bathu, sitting on a lofty seat or throne, with one of his wives beside him ; and the tent of Cuyne* (Cuyuc) was raised on pillars covered with plates of gold, and joined to the other timbers with gold nails.—Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. I. p. 53. Maximin, we are told, was " sternly forbid to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe the distant awe which was due to the royal mansion," (Gibbon, vol. VI. p. 70.) an observance

* This false reading, which runs through the whole of Hakluyt, and which has been copied from him by Bergeron and later writers, has evidently arisen from the similarity of the two words in the ancient hand-writing. Cûyuc or Kuyuk, the son of Oktai and grandson of Chengîz Khan, we find from other authorities, was the Khan of the Moghuls when Carpini travelled.

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Khwârizm, at that period the seats of Oriental science and learning, were subdued by the Tûrki hordes. In the following century the Ghaznevide dynasty, whose dominion spread over great part of India and Persia, the dynasties of the Seljuks in Persia, the vassalage of the Khalifs of Baghdad to their Turkoman guards, and the final destruction of the Khalifat itself, the successive conquest of Armenia, Asia Minor, and in the end of the whole Empire styled the Turkish, from its founders, attest the valour and enterprize of the Tûrki tribes. The Moghuls were unknown beyond the wilds of Tartary, from the age of Attila till the thirteenth century, when their leader, the celebrated Chengîz Khan, after having subdued all the neighbouring Tartar tribes, particularly those of Tûrki extraction, who, under the dynasty that existed down to his time, had possessed the ascendency over the Moghuls, burst into the provinces of Turân, Mâwer-alnaher, Khwârizm, and Khorâsân, subdued part of India, reduced Azerbaejân, and a considerable portion of Persia, the Tûrki tribes of Kipchâk, and a great part of China, leaving those vast countries which were much more extensive than the Roman Empire at the period of its widest dominion, to be governed by his posterity. His successors pursuing the tract of conquest, traversed Russia, marched over Poland, and poured their troops into Hungary, Bohemia, and Silesia; accident alone, perhaps, prevented the cities of Germany from undergoing the fate of Samarkand and Bokhâra, cities at that time the seats of greater refinement and politeness than any in Europe; and it has been truly observed, that the disordered digestion of a barbarian on the borders of China, by withdrawing the Moghul armies from the west, may have saved us from the misfortune of witnessing at this day a Tartar dynasty in the richest countries of the west of Europe. The superiority acquired by Chengîz Khan, a Moghul, over the Tûrki tribes, has never been entirely lost. His empire, after his death, having been divided

which strongly calls to our mind the *kûrûgh* or *kûrûk* of the Princes of Persia and Hindustân, which, though it has more the air of a Mahometan than of a Tartar usage, is confined to Tartar Princes.—(See Bernier's Journey to Kashmir, and Kœmpfer's Amœnitates Exoticæ.) The Roman ambassadors received a plentiful supply of provisions, "and a certain liquor named *camus*, which, according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley."—(Gibbon ut supra, p. 71.) There can be little doubt that this was the intoxicating spirit prepared from mare's milk, which in all ages has been the favourite beverage of the Tartars, as it is at the present day; and which still retains its ancient name of *Kamiz*. Rubriquis, A. D. 1253, calls it *Cosmos*.—Hakluyt, vol. I. p. 83. Bleda's polite widow, who supplied the Roman strangers with a sufficient number of beauteous and obsequious damsels, probably only followed, as far as her circumstances permitted, the manners of some tribes of Moghuls, probably her countrymen, according to which the husband abandons his house and his wife to the temporary occupation of the traveller who honours him with a visit. One of Attila's sons is named Dengisick, perhaps from having been born near the Euxine, the Caspian, or some other sea, the word Dengis signifying a sea in the language of the Turks. As to the name of Attila, as that Prince did not succeed his father, but assumed the government on the death of his uncle, it seems not improbable that he was originally considered as regent for his predecessor's children, and thence acquired the name of *Atalik*,* a term so often occurring in the following Memoirs in the sense of regent or guardian. The dynasties of the Atabeks in Persia arose in the same manner from the usurpation of the regents; *Atabek*, meaning in Tûrki "Father of the Prince." Such etymological conjectures, however, are necessarily very uncertain. I have already observed that Attila's army seems to have been composed of tribes both of Moghuls and Tûrks, and even of other races: that both these languages, and perhaps some others, were probably spoken in his camp as in that of Chengîz Khan, but that, like that monarch, he was himself a Moghul.

* *Atalik* literally signifies *loco-parentis*, or *quasi-parens*.

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among his sons, who seem to have been accompanied to their governments by numerous families, and even by tribes, or parts of tribes of Moghuls, who followed their princes, the chief authority in all the conquered countries continued for a series of years to be in the hands of that race; and even the chiefs of Tûrki tribes, if not Moghuls themselves, appear to have been ambitious of connecting themselves by intermarriages with Moghul families; so that, at the present day, the greater part of them trace up their descent to Chengîz Khan. The descendants of these Moghuls and Moghul families, however, being placed among a people who spoke a different language, gradually adopted that of their subjects, as is usual in all conquered countries, where the conquerors are few and the conquered many; so that the Tûrks and their chieftains being now freed from any dependence on the Moghuls, are once more completely separated from them both by government and language, and regard them as strangers and foreigners.

Whether the Moghul and Tûrki languages differ from each other essentially, or only as very different dialects of the same tongue, is a question which I have never seen clearly decided. Of the Moghul I possess no vocabulary, by which a comparison could be instituted with the Tûrki.* An examination of the lists in the Comparative Vocabulary made by order of the Empress of Russia, or of those in the Mithridates of the learned Adelung, would go far towards deciding the question, which is one of considerable curiosity. If the Tûrks, as is probable, inhabited the neighbourhood of the Caspian, as early as the days of Herodotus, by whom the *Turkai* are mentioned,† and if they always inhabited the country from Tibet to the Black Sea, their language may reasonably be supposed to have had some influence on that of their neighbours. But if, in addition to this, we consider the frequency of their irruptions into the south of Asia for the last fourteen hundred years, under their own name, and probably for a much longer period under that of Scythians; that one half of the population consists of Tûrki tribes, or of Tûrks settled in towns, but still speaking their native tongue; that the most numerous race next to the Slavonians, in the extensive empire of Russia, are the Tûrks; ‡ that several Turkoman tribes also traverse the wastes of Turkey, and that the Ottoman Empire itself, as well as the Turkish language, owes its origin to the northern Tûrks, we shall probably feel some surprise that a language so extensively spoken, and which seems to promise so rich a field to the industry of the philologist, should have been so much overlooked, and even its existence scarcely known, except in the Osmanli dialect of Turkey, the dialect, to the antiquary and philologist, of all others the least valuable, as most widely deviating from its primitive form. The Jaghatâi Tûrki furnishes a variety of finished works, both in prose and verse; but that dialect having been carried to its perfection in the provinces between the Amu and

* Judging by the few Moghul words that I have been able to collect, I should suppose them to be totally different languages.

† The Khozari, a Tûrki tribe, inhabited to the north of the Caspian in the middle of the fifth century, and, according to Moses of Chorene, had their Khakan (or great Khan) and their Khatuns or Princesses. Rex autem aquilonarius appellatur *Chacanus*, qui est Chazirorum dominus, et regina vocatur *Chathunia* quæ est Chacani conjux ex Barsiliorum gente orta. Moses Choren. Geog. ad calcem Hist. Armen. p. 356. Lond. 1736. 4to.—This, I imagine, is the earliest contemporary mention of these tribes.

‡ See Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol. I. p. 449.

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Sirr,* where the Persian was formerly spoken, is full of words borrowed with very little change from that language and from the Arabic. In the Tûrki of Baber, perhaps the purest specimen now extant of the language of his times, probably two-ninths of the whole extent may be traced to an Arabic or Persian root. Specimens of the language of the different wandering Tûrki tribes, compared with the language of Baber and with that of the Moghul tribes, would enable us to form tolerably decided notions of the affiliations of the Tûrki and Moghul races.

Another question, which has been a good deal agitated, and which to me appears to have been erroneously decided, is that which regards the application of the name of *Tartar*, or more properly *Tatar*, by which we denominate these nations. It is applied by Europeans as a general term comprehending a variety of different tribes in the northern division of Asia, and is quite unknown to the inhabitants themselves, as well as to the Indians; which last, very improperly, call all of these tribes, as well as all Persians, and indeed any Mussulman with a whitish face, Moghuls. The term Tartar seems to have been first used by our historians and travellers about the thirteenth century. Joannes de Plano Carpini, who travelled A. D. 1246, informs us, that the country of the Moghuls, in his time, not long after the death of Chengîz Khan, was inhabited by four nations (or populi), the Yeka Mongals,† the Su-Mongals, or Water Mongals,‡ *who call themselves Tartars from a certain river called Tartar* which runs through their territory,‡ the Merkat and Metrit; and adds that all these nations speak the same language. Chengîz belonged to the Yeka Mongals, and subdued the other three divisions. All of these nations lived in the middle division of Tartary. Carpini, after describing his passage eastward through the country along the Sirr or Jaxartes, and the lands of the Tûrks whom he calls Black Kythai,§ adds, " On leaving the country of the Naymans" (which was the last of the Tûrks,) " we then entered the country of the Mongals, whom we call Tartars." ‖ This name of Tartar, however, by which we are accustomed to designate Chengîz Khan and his successors as well as their empire, these princes themselves rejected with disdain. Rubriquis, who visited the court of Sartakh, Chengîz Khan's grandson, about the year 1254, was cautioned, therefore, to call him Moal (that is Moghul), and not Tartar; " for they wish to exalt their name of *Moal* above every name, and do not like to be called Tartars; for the Tartars were a different tribe;"¶ meaning, I presume, the Su-Mongals, conquered by Chengîz; and hence the victorious family did not choose to receive the name of their subject vassals. Rubriquis informs** us that Chengîz Khan, after the union of the kindred tribes of Moghuls and Tartars under his government, generally made the Tartars take the advance, and that, from this circumstance, they being the tribe who first entered the territory of their enemies, and whose name was first known, the appellation of Tartar was by foreigners applied to the whole race, to the exclusion of the superior name of Mo-

* The Oxus and Jaxartes.

† Chief or superior Moghuls.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. I. p. 30. See also Petis de la Croix's Life of Gengis Can, p. 63, who calls the river *Tata*, whence *Tatars*.

§ That is Kara Khitâi.

‖ Deinde terram Mongalorum intravimus, quos Tartaros appellamus. Hakl. vol. I. p. 55.

¶ Hakluyt, vol. I. p. 93.

** P. 93.

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ghul. It was by the united strength of these two tribes of Moghuls that Chengîz Khan destroyed the powerful kingdom of Kara Khita, and subdued the Tûrki tribes.

As, in the time of the early successors of Chengîz Khan, the name of Tartar was erroneously transferred from one, and applied to the whole Moghul tribes; so, in latter times, and at the present day, it is, with still greater impropriety, applied by European writers to designate exclusively the tribes of Tûrki extraction, who are in reality a very different race. The French, as well as the German and Russian writers, regard the name of Tartar as properly applicable only to the western Tartars. D'Herbelot, Petis de la Croix, Pallas, Gmelin, as well as the Editor of Astley's Collection of Voyages, all agree in the propriety of this limitation. Tooke, who follows the best-informed Russian travellers, after dividing the country called Great Tartary, among the Monghuls, Tartars, and Mandshures, adds, that the appellative Tartars "is so much misapplied, that, with some inquirers into history, a doubt has even arisen, whether there ever was a peculiar people of that name. Under this denomination have been implied all tribes beyond Persia and India, as far as the Eastern Ocean, however differing from each other in regard to their origin, language, manners, religion, and customs. Now," he continues, "that we are better acquainted with these nations, we know that the Tartars in reality compose a distinct nation, which originally belonged to the great Turkish stock."* This opinion seems to be that at present universally received.† The general name of Tartar, however, is not recognized by any of the tribes on whom it is thus bestowed. These tribes, who have the best right to fix their own appellation, know themselves only by the particular name of their tribe, or by the general name of Tûrk: their language they call the Tûrki, and if the name of Tartar is to be admitted as at all applicable peculiarly to any one of the three races,‡ it belongs to the Moghuls, one of whose tribes the ancient Tatars were, with much greater propriety, than to either of the others.

It is curious, that in like manner as in Modern Europe, the name of Tatar, taken from a Moghul tribe, was bestowed on all the inhabitants of these vast regions; so, among the Arab conquerors of Asia, and the Arab and Persian geographers, they were all of them, Moghuls as well as Tûrks, known as Tûrks, by a name taken from a different race; while the country as far as China received the name of Tûrkestân.§ This singularity arose from a very obvious cause, the relative position of the Arabs and Tûrks. The country of Tûrkestân enclosed the Arab conquests in Mâweralnaher on three sides. Being in immediate contact with Tûrki tribes, and unacquainted with the varieties of race or language among the more distant wanderers of the desert, whose manners, from similarity of situation, probably were, or at least to a stranger appeared to be, nearly the same, they applied the name of Tûrki to all the more distant nations

* Tooke's view of the Russian Empire, vol. I. p. 346. † See Pinkerton's Geography, article *Tartary*.

‡ It may be remarked as singular, that though no large tribe, or union of tribes, bears at the present day the name of Tatar, it is sometimes to be found in the subdivisions of the tribes or Septs. Thus the Kachar are divided into six Aimaks, the Shulask, the *Tatar*, Kuban, Tubin, *Mungal*, and Jastyn. See Dec. Russ. vol. V. p. 183. Other similar instances occur.

§ See Abulfeda, Ulugh Beg's Tables, the Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Arabian travellers, particularly pp. 36-43, &c.

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in these quarters, though differing from each other in many important respects: It has already been remarked, that the Indians use the term Moghul with still greater latitude.

But the difference between the Tûrks and Moghuls, if we may believe the best-informed travellers, is more marked than any that language can furnish. The Mongols, says Gmelin, have nothing in common with the Tartars (meaning the Tûrks), but their pastoral life, and a very remote resemblance in language. The Mongols differ, on the contrary, from all the races purely Tartar (Tûrki), and even from all the western nations, in their customs, in their political constitution, and above all, in their features, as much as in Africa the Negro differs from the Moor.* The description of their features, indeed, marks a race extremely different from the Tûrki. "Les traits caracteristiques de tous les visages Kalmucs et Mongoles, sont des yeux dont le grand angle, place obliquement en descendant vers le nez, est peu ouvert et charnu: des sourcils noirs peu garnis et formant un arc fort rabaissé; un conformation toute particuliere du nez, qui est generalement camus et ecrasé vers le front: les os de la joue saillans; la tête et le visage fort ronds. Ils ont ordinairement la prunelle fort brune, les levres grosses et charnues, le menton court, et les dents tres blanches, qu'ils conservent belles et saines jusques dans la vieillesse. Enfin leurs oreilles sont generalement toutes enormement grandes et detachées de la tête."† Gmelin observes, that indeed "they have not the shadow of a tradition which could justify a suspicion that they ever composed one nation with the Tartars. The name of Tartar, or rather Tatar, is even a term of reproach among them; they derive it in their language from *tatanoi*, to draw together, to collect: which, to them, means little better than a robber."‡ It is singular that a name thus rejected among the nations to whom it is applied, should have had so much currency. The resemblance between Tartar and the infernal Tartarus, joined with the dread and horror in which the Tartar invaders were held, while they scattered dismay over Europe, probably, as has been well conjectured,§ preserved the name in the west.

While all accounts of the Moghuls concur in giving them something hideous in their appearance, the Tûrks, on the other hand, appear to have been rather distinguished as a comely race of men. The Persians, themselves very handsome, considered them as such. Hafez and the other Persian poets celebrate their beauty. They seem to have very much of the European features, but with more contracted eyes; a peculiarity which they probably owe to intermarriages with the Moghuls, or perhaps to something in their local situation in the deserts whence they issued. But whatever may have been the difference between these two nations, certain it is that a marked distinction did exist between them from very early times.

The manners of these roving and pastoral tribes, as described by the ancient Greek and Roman writers, agree precisely with those of their descendants at the present day; but they have been painted with so much liveliness and truth by Gibbon, in a work which is in every one's hands, that nothing need be added to what he has sketched.

* See Decouvertes Russes, vol. III. p. 209, and Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol. III. p. 225 and 226.

† Hist. des Decouvertes Russes, ut supra.

‡ Ibid. p. 210.

§ Pinkerton.

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The first historical period, a knowledge of which is of consequence to the understanding of the following Memoirs, is that marked by the conquests of Chengîz Khan. In the earlier days of that Prince, the Kara Khitan was the most powerful Tartarian dynasty. Within the extensive range which their empire embraced, from the Chinese wall to the Ala Tagh Mountains, though the population was chiefly Tûrki, were included several tribes of different races, Tûrks, Oighurs, and Moghuls. Their power was broken in the year 1207 by the Naimans, another Tûrki race; and soon after, the Moghul tribes, impatient of a foreign yoke, rose under Chengîz Khan, shook off the authority of the Kara Khitans, and, under his conduct, rapidly subdued them in their turn. The name of Kara Khita indicates their connexion with Khita,* or Northern China, on which their chiefs acknowledged a dependence. It was, however, a dependence that originated in a previous conquest of that very country made by their predecessors the Khitans, or Leao, to whom the Chinese had paid tribute; and the dependence, in the first instance, was on the Emperor rather than the empire. The title of Ung-Khan given to the chief prince of the Kara Khitans, and assumed by him, shows that they were not ashamed of their dependence on China; the title *Ung* being one purely Chinese, and bestowed on Mandarins† of the highest class. The Tûrki population at that time probably extended farther east than it does at the present day, and tradition informs us that the Kerghis and some other tribes, now far to the west, then occupied ground close to the Chinese wall. They migrated westward, flying from the vengeance of their enemies when the Moghuls proved victorious. On the other hand, we have heard of Kalmuks on the borders of Poland; and several Moghul tribes may now be found as far west as the Wolga, and pushed in between Tûrki tribes, who still differ from them in aspect, language, and religion. These last appear to have been chiefly the tribes that were induced to settle in the west, after the conquests of Chengîz Khan. They accompanied that conqueror, and remained with his sons for their protection, or to overawe the conquered. One of the most remarkable of these was the grand tribe of Moghuls, who, in the age of Baber, were settled, one branch on the territory of Tashkend and the plains in its vicinity, in a country by Baber called Moghulistân, and the other probably in the present Soongaria, the Jetteh of the Institutes of Taimur, on the river Illi. They seem to have been part of the royal horde of Jaghatâi Khan, the son of Chengîz, who fixed his capital at Bishbâligh on the Illi; and many particulars of their manners, which continued extremely rude, are detailed in a very picturesque manner by Baber in his Memoirs.

In the division of the empire of Chengîz Khan among his sons, one of them had the provinces to the east of the Tûrki frontier; Jaghatâi had the country westward as far as the Sea of Arâl, and perhaps nearly to the river Jaik; while a third had all the other regions to the west, along the Caspian, and far into modern Russia. The country occupied by Jaghatâi Khan was long afterwards held by his descendants, and the inhabitants acquired the name of Jaghatâi or Chaghatai Tûrks, and the country itself

* There is reason to think, that though the term Khita is now applied to Northern China and its Tartar dependencies, it was at first given to a Tartar tribe who overran that country.

† See Du Halde's China, vol. IV.

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that of Jaghatâi. The connexion subsisting between the different tribes, in consequence of their having a point of union by being under the same government, seems to have favoured an approximation in language; and their dialect, which became highly cultivated, has continued down to the present day, and is still spoken, especially in towns and by the stationary Tûrks, over nearly the whole extent of the ancient Jaghatâi territories. The power of the Khans of Jaghatâi was nearly * lost before the age of Taimur, who founded a new dynasty, the capital of which he fixed at Samarkand. He, in common with Chengîz Khan,† traced up his descent to Toumeneh Khan, a Moghul prince, so that both were of the royal race of Moghuls; but the family and dependent tribe of Taimur had been settled for nearly two centuries at Kesh, to the south of Samarkand, and, being in the midst of a country inhabited by Tûrks, spoke the language, and had adopted the manners and feelings, of those among whom they dwelt. The families descended from Taimur, therefore, though strictly Moghul, always regard themselves as Tûrki.

Baber had a close connexion with both races of Tartars. He traced up his descent on the father's side in a direct line to the great Taimur Beg, whence he always speaks of himself as being a Tûrk; while by the mother's side he was sprung from Chengiz Khan, being the grandson of Yunis Khan, a celebrated prince of the Moghuls. All Baber's affections, however, were with the Tûrks, and he often speaks of the Moghuls with a mingled sentiment of hatred and contempt.

In spite of the various changes that have occurred in the course of six hundred years, the limits of the Tûrki language are still not very different from what they were in the days of the imperial Chengîz. These limits have already been roughly traced. The object of this Introduction does not require that we should enter farther into any details concerning these countries, the cradle of the Tartarian ancestors of Baber. Our attention is more immediately called to that division of it generally called Great Bucharia, but which may with more propriety be denominated Usbek Turkistân, which not only contains his hereditary kingdom, but is the scene of his early exploits. It will, in the first place, however, be necessary to give some idea of the high country of Pamere and Little Tibet, whence the rivers flow that give their immediate form to all the surrounding countries.

It has been already remarked, that the Himmâla Mountains, those of Tibet, Kashmîr, Hindûkûsh, and Paropamisus, form a broad and lofty barrier, separating the countries of northern from those of southern Asia. The mountains, as they advance west, acquire a very great height; and measurements made at various places, towards Nepâl and Hindûkûsh, by assigning to these ranges a height of upwards of 20,000 feet, would make them rank with the highest in the world.‡ Nearly parallel to this great

* Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 4, speaks of the Khans of Jaghatâi as extinct before the rise of Taimur's fortunes. But they still existed though stripped of their power; and accordingly, in the progress of the historian's narrative, p. 28, we find that the nominal Khan of Jaghatâi was the person who took Bajazet prisoner.

† See D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, art. *Genghiz* and *Timour*; and the Shujret-ul-Itrâk. MS.

‡ Very recent measurements give to the highest of the Himmala Mountains an altitude of 28,000 feet, which would make them decidedly the loftiest in our globe.

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chain, on the north, runs a considerable range, which has been called the Mûz-tagh, or Ice-Mountains. It extends on the east, at least from the northward of the Tibet range, near Leh or Ladak, and has a north-westerly direction, skirting Eastern or Chinese Turkistân on the south, till it meets the Belûr,* or Belût-tagh Mountains, in the latitude of about 40° 45′, and longitude 71°; whence it seems to proceed on westward, as far as Khojend and Uratippa, under the name of the Asfera Mountains, and then divides into three or four principal branches, as will afterwards be mentioned. Connecting these two great ranges of Kashmîr or Hindukûsh, and of Muz-tagh, a third range proceeds northward from that part of the Hindukûsh which lies near Kafferistân, in longitude 72°, and meets the Muz-tagh, as already mentioned. This range is called by geographers the Belûr, or Belût-tagh. It seems to revive again to the north of the Muz-tagh, running, under the name of the Ala,† or Alâk-tagh, and according to others of the Ming Bulâk, or Arjun Hills, first to the north as far as north latitude 42°, and next to the westward towards Tashkend, when it terminates in the desert of Arâl, about the 65th or 66th degree of east longitude.

The extensive country which lies between the three grand ranges of mountains, the Kashmirian, Muz-tagh, and Belût-tagh, does not properly belong to Tûrkistan, though some parts of it at the present day are traversed by Tûrki tribes. It seems rather, with the country immediately east of the Ala, or Alâk-tagh, to have belonged to one of the mountain races which inhabit the grand range of Hindukûsh, in an independent state, to this day. Baber mentions a curious fact, which seems to throw some light on the ancient history and geography of that country. He tells us, that the hill-country along the upper course of the Sind (or Indus), was formerly inhabited by a race of men called Câs; and he conjectures, that from a corruption of the name, the country of Kashmîr was so called, as being *the country of the Kâs*.‡ The conjecture is certainly happy, and the fact on which it is founded important; for it leads us farther, and permits us to believe, that the Kasia Regio and the Kassii Montes of Ptolemy, beyond Mount Imaus, were inhabited by this same race of Kâs, whose dominion, at some period, probably extended from Kâshghar to Kâshmîr, in both of which countries they have left their name. || The country at this day called Kâshkâr, and included within the triangular range just described, probably derived its appellation from the same origin, being only

* This name, in our older works on geography, is written Belûr. It is now generally called Belût, or the Dark or Cloudy Mountain. Yet Marco Polo, after travelling twelve days over the elevated plain of Pamer, travels for forty more over the country called Beloro. Ramusio, vol. II. p. 11. Add to this, that Nasirudin of Tûs, in his geographical tables, places Belûr four degrees east of Badakhshan. Hudsoni Geograph. Min. Græc. vol. III. p. 110. There seems, therefore, to be some uncertainty as to the tract of country to which the name was at first applied. The name, at least, of Belor, is also given to this country by Rabbi Abraham Pizol. Kircher's China Illustrata, p. 48. See also Bergeron, in cap. 27 of Marc. Paul. p. 31.

† That is, the Chequered Mountain. It is said to be "bare of forests, and all over as if studded with rocks." Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol. I. p. 121.

‡ Mîr is still united with the names of several districts, as *Jeselmir, Ajmir*, &c.

|| The only edition of Ptolemy which I have had an opportunity of consulting, is the Latin translation, Venice, 1564. See p. 234. The Chatæ-Scythæ may be either those of Khita or of Khoten.

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a corruption of Kâshghar; within the territory of which it was long included, the name having survived the dominion.*

The mountains by which this country is buttressed on every side are very lofty, and bear snow on their summits the greater part of the year. It has been conjectured, that if we except some parts of the Greater Tibet, it is the highest table-land in Asia. In confirmation of which, it has been observed, that from this high land, which, for want of a general denomination, may be called Upper Kashghar, the rivers take their course in opposite directions, and to different seas: the Sind or Indus, and the Kâshkâr or Cheghanserâi river, flow through the mountains to the south, and after uniting near Attok, proceed to the Indian Ocean; while the Amu, which originates from the snows and springs of Pûshtekar, in the same high table-land, pours down the western mountains of Belût-tagh, and after keeping for some time along the Hindûkûsh range, pursues its course towards the sea of Arâl.† No river is known to cross the Muz-tagh; but the rivers which originate on its northern face, proceed down to the desert and the lake of Lop-nor. Of these which flow north, some originate not very far from the Indus, which flows from the eastward by Ladak, between the two ranges, in the earlier part of its course.

This elevated country of Upper Kashghâr, though plain when compared with the huge and broken hills which raise and inclose it on all sides, is, however, crossed in various directions by numerous hills and valleys. As the slope of the country is from the north and east, the Muz-tagh, though certainly of less height than the other ranges, probably rises from a more elevated base. Of this high and thinly-peopled country, the south-west part is called Chitrâl, the north-west portion Pamîr, or the Plain, whence the whole country is often denominated. The country of the Dards lies in the south-east, and the rest of it is occupied by Little Tibet, which, on the east, stretches away into Great Tibet.‡

The country of Usbek Tûrkistân may be considered as a large basin, hollowed out by the waters descending from the Paropamisan and Hindûkûsh hills on the south, and those of Belût-tagh and Alâ-tagh on the east and north, but formed into two divisions by the Asfera Mountains; on the south of which lies the vale of the Amu or Oxus, and on the north the vale of the Sirr or Jaxartes. Both of these great rivers, after receiving all the tributary streams that pour into them from the valleys and smaller branches of hills which they meet with in their course, force their way with difficulty through extensive sandy plains to the sea of Arâl. Usbek Tûrkistân on the south, after the termination of the Paropamisan hills, may be considered as divided from Persian Khorâsân by a line beginning north of Herât, in latitude 35°, and running north-west along the south verge of the Desert, so as to terminate on the Caspian, about

* Since writing the above, a friend pointed out to me Major Wilford's Discourse on Caucasus, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, in the beginning of which a similar train of reasoning is pursued. I certainly am not prepared to follow Major Wilford in all his subsequent conclusions, but he had good opportunities of ascertaining the existence of the *Kas*, or *Khasay*, in Almora, and the neighbouring hill-country.

† Lieut. Macartney's MSS., and a memoir of Capt. Irvine.

‡ Lieut. Macartney and Capt. Irvine's MSS.

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latitude 39°. The Caspian forms its western boundary; and a line, from the Caspian to the sea of Arâl, and thence again to the Alâ-tagh, or Ming Bulâk Mountains, which run north of the Sirr, or Jaxartes, as far as Tashkend, completes its northern frontier.

That part of Usbek Tûrkistân which lies south of the Asfera Mountains, may be divided into the countries south of the Amu, or Oxus, and those to the north of that river.

The divisions to the south of the Amu, including also those that extend to both its banks, or which are contained between its branches, are four: 1. Badakhshân; 2. Balkh; 3. Khwârizm; and, 4. The Deserts of the Turkomans.

The divisions to the north of the Amu are five: 1. Khutlân; 2. Karatigîn; 3. Hissâr, or Cheghâniân; 4. Kesh, or Sheher Sebz, including Karshi and Khozâr; and, 5. The Vale of Soghd, in which are the celebrated cities of Samarkand and Bokhara.

The countries lying along the Vale of the Sirr, or Jaxartes, may be considered as being six in number: 1. Ferghâna, now called Kokân and Nemengân; 2. Tashkend; 3. Uratippa, or Ushrushna; 4. Ghaz, or the Arâl Desert; to which may perhaps be added, 5. Ilak, extending between Uratippa and Tashkend; and, lastly, The district of Tûrkistân Proper.

I. DIVISIONS SOUTH OF THE AMU.

It may be convenient, in reviewing the different divisions of Usbek Tûrkistân, to follow the course of the two great rivers, as they proceed from the hills to the Sea of Arâl.

It will not be necessary to say much of the southern divisions, as they are, in general, sufficiently well known.

1. Badakhshan.

Badakhshân is the first district to the south of the Amu. In the age of Baber, it was considered as being bounded on the south by Kafferistân, on the east by Upper Kâshghar, on the north by Khutlân, and on the west by Kundez and Anderâb. It is chiefly mountainous, and appears to be formed by the course of two considerable rivers, that unite to form the Amu. That river of the two which has the longest course and the greatest body of water, is the Penj, called also the Hammû,* which appears to be the Harat of the Arabian geographers. It has lately been ascertained to rise in the high grounds east of the Belût-tagh range, issuing from under the snow of the lofty mountains of Pûshtekhar, and working its way by the lower grounds of Shughnan and Derwâz.† The second river, which is called the Kokcha, or Badakhshân river, is inferior in magnitude and length of course to the first, rising to the south of it, in that high mountainous ridge of Belût-tagh, which separates Badakhshân from Chitrâl, and

* Hence probably the name of Amu.

† Mr Elphinstone's MSS.

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the course of the Kâshkâr or Cheghanserâi river; and, on the north, divided from the course of the Penj, by a chain of lofty hills which intervene, and form the ridge of the opposite valleys. Badakhshân Proper lies along the Kokcha river, though the dominion of the King of Badakhshân generally embraced all the country south of the Penj. The country north of the Penj* belonged to Khutlân. The mountainous tracts near its source still called Wakhân, and by Marco Polo, Vochan, are probably part of the Wakhsh† of the Oriental geographers. Besides the two great valleys which run along the river, through all the extent of the country, there are numerous others which wind among the hills, particularly on the south, towards Kafferistân, and which transmit several streams of considerable size to the larger rivers. The Penj and Kokcha unite just below the Badakhshân territory.

The soil in the valleys is fertile, and the country has always been famous for producing precious stones, especially rubies and turquoises. It was visited in the 13th century by Marco Polo, whose account of this and the neighbouring provinces is far more correct than has been generally supposed. It belonged to Baber in the latter period of his life, but was not the scene of any of his more eminent exploits. He mentions, that its native king claimed descent from Sekander, or Alexander the Great; a claim which is continued down to the present day. The family may, perhaps, be descended from the Grecian dynasty of Bactriana, which subsisted so long unconnected with the empire of Alexander's successors.

2. Balkh.

The country between Badakhshân and the desert of Khwârism, on the east and west, and the Hindûkûsh hills and the Amu, on the south and north, which, following Mr Elphinstone, I include under the general name of Balkh,‡ comprehends a variety of districts that, at the present day, are under several different governments. They are chiefly valleys formed by rivers that descend from the Hindûkûsh hills, and which, after forming glens and dales, frequently of considerable extent and fertility, discharge themselves into the Amu. The principal districts mentioned by Baber, are Anderâb, Talikân, Kûndez, and Khûlm, to the east; Balkh, in the centre, in a plain below the Dera Gez, or Valley of Gez, and Shiberghân, Andekhûd, and Meimana, to the west. The eastern districts are generally level and fertile towards the mouth of their different rivers; but the valleys become narrower, and contract into glens as they are followed towards the sources of their parent streams on the Hindûkûsh. The country round Balkh is level and rather sandy. The Dehâs, or Balkhâb, as it approaches that

* See Ebn Haukal. † See Abulfeda, Ap. Geograph. Min. Græc. vol. III.

‡ This is the ancient Bactria, a term probably taken from its old Persian name of Bakhterzemin, or Eastern country, which is given it as late as the Institutes of Taimur. Khorasân is sometimes made to include this, as well as the whole country below the hills, as high up as Badakhshân on the one side, and round their ridges to Kandahâr on the other. See Ebn Haukal, Baber's Memoirs, &c. The name of Khorasân may be derived either from its being the country east of Persia, or that west of Bakhterzemîn; as, by an odd singularity, *Khawer*, in the ancient Persian, is used to signify either east or west. The first certainly seems to be the more probable.

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city, after leaving the Dera Gez, diminishes in size till it nearly disappears in the barren plain; and the western districts are ill-watered, and indicate, by their sandy soil, the approach to the desert.

3. Khwarizm.*

Baber never visited this country, which lies near the mouth of the Amu or Oxus; and, being surrounded on all sides by desert, may be considered as an island formed in the waste by the Amu; by innumerable branches and cuts from which, the whole country is enriched. Its geography is very defective and erroneous, though considerable materials exist for correcting it. The Amu, soon after it passes the cultivated country of Urgenj, meets the sandy desert, in which it is nearly swallowed up, so that the river is of no great volume when it reaches the sea of Arâl.

4. Desert of the Turkomans.†

This desert, which extends from Khwârizm and the borders of Balkh to the Caspian, and from the limits of the Persian Khorasân to the sea of Aral, and the country of the Kerghis, is inhabited by wandering Turkomans, some of whom own submission to the Chiefs of Khwârizm, or Urgenj, and others to the Persians; while a considerable portion of them yield scarcely even a nominal submission to either.

II. DIVISIONS NORTH OF THE AMU.

It has already been remarked, that these divisions are bounded on the east by the Belût-tagh mountains, which extend northward from the Hindûkûsh to the Asfera mountains, are very lofty and precipitous, and bear snow on their summits the greater part of the year, some of them without intermission. They are probably very broken and abrupt, as no pass is known to cross them, except from Badakhshân. And it is remarkable, that, in consequence of the height and abruptness of the moun-

* The Chorasmin of the Persarum Syntaxis, (see Geograph. Gr. Minor. vol. III. p. 5,) is, I presume, the two Khwarizms; and indeed it includes places both in Khwarizm and Balkh. The Greek translator, to express our B, always uses Μπ. as in Bokhara, Balkh, Tibet (ΤΕΜΠΙΤ), &c. The Latin translator does not seem to have understood some of the names; thus, MAPANA, *Mayrana*, is Mâweralnaher; ZAOYL, *Saul*, is Zabul, or Zablestân; KOIΣTAN, *Koistan*, is Kohistan; χαματαν, *Chamatan*, forte *Chamultan*, is Hamadân; *Sirazin* is Shirâz; *Sistarin*, Shûster; *Artuel*, Ardebil; *Giaz* is Chach, &c. &c.

† The term Turkoman, James de Vitri derives from Turci et Comani, by an etymology, says Gibbon, which few critics will adopt. Yet, as we find the Turkomans pushing in on both sides of the Caspian, by Azerbaejan and the desert of Khwarizm, in both instances advancing out of the country called Comania, by the earliest travellers, from the wandering tribe of Komans, who inhabited it, there seems to be no good reason why they might not have received their name from being designated as Tûrk-Koman, or Koman-Turks, to distinguish them from the numerous tribes of the same race. See the travels of Carpini and Rubriquis in Hakluyt and Bergeron. The *Cuban* derives its name from this tribe of *Comani* or *Cobani*.

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tains which inclose the country that has been denominated Usbek Turkistân on the east, there appear in all ages to have been only two passes across them for caravans and armies, both of which are gained by following the course of the two great rivers the Amu and the Sirr, to which the country appears to owe many of its most obvious features. The one of these grand passes leads through Badakhshân, and is the route taken by the caravan of Kabul, and frequently by that of Samarkand and Bokhâra, on its road to Khoten and Kâshghar. This was the road followed by Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, and more recently by De Goes,* the last European who is known to have crossed these mountains. The second pass, which ascends by the sources of the Sirr, lies in the hills that separate Ferghâna from Kâshghar, to the eastward of Ush. This is the road by which the ambassadors of Sharokh returned from China. Some inroads of Taimur's generals, by this pass, are recorded; and the caravan of Kâshgar seems to have taken this road in going between that city and Samarkand in the time of Baber's father, as it does at the present day. The route pursued by the caravan of Tâshkend, in its way to Kâshghar and China, is not quite clear; but, in some instances, it seems to have gone up the right bank of the Sirr; and after passing the Julgeh Ahengerân, or Blacksmith's Dale, to have crossed the range of hills that encloses Ferghâna on the west, near Ahsi; to have proceeded on thence to Uzkend, and from that place, by the same pass, as the caravan of Samarkand. There is, however, reason to imagine, that the caravan of Tâshkend frequently kept a more northerly course, skirting the Ala-tagh hills that enclose Ferghâna on the north and east; and that after rounding them, and passing near Almâligh, it proceeded straight to Kâshghar. These are the only routes by which Eastern Turkistân† appears to have been reached from the west; and an attention to this fact will explain several difficulties in the earlier historians and travellers. If the supposed route to the north of the Ala-tagh hills was really one of those followed by the caravan of Tâshkend, it will perhaps explain a difficulty stated by Major Rennell, in his Memoir of a Map of Hindostan. After mentioning that Kâshghar was 25 days' journey from Samarkand, he observes, that one account differs so much from the rest, that he will draw no conclusion from it. It is one that makes 27 journeys from Tâshkend to Kâshgar, "although Tâshkend is supposed to be five journeys nearer to it than Samarkand is." If the Tâshkend route led round the hills to the north of Ferghâna, whence the traveller had to return southward towards Kâshghar, the itinerary in question will not be so inconsistent with the others as it might at first seem to be.

1. KHUTLAN.

The two districts of Khutlân and Karatigîn, which stretch along the Belût-tagh mountains, are more inaccessible and less known than most of the others. The name of Khutl,

* See Kircher's China Illustrata, p. 62, folio; and Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. IV. p. 643, quarto.

† The country very absurdly called Little Bucharia.

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or Khutlân, does not appear to be known at the present day; but it was applied in the time of Baber, and as far back as the age of Ebn Haukal,* to the country lying between the upper branch of the Amu, called Hârât, or Penj, which divided it from Badakhshân on the south; the Wâkhshâb or Sûrkhrûd, which separated it from Cheghâniân or Hissâr on the west; the hill country of Karatigîn on the north; and the Belût-tagh on the east. Khutlân is broken in all quarters by hills. Its few valleys are said to be narrow, and overhung with lofty mountains. The glens of Shughnân and Derwâz, which lie near the source of the Penj, are fertile. The country of Wakhsh, which is always joined with Khutlân by the earlier geographers, probably extended between Khutlân and Karatigîn, or may have included Karatigîn itself. Its name is still to be found not only in the uncertain district of Wakhîka, but in the country of Wakhân,-the Vochan of Marco Polo, which lies above Badakhshân, near the source of the Penj, close upon Pûshtekhar. The name Wakhshâb, anciently given to the river which divided Cheghâniân from Khutlân, is said, by Ebn Haukal, to be derived from that of the country of Wakhsh, where it originates. It ran by Weishgird, the ancient capital of the country, and joined the Amu above Kobâdiân. On this river was the Pul-e-Sengîn, or Stone-bridge, so often mentioned in the history of Taimur Beg. While some circumstances seem to point out the river which joins the Amu above Kobâdiân, opposite to Kundez, others certainly accord much better with the Sûrkh-âb, or the river of Karatigîn, which has a course of upwards of 160 miles before it falls into the Amu. The Wakhi language still remains in many districts in the hills of Badakhshân and Khutlân; and it is not improbable, that the Wakhi or Wakhshi race were the most ancient inhabitants of this hilly region. Many of the rivers that flow into the Amu in the earlier part of its course, descend from the hill-country of Khutlân. It is said to have been the seat of a splendid dynasty, before the Musulman con-

* See Ouseley's translation of Ebn Haukal's geography, pp. 232 and 239.—The geographical position of certain places seems to require a departure from the reading in the text of that work. In the description of the boundaries of Mâweralnaher, we may perhaps read p. 232, "On the north, Mâweralnaher is bounded by Tûrkestân, which, enclosing Ferghâna, extends round Khotl, on the river Heriât, (Penj or Hârât.) To the south, Mâweralnaher begins from Badakhshân, and extends along the river Jihoon down to the sea of Kharezm."—Again, p. 238, "Advancing in one direction from the Jihoon, we have the territory of Soghd, Samarkand, Siroushteh, Chaj, and Ferghâna; and, in another direction, from the borders of Samarkand, that of Kesh, Cheghaniân and Khotlân; whence we have the river Jihoon from Termed, and Cobadiân, down as far as Kharezm. Farab, Sinta, Tarjaz, and Ailak, are reckoned to belong to Chaj," &c. This is true of them, though not of the preceding districts specified in the text. In p. 240, "The desert extends all round Kharezm. On one side it is bounded by Ghazneh, that is, the western side; the eastern and southern sides are bounded by Khorasân and Mâweralnaher. Below Kharezm, there is no town on the Jihoon until you come to the lake." In p. 241, Ghizni is probably Ghaz or Ghaznah; and for Kab, the sense requires Kat or Kath, the ancient capital. Debzek and Deirek, pp. 262 and 263, should be Dizak, the modern Jizzekh. "The mountains of Ashehreh" should probably be "the mountains of Aspereh." Rud-i-Haas, p. 224, must be Rud-i-Dehás. The running title (or Surkhi) is sometimes included in the text, of which instances occur in p. 275, p. 279, &c. Having no copy of the original, these changes are merely conjectural; but they seem to be necessary for the sense, and the alteration of a single letter, or of the points, is sufficient to produce most of them. These observations are made solely to justify the sense in which I have read Ebn Haukal. They cannot affect the acknowleged merit of the learned translator, who followed his text.

In regard to the era of the work, as it stands, is not the mention of the palace of *Kharezm-Shah* (p. 241) rather suspicious? Perhaps, however, the palace was only of *a king of Kharezm*.

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quest; and Abulfeda* mentions the magnificent palaces of its kings. In Baber's time it was generally subject to Hissâr.

2. Karatigin.

This country, which is seldom mentioned in history,† lies along the southern range of the Asfera mountains, and appears to extend, on the east, as far as those of Belût-tagh; on the south, it has part of Khutlân and Wakhîka, and the country of Hissâr; on the west, it extends to the hill-districts of Uratippa and Yar-Ailak. It is altogether mountainous. The height of the Asfera and Belût-tagh mountains, the former covered with perpetual snow, prevents it from having much communication with the countries to the north and east.

3. Hissar.

Before proceeding to make any remarks on this district, it is necessary to point out, in a few words, the course taken by the branches of the Asfera mountains, when they diverge, somewhat to the east of the longitude of Khojend, as has been already mentioned. All along the south of Ferghâna, their summits are everywhere covered with perpetual snow. As they approach Uratippa, they appear suddenly to lose their height, and to divide into three or perhaps four branches. One of these, running south by Derbend or Kohlûgha (the Iron Gate), under the name of Kara-tagh, or the Black mountains, divides the country of Hissâr from that of Késh. The northern part of this range, as described by Baber, is lofty and precipitous in the extreme; but it evidently declines in height as it approaches the desert along the Amu, where it probably altogether disappears. The second branch, running south-west from Karatigîn, extends to the south of Samarkand and Bokhâra, though much inferior in height to the former, and seems, like it, to die away in the desert towards the Amu. This may be called the Késh branch, and the country between it and the Kara-tagh, forms the territories of Késh and Kârshi. The hill between Samarkand and Késh is, by Sherifeddîn, called the hill of Késh. Ebn Haukal tells us,‡ that the mountain of Zârkah, as he calls the same range, runs from Bokhâra, between Samarkand and Késh, joins the border of Ferghâna, and goes on toward the border of Chîn. The Arabian geographer, therefore, evidently considered the range south of Samarkand, as connected with the Asfera, and probably with the Muz-tagh ranges. The third range, called the Ak-tagh, or Ak-kâya, the white mountains, and by the Arabian geographers,§ Botom, or Al-Botom, extending to the westward, runs to the north of Samarkand and Bokhâra, and declines down to the desert. Where it leaves the Asfera mountains, it forms with the Kara-tagh and Kesh hills, the country of Yar-ailâk, and, lower down, one boundary of the celebrated valley of Soghd. This branch is lofty, and bears snow in its hollows all the year. The

* Geog. p. 77.—Ebn Haukal, p. 239.
† It is called Cair Tekin in Petis de la Croix's Hist. de Timur Bec, vol. I. pp. 174 and 184.
‡ Ouseley's Ebn Haukal, p. 250. § Abulfeda, p. 33, and Ebn Haukal.

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fourth branch is that which appears to run, but very ruggedly and uncertainly, to the north-west, through the country of Uratippa. It slopes down towards the sea of Arâl, and a portion either of this, or of the last branch, crosses the Amu below the cultivated country of Khwârizm, before that river works its way into the sea of Arâl. This may be called the Uratippa branch, as that country lies chiefly among its offsets, and towards the Ak-tagh hills. The Uratippa hills approach very closely to the Sirr, or Jaxartes.

The country of Hissâr, which was often traversed by Baber, and which, for some years in the middle period of his life, formed his head-quarters, is by the Arabian geographers denominated Saghâniân, while the Persians called it Cheghâniân and Jeghâniân, from the city of that name which lies on the Cheghan-rûd, more frequently, however, called the river of Cheghâniân. This country received, in later times, the name of Hissâr (or the Castle), from the fort of Hissâr-Shâdmân, which was long the seat of government of all the neighbouring regions. At the present day, this country is known by the name of Deh-nou (or New-Town), from a town of that name, where the Chief resides; and in general, it may be remarked, that all over the East, where the governments are fluctuating, there is a disposition to designate the government rather by the name of the city where the King or Governor resides, than by a general name taken from the whole country which he governs. And, in like manner, as to rivers, and ranges of mountains, it is seldom, except in books, that they have any general name; the former are usually described by the name of the nearest large town, the latter by that of some remarkable summit, and consequently change their denomination many times in their course. Frequent instances of this kind will be found in the Memoirs of Baber.

Hissâr, on the south, was bounded by the river Amu or Oxus, on the east by the hill country of Wakhsh and Khutlân, from which it was divided by the Sûrkhrûd or Karatigîn river, formerly called the Wakhshâb; on the north by Karatigîn, and on the west by the Kara-tâgh mountains. It is hilly, but not mountainous, in its chief extent. The soil is in general sandy, and inclining to degenerate into desert; but, being on the whole well watered, is capable of high cultivation. The river Weish or Wakhshâb, which proceeds from the north-west, joins the Oxus considerably to the east of Kobâdiân. The river of Cheghâniân, and that of Hissâr or Kafernihân, are the other streams of chief note in this district. In the days of Baber, the most important places in this division were Hissâr, Cheghâniân, Kobâdiân and Termiz. The city of Termiz or Termed has always been famous as covering the best passage over the Amu; but somewhat higher up is the passage of Ubâj, lying between Cheghâniân and Khûlm, which is several times mentioned, both in Baber's Memoirs and in the History of Taimur. The country towards Weishgird, where the natives were protected by the sudden rise of the hills, was the scene of many bloody battles between the ancient inhabitants and the Arabs, during their conquest of Mâweralnaher. The inhabitants of the hill countries were never fully subdued. Baber gives a very particular account of his passage up one of the long valleys of this country, called the valley of Kamrûd, which he

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ascended in his flight from Hissâr to Yar-ailâk, after his defeat near Samarkand. The valley of Kamrûd leads up to the summit of the Kara-tagh range.

4. Kesh.

This division has already been described as bounded on the east by the Kara-tagh mountains dividing it from Hissâr; on the south by the Amu or Oxus; and on the north and west by the Késh hills, which divide it from Yar-ailâk and the valley of Soghd.

The chief cities now, and they are the same that existed in the time of Baber, are Késh, also called Sheher-Sebz (or the Green City), and to the south Kârshi, also called Nakhsheb, and by the Arabs Nesef. Khozâr also has always been a place of consequence, and lies south-east of Kârshi, in a desert tract. The country round Késh is uncommonly fertile, full of streams, and rather marshy, but degenerates as it approaches the Amu, and becomes a perfect desert, insomuch that the rivers of this district disappear before reaching that great river. The famous Pass of Kohlûgha (the Iron Gate), or Derbend, lies in the hills between Késh and Hissâr. Fadlallah* pretends that it was cut in the rock, which only proves that it was narrow and difficult, and perhaps improved by art. Near Késh, the native town of the great Taimur, is the plain of Akiâr, where, close by the river Koshka, were held the Kurultais or annual reviews of his armies, andwhat have been called the diets of his states. It was celebrated for its beautiful verdure, and the rich profusion of its flowers.

5. Samarkand and Bokhara.

The country which composes the territory of these famous cities, has always been deemed one of the most fertile and beautiful in the world. It lies between the Késh hills on the south, the Desert of Khwârizm on the west, and the Uratippa, and Ak-tagh mountains dividing it from Uratippa, on the north. On the east, it has the hill country of Karatigîn and the Kara-tagh mountains. It is traversed, in nearly its whole extent, by the Kohik or Zirefshân† river, which, coming from the north-east angle of the hills that rise out of Karatigîn, flows down by Yar-ailâk to Samarkand and the vale of Soghd, passing to the north and west of Bokhâra, considerably below which the small part of it that is not swallowed up in the sand, runs into the Amu. The country near the sources of the Kohik is hilly and barren, and in the time of Baber was full of petty forts, especially along the skirts of the hills. This is the district so often mentioned under the name of Yar-ailâk or Bar-ailâk. It seems to comprise the countries at the present day called Karatippa and Urgûl. Uratippa extends over the opposite side of the hills, to the north-west, except only the district called the Ailâks of Uratippa, which is higher up on the same side of the hills, and not far distant from Yar-ailâk. The

* Hist. of Ghenigiscan, p. 257; and Hist. de Timur Bec, vol. I. p. 33, 62, &c.
† i. e. Gold-shedding.

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vale of Soghd, which commences lower down* than the Ailâks, is an extensive plain, a great part of which is admirably watered and cultivated, by means of cuts from the river. Baber has given so correct and detailed an account of this whole country in his Memoirs, that little need be added regarding it. This tract of plain is the Sogdiana of the ancients, so called from the river Soghd, the ancient name of the Kohik. Samarkand was a city of note, at least as far back as the time of Alexander the Great, when it was known under the name of Marakanda, a name which may lead us to suspect that even then the country had been overrun by Tûrki† tribes. The country beyond the Amu, called by the Arabs Mâweralnaher, (*i. e.* beyond the river,) was conquered by them as early as the years 87, 88, and 89 of the Hejira; and their geographers present us with the most dazzling picture of its prosperity at an early period. Ebn Haukal, who is supposed to have lived in the tenth century, speaks of the province as one of the most flourishing and productive in the world.‡ The hospitality of the inhabitants he describes, from his personal observation, as corresponding to the abundance that prevailed. The fortunate situation of the country, and the protection which it enjoyed under the Arabian Khalifs, produced their ordinary effects, and the arts of civilization, the civilities of social life, and the study of literature, all made a distinguished progress. We are told that the inhabitants were fond of applying their wealth to the erection of caravanseras or inns, to the building of bridges and similar works, and that there was no town or stage in Mâweralnaher without a convenient inn or stage-house § for the purpose of accommodating travellers with every necessary. One of the Governors of Mâweralnaher, which included all the Arabian conquests north of the Amu, boasted, probably with considerable exaggeration, that he could send to war three hundred thousand horse, and the same number of foot, whose absence would not be felt in the country. The Vale of Soghd was reckoned one of the three paradises of the world, the Rûd-Abileh and the Ghuteh of Damascus|| being the other two; over both of which, however, Ebn Haukal assigns it the decided preference, both as to beauty and salubrity. The glowing description which he gives of it in the tenth century is confirmed by Abulfeda in the beginning of the fourteenth; and early in the sixteenth, Baber informs us, that there was no more delightful country in the world. The beauty and wealth of these cities had rendered the names of Samarkand and Bokhâra proverbial among the poets of Persia. Several streams from the hills, on both sides, join the Kohik in its course. As you recede from the Soghd river or approach the Amu, the soil becomes sandy and desert.

The chief cities in the days of Baber, as at the present time, were Samarkand and Bokhâra. The former lies on the south of the Kohik on a rising ground, and has always been very extensive, the fortifications having varied, by different accounts, from eight to five miles in circumference;¶ but a great part of this space was occupied by

* Abulfeda tells us that it commences twenty farsangs (about eighty miles) higher up than Samarkand, p. 33.

† *Kend* is the Tûrki for *a town*, as in Tashkend, Uzkend, &c. &c.

‡ Geography of Ebn Haukal, p. 233.

§ Ibid. p. 235.

|| Abulfeda ap. Geog. Græc. Min. vol. III. p. 32, in Chorasmiæ Descript. adds the Shaab-Bhowan in Persia. The name of the second of these paradises is sometimes erroneously read Rûd Aileh.

¶ Ebn Haukal, p. 253.

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gardens. When D' Herbelot and Petis de la Croix* give the city a compass of twelve farsangs, or forty-eight miles, they have not observed that the whole garden-grounds around it must have been included in the range. A wall one hundred and twenty farsangs in length, said to have been built by Kishtasp, King of Persia, to check the incursions of the Tûrks, and to protect the province of Samarkand, is probably fabulous, no notice being taken of any remains of it in latter times. Yet a similar one certainly existed, lower down the river, for the defence of the highly-cultivated districts of Bokhâra.

A town of considerable note in the northern part of the country is Jizzikh or Jizik, better known in history by the name of Dizak. It lies towards the Ak-tagh mountains, on the road to the Pass of Ak-Kûtel. To the south of Jizzikh, on the road to Samarkand, is Shirâz, which has long been in ruins.

Down the river, below Samarkand, was the town of Sir-e-pul (or Bridgend), so frequently mentioned by Baber. It is probably the place noticed by Abulfeda† under the name of Kashufaghn, and by the Arabs called Râs-al-kantara, a translation of its Persian name.

The town and castle of Dabûsi or Dabûsîa, often mentioned in the history of Bokhâra, lies between that city and Samarkand.

The city of Bokhâra, which is now the capital of the country, as it frequently was in former times, has given its name in Europe to the countries of Great and Little Bucharia. These names, however, are unknown in Asia, the name of Bokhâra being confined to the city of that name and the country subject to it. It lies far down in the Valley of Soghd, in the middle of a rich country intersected by numerous water-courses. It is said, at the present day, to contain a hundred thousand inhabitants, and it is, perhaps, the most eminent seat of Musulman learning now existing. Thompson, who visited it in 1740, gives an amusing account of the city and its trade.‡ It was visited by Jenkinson in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,§ and in 1812 by Izzet Ulla, whose account of its present state is highly interesting.

The fort of Ghajhdewân, which lies north-west of Bokhâra close on the desert of Khwârizm, is remarkable for a great defeat sustained by Baber and his Persian auxiliaries, when he was compelled to raise the siege.

The hills of Nûrattâu lie ten miles north from Bokhâra, and run from east to west for about twenty-four miles. This is probably the *Nûr* of the Arabian geographers, with the addition of *tau*, a hill.

Miânkâl, which is several times mentioned by Baber, includes Katta-Korghân, Yung-Korghân, Penjshembeh, Khattichi, and some other places on both sides of the Kohik near Dabûsi.

But the minuteness of Baber's own description of the country, its rivers and mountains, precludes the necessity of any farther remarks.

* See Bibl. Orientale, *Art.* Samarkand; and Hist. de Ghengiz-can, p. 220.
† P. 35. ‡ Hanway's Travels, vol. I. p. 240. § Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. I.

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III. COUNTRIES ALONG THE SIRR, OR JAXARTES.

The countries along the Sirr have always been much less considerable than those on the Amu. The Sirr, or Jaxartes, rises among the lofty mountains which divide Ferghâna from Kâshghar. The chief source appears to lie east from Ush, nearly two degrees. On the west side of the Ala-tagh range are the sources of the Sirr, and on the east side, at no great distance, is the source of the Kâshghar river. The Sirr, after dividing Ferghâna, takes a turn to the north-west, passes to the south of Tâshkend, and flowing down through the sandy desert, is nearly lost in the sands before it reaches the Sea of Arâl.

1. Ferghana.

The particular account of this country, with which the Mèmoirs of Baber open, renders it needless to enter into any description of it. It now forms the powerful kingdom of Kokân, whose capital, of the same name, is the ancient Khuakend, lying between Khojend and Ahsi. Though Ferghâna is in general fertile, yet several small deserts are to be found within its extent. It is divided into two parts by the Sirr: That on the left bank has for its boundary on the south the snowy mountains of Asfera, which on their northern face slope down into the hill countries of Wadîl, Warûkh, Hushiâr, Sûkh, &c.; while their southern side forms the frontier of Karatigîn. On the west it has Uratippa, from which it is divided by the river Aksû, which flows into the Sirr. The portion of Ferghâna on the right bank of the Sirr, has for its western boundary a range of hills running south from the Ala-tagh, past Ahsi to Khojend, on the Sirr, and dividing Ferghâna from Tâshkend. The north appears to be protected by the lofty and barren mountains called Ala-tagh, which are probably always covered with snow, and which also wind round to its eastern frontier, where they separate it from the territory of Kâshghar. The country north of the Sirr, which formerly contained Ahsi and Kâsân, is now called Nemengân. The Ala-tagh mountains are generally represented as being joined, on their north-east angle, by a range of mountains running far eastward, and connecting them with those of Ulugh-tagh. None of them, however, are probably high, where they join in with the hills that bound Ferghâna, as we find that the Kirghis pass freely at all seasons, on the north and east of that country, from Tâshkend to the vicinity of Kâshghar; and the whole tract is, indeed, generally designated as belonging to the same pastoral range: thus, in the accounts of the Russian travellers, when speaking of the Great Horde of Kirghis, we find Kâshghar, Tâshkend, and Otrar put together, as constituting their range along the Ala, or Alak-tagh Mountains, without adverting to any intervening hills.* One Usbek traveller, from whom I had an account of his journey from Kâshghar to Astrakhan, mentioned, that he passed some broad low hills near Almâligh; so that, if any connecting range

* See Decouvertes Russes, vol. III. p. 380, and vol. V. p. 422.

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runs from the Ala-tagh to the Ulugh-tagh, it is probably a very low one, and easily surmounted.

Baber justly describes his native country as encircled with hills on every side except towards Khojend, where, however, the opening between the hills and the Sirr is very narrow.

Abulfeda mentions, that in the mountains of Ferghâna they have black stones which burn like charcoal, and, when kindled, afford a very intense heat.* The fact, of the existence of coal in the Ala-tagh range, and to the east of it, is confirmed by recent travellers. It is found in great plenty, and forms the ordinary fuel of the natives.

2. Tashkend.

The country of Tâshkend lies along the north bank of the Sirr, having that river on the south, and the Ala-tagh mountains, running parallel to it, on the greater part of its northern frontier; the hills near Ahsi bound it on the east, and the desert of the Kara Kilpâks on the west. The ancient Tûrkistân-Proper stretched considerably to the north and westward of this country. The range of Ala-tagh mountains which extend along its northern boundary, run from east to west, at no great distance from the Sirr, and decline in height toward the western desert. The inferior range of hills that run from the Ala-tagh, between Tâshkend and Ahsi, within eight miles of the latter place,† we find several times crossed by armies that marched from Tâshkend to Kâsân, Ahsi, and the northern provinces of Ferghâna. In this route lies the Julgeh Ahengerân, or Ironsmith's dale, and Kundezlik and Amâni, so often mentioned in the Memoirs of Baber. It was probably by this road that the caravan of Tâshkend proceeded to Uzkend, on the route to Kâshghar; though it appears sometimes to have gone to Kâshghar by keeping to the north of the Ala-tagh hills. The road generally pursued from Tâshkend to Ahsi did not follow the course of the Sirr, but went eastward directly towards Ahsi, cutting off, to the south, the large tract of country surrounded on three sides by the river which runs south-west from Ahsi to Khojend, and north-west from Khojend to Tâshkend. The city of Shâhrokhîa lay between Khojend and Tâshkend, on the Sirr, while Sciram lay north-west of Tâshkend, still lower down. Magnificent accounts of the wealth, cultivation and populousness of Tâshkend, and the country along the rich banks of the Sirr, in the time of the Arabs, and of the Khwarizmian dynasty, are given by Ebn Haukal, Abulfeda, and the historians of Chengîz Khan; and the many works of learning and science which issued from this country at that era, sufficiently attest that these praises were not altogether gratuitous. The dynasty of Khwarizmian kings, destroyed by Chengîz Khan, were eminent encouragers of letters. In Baber's time, Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa were its chief towns. A considerable traffic has of late years been carried on at Tâshkend, between the Russians and the inhabitants of Bokhâra, but the country is not in a flourishing state.

* Chorasm. Descript. p. 38.

† D'Herbelot says, art. *Aksiket*, that the plain reaches to the hills, which are only two leagues (perhaps farsangs) off. Albufeda says they are at the distance of one farsang.

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The range of the Great Horde of the Kirghis extends from Tâshkend all round the Ala-tagh Mountains, through the western part of the country of Kâshghar and Yârkend, and even into Upper Kâshghar and Pamîr, close to Derwâz and Badakhshân. They are Tûrks, and speak a dialect of the Tûrki language, though probably mingled with Moghul words.

3. Uratippa.

The country of Uratippa, which is also called Ustrûsh, Ustrûshta, Setrûshta, Isterûshân, and Ushrûshna, is the hilly tract which lies west of Khojend, whence it is separated by the river Aksû. It has that river and the Asfera mountains, including part of Karatigin, on the east; on the south-east, in the days of Baber, it seems to have stretched over to the Kâra-tagh mountains, which divided it from Hissâr, while Yâr-ailâk completed its boundary in that quarter. On the south, the Ak-tagh and Uratippa mountains divided it from Samarkand and Bokhâra; on the north, the Sirr, and probably the districts of Ilâk, separate it from Tâshkend; and on the west it has the desert of Ghaz, (by Abulfeda, called Ghazna,) or the Kara Kilpâks, towards the sea of Arâl. It is full of broken hill and dale, and anciently was studded with small and nearly independent castles, each of which had its separate district. The slope of country is towards the desert of Arâl. It is now subject to Bokhâra. Uratippa and Râmîn, or Zâmîn, are its chief towns. It has been celebrated from early ages for the quantity of sal ammoniac which it produces in some natural caverns in the hills. It has no considerable river,* but several smaller streams, most of which probably disappear in the sandy desert. In all our maps, the Kezil (or Red River) is made to rise in the hill country of Uratippa, and to proceed downward to join the Amu, below the cultivated country of Khwârizm. Yet Ebn Haukal† tells us, that in all Setrushta (or Uratippa), there is not one river considerable enough to admit of the plying of boats; and the river, after leaving Uratippa, would have to run for several days' journey through a desert sand. It rather seems, that no such separate river exists; but that the Kezil is only a branch that proceeds from, and returns to, the Amu. Hazârasp,‡ which certainly stands on the Amu, is said to lie on the north side of the Kezil. This must be just where the Kezil runs off from the great river. Kât, or Kâth,§ the old capital of Khwârizm, which was six farsangs, or twenty-four miles, from Hazârasp down the Amu, and certainly stood on that river, is, however, said to lie on the north side of the Kezil. The different branches of the Amu, in passing through Khwârizm, or Urgenj, have different names, like the various branches of the Ganges in Bengal. This, with some other causes, has spread a good deal of confusion over the geography of the former country. In the instance in question, a great river being found, and its connexion with the Amu not being known, it was natural to search for its sources in the hills to the east.

* See Ebn Haukal and Abulfeda.
† P. 263.
‡ Astley or Green's Voyages, vol. IV. p. 482.
§ Ibid.

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4. The Desert of the Kara Kilpaks.

The desert country which is bounded by the sea of Arâl on the west, the river Sirr on the north, Uratippa on the east, and Bokhâra and Kwârizm on the south, is now traversed by the wandering Tûrki tribe of Kâra Kilpaks (or Black Bonnets), who, according to the general opinion, are Tûrkomans, though some accounts describe them as Uzbeks. This district, which was, by the Arabian geographers, called Ghaz, and sometimes, if we may trust the readings of the manuscripts, Ghaznah, probably extends a little to the north, beyond the place where the Sirr loses itself in the sand. These wanderers have a considerable range, but are few in number. The desert is six or seven days' journey from east to west, and upwards of ten from north to south.

5. Ilak.

Ilâk, probably, is not a separate district, but comprehends the rich pastoral country on both sides of the Sirr, on the southern side, reaching up the skirts, and among the valleys of the hills of Uratippa that branch towards the Sirr, and belong to Uratippa; and on the north having some similar tracts subject to Tâshkend and Shâhrokhia. It is, by some ancient geographers, made to comprehend the whole country between the northern hills of Tâshkend and the river, including Tâshkend and Benâket, or Shahrokhia. It is little known, and is probably dependent on Tâshkend to the north of the Sirr, and on Uratippa to the south.

6. Turkistan.

The country peculiarly called Tûrkistân by Baber, lies below Seirâm, between it and the sea of Arâl. It lies on the right bank of the Sirr, and stretches considerably to the north, along the banks of some small rivers that come from the east and north. Some part of it was rich, and had been populous. A city of the same name stands on one of these inferior streams. In the time of the Arabs, it is said to have been a rich and flourishing country, full of considerable towns, such as Jund, Yangikent, &c. In the time of Baber, it seems to have had few towns, but was the chief seat of the Uzbeks, who had recently settled there, and whose territories extended a considerable way to the north; though Sheibâni Khan never recovered the great kingdom of Tûra, whence his grandfather Abulkhair had been expelled, the succession of which was continued in another branch of the family. It was to this Tûrkistân that Sheibâni Khan retired, when unsuccessful in his first attempt on Samarkand; and it was from the deserts around this tract, and from Tâshkend, which they had conquered, that his successors called the Tartars, who assisted them in expelling Baber from Mâweralnaher, after Sheibâni's death.

Such is a general outline of the divisions of the country of Uzbek Tûrkistân, which may deserve that name, from having had its principal districts chiefly occupied for up-

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wards of three centuries past, by Uzbek tribes. The face of the country, it is obvious, is extremely broken, and divided by lofty hills; and even the plains are diversified by great varieties of soil, some extensive districts along the Kohik river, nearly the whole of Ferghâna, the greater part of Khwârizm along the branches of the Amu, with large portions of Balkh, Badakhshân, Kesh, and Hissâr, being of uncommon fertility; while the greater part of the rest is a barren waste, and in some places a sandy desert. Indeed, the whole country north of the Amu, has a decided tendency to degenerate into desert; and many of its most fruitful districts are nearly surrounded by barren sands; so that the population of all these districts still, as in the time of Baber, consists of the fixed inhabitants of the cities and fertile lands, and of the unsettled and roving wanderers of the desert, the Ils and the Ulûses of Baber, who dwell in tents of felt, and live on the produce of their flocks. The cultivated spots are rich in wheat, barley, millet, and cotton; and the fruits, particularly the peaches, apricots, plums, grapes, apples, quinces, pomegranates, figs, melons, cucumbers, &c. are among the finest in the world. The mulberry abounds, and a considerable quantity of silk is manufactured. The cultivation is managed, as far as is practicable, by means of irrigation. The breed of horses is excellent. The less fertile parts of the country are pastured by large flocks of sheep. They have also bullocks, asses, and mules, in sufficient numbers, and some camels. The climate, though in the low lands extremely cold in winter,* and hot in summer, brings to perfection most of the fruits and grains of temperate climates; and perhaps there are few countries in the world to which Nature has been more bountiful.

This felicity of climate and fruitfulness of soil have, in most ages of the world, rendered the country along the Kohik the seat of very considerable kingdoms. The earliest inhabitants, at least, of the desert tracts, were probably the Scythians, who, in this quarter, appear to have been of the Tûrki race. When Alexander advanced to the Sirr, he marched by Marakanda, a name, the termination of which, as has already been remarked, seems to speak a Tûrki origin. The Turânian monarchs, so long the rivals and terror of those of Irân, seem also to have been Tûrks.† After the Arab conquest, in the first century of the Hejira, many Persians were probably induced, by the security of the government, and fertility of the soil, to settle to the north of the Amu; though it is likely, that long before, when Balkh was the chief seat of the Persian government, the rich lands of Mâweralnaher were cultivated, and the larger towns inhabited chiefly by men of Persian extraction, and speaking the Persian tongue. Down to the age of Chengîz Khan, when the grand desolation of the country began, the Persian was the common language all over the towns and cultivated lands from the Amu to the Sirr, as well as in the great and flourishing cities that then existed along the northern banks of that river, such as Tâshkend, Fenâket, Jûnd, and Yengikent; the Tûrki being, however, understood and familiarly used in the ba-

* Snow lies on the ground for several days at a time everywhere to the north of the Kesh hills. The Sirr, or Jaxartes, is frozen over every winter, and passed in that state by the Russian caravans. The Amu is also frozen for a considerable extent above Khwârizm.

† Ferdausi, passim.

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zars and markets of all these northern districts. The Persian language also crossed the Ala-tagh hills, and was the language of the towns of Eastern Turkistân, such as Kâshgar and Yârkend, as it continues to be at this day as far east as Terfân. A proof of the remote period from which the language of Persia was spoken in Mâweralnaher, is to be found in the present state of the hill country of Karatigîn. The language of that mountainous and sequestered tract is Persian; and as it has not been exposed to any conquest of Persians for many hundred years, it would seem that the Persian has been the language in familiar use ever since the age of the Khwârizmian kings, if not from a much more remote era. It is probable, therefore, that, in the days of Baber, the Persian was the general language of the cultivated country of the districts of Balkh, Badakhshân, the greater part of Khutlân, Karatigîn, Hissâr, Kesh, Bokhâra, Uratippa, Ferghâna, and Tâshkend, while the surrounding deserts were the haunts of various roving tribes of Tûrki race, as in all ages, from the earliest dawn of history, they appear to have been.

While the Tûrks and Persians, the pastoral and agricultural races, thus from the earliest times divided the country north of the Amu, and considerable tracts to the south, the hills of Belût-tagh, towards the source of that river, extending for a considerable extent to the north and north-west, as well as those of Hindûkûsh, which stretch along its southern course, were occupied by men of a different language and extraction. The progress of the Arabian conquest through the mountains was extremely slow. Though all the low countries were in the possession of the Arabian Khalifs in the first century of the Hejira, yet in the fourth or fifth, when their power was beginning to wane, the Kâfirs, or Infidels, still held the mountains of Ghour, and the lofty range of Hindûkûsh. Down to the time of Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, the language of Badakhshân was different* from that of the lower country, though we cannot ascertain whether it was the same as that of the Kaffers or Siahposhes, whose country he calls Bascia,† or that of Wakhân, which he denominates Vochau.‡ It is not improbable that one radical tongue may have extended along the Hindûkûsh and Belût-tagh mountains, though the continuity of territory was afterwards broken off by the interposition of the province of Badakhshân, which, being rich and fertile, was overrun earlier than the others. Indeed, Kafferistân, or the country of the Siahposhes, is still a country untouched, except during one expedition of Taimur Beg, who crossed the snowy tracts of their mountains with incredible labour, but was unable § to reduce them under subjection to his yoke. Some correct specimens of the language of the Dards near Kashmîr, of Kafferistân, of Wakhân, of Wakhîka, of the Pâshâi, or any other of the barbarous dialects of these hills, would be of singular curiosity, and of very great value in the history of the originization of nations. The present Afghân language, if I may judge of it from the specimen which I have seen, is certainly in a great degree composed of Hindui and Persian, with the usual sprinkling of Arabic terms. It would be desirable to ascertain what proportion of the un-

* Viaggi di M. Marco Polo, lib. i. cap. 25, in Ramusio's Collection, vol. II.
† Cap. 26. ‡ Cap. 28. § See Hist. de Timur Bec, vol. III. p. 13.

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known terms can be referred to any of the languages still spoken by the inhabitants of the hills to the north. The settlement of the Afghân tribes in the districts to the north of the road from Kâbul to Peshâwer, is not of very ancient date. Their peculiar country has always been to the south of that line.

Besides the Tûrki tribes that have been mentioned, a body of Moghuls had taken up their residence for some years in the country of Hissâr; and the whole of Tâshkend, with the desert tract around the Ala-tagh mountains as far as Kâshgar, though chiefly inhabited by Tûrks, was subject to the principal tribes of the Western Moghuls, who were then ruled by two uncles of Baber, the brothers of his mother, the elder of whom had fixed the seat of his government at Tâshkend. Where the Moghulistan, so often mentioned by Baber, may have lain, is not quite clear, though it probably extended round the site of Bishbâligh, the place chosen by Jaghatâi Khan for the seat of his empire, on the banks of the Illi river, before it falls into the Bâlkâsh, or Palkati Nor. The eastern division of the tribe, which had remained in its deserts, was governed by the younger brother. They were probably the same race of Moghuls who are mentioned by Taimur, in his Institutes, as inhabiting Jettah.

The Kaizâks, frequently mentioned by Baber, are the Kirghis, who to this day call themselves *Sara-Kaizâk*, or *robbers of the desert*, a name which its etymology proves to be of later origin than the Arabian settlement on the Sirr.* It is not clear what country they traversed with their flocks in his age, but they probably occupied their present range, and were dependent on the Moghuls.

The Uzbeks lived far to the north in the desert, along the Jaik river, and on as far as Siberia, as will afterwards be mentioned; but they had more recently occupied the country called Tûrkistân, which lies below Seiram, and stretches north from the Sirr or Jaxartes, along the Târâs, and the other small rivers that flow into the Sirr, between Tâshkend and the Arâl.

The general state of society which prevailed in the age of Baber, within the countries that have been described, will be much better understood from a perusal of the following Memoirs, than from any prefatory observations that could be offered. It is evident, that, in consequence of the protection which had been afforded to the people of Mâweralnaher by their regular governments, a considerable degree of comfort, and perhaps still more of elegance and civility, prevailed in the towns. The whole age of Baber, however, was one of great confusion. Nothing contributed so much to produce the constant wars, and eventual devastation of the country, which the Memoirs exhibit, as the want of some fixed rule of succession to the throne. The ideas of regal descent, according to primogeniture, were very indistinct, as is the case in all oriental, and, in general, in all purely despotic kingdoms. When the succession to the crown, like everything else, is subject to the will of the prince, on his death it necessarily becomes the subject of contention; since the will of a dead king is of much less consequence than the intrigues of an able minister, or the sword of a successful com-

* It is formed of two Arabic words. The Russian travellers call them Tartar words, as they do many Arabic and Persian terms which have been introduced into the Tartar or Tûrki language.

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mander. It is the privilege of liberty and of law alone to bestow equal security on the rights of the monarch and of the people. The death of the ablest sovereign was only the signal for a general war. The different parties at court, or in the haram of the prince, espoused the cause of different competitors, and every neighbouring potentate believed himself to be perfectly justified in marching to seize his portion of the spoil. In the course of the Memoirs, we shall find that the grandees of the court, while they take their place by the side of the candidate of their choice, do not appear to believe that fidelity to him is any very necessary virtue. They abandon, with little concern, the prince under whose banner they had ranged themselves, and are received and trusted by the prince to whom they revolt, as if the crime of what we should call treason was not regarded, either by the prince or the nobility, as one of a deep dye. While a government remains in the unsettled state in which it is so often found in Asiatic countries, where the allegiance of a nobleman or a city, in the course of a few years, is transferred several times from one sovereign to another, the civil and political advantages of fidelity are not very obvious; and it is not easy for any high principles of honour or duty to be generated. A man, in his choice of a party, having no law to follow, no duty to perform, is decided entirely by those ideas of temporary and personal convenience which he may happen to have adopted. There is no loyal or patriotic sentiment, no love of country condensed into the feeling of hereditary attachment to a particular line of princes, which in happier lands, even under misfortune and persecution, in danger and in death, supports and rewards the sufferer with the proud or tranquil consciousness of a duty well performed. The nobility, unable to predict the events of one twelvemonth, degenerate into a set of selfish, calculating, though perhaps brave partizans. Rank, and wealth, and present enjoyment, become their idols. The prince feels the influence of the general want of stability, and is himself educated in the loose principles of an adventurer. In all about him he sees merely the instruments of his power. The subject, seeing the prince consult only his pleasure, learns on his part to consult only his private convenience. In such societies, the steadiness of principle that flows from the love of right and of our country can have no place. It may be questioned whether the prevalence of the Mahommedan religion, by swallowing up civil in religious distinctions, has not a tendency to increase this indifference to country, wherever it is established. A Musulman considers himself as in a certain degree at home, wherever the inhabitants are Musulmans. The ease with which one even of the highest rank abandons his native land, and wanders as a fugitive and almost a beggar in foreign parts, is only exceeded by the facility with which he takes root and educates a family wherever he can procure a subsistence, though in a land of strangers, provided he be among those of the true faith. Unity of religion is the single bond which reconciles him to the neighbours among whom he may be, and religion fills up so much of the mind, and intermingles itself so much with the ordinary tenor of the habitual and almost mechanical conduct of persons of every rank, that of itself it serves to introduce the appearance of considerable uniformity of manners and of feeling in most Asiatic countries.

In Baber's age, the power of the prince was restrained in a considerable degree in

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the countries which have been described, by that of his nobles, each of whom had attached to him a numerous train of followers, while some of them were the heads of ancient and nearly independent tribes, warmly devoted to the interest of their chiefs. It was checked also by the influence of the priesthood, but especially of some eminent Khwâjehs or religious guides, who to the character of sanctity often joined the possession of ample domains, and had large bands of disciples and followers ready blindly to fulfil their wishes. Each prince had some religious guide of this description. Baber mentions more than one, for whom he professes unbounded admiration. The inhabitants were in general devoted to some of these religious teachers, whose dictates they received with submissive reverence. Many of them pretended to supernatural communications, and the words that fell from them were treasured up as omens to regulate future conduct. Many instances occur in the history both of India and Mâweralnaher, in which, by the force of their religious character, these saints were of much political consequence, and many cities were lost and won by their influence with the inhabitants.

The religion of the country was mingled with numerous superstitions. One of these, which is wholly of a Tartar origin, is often alluded to by Baber. It is that of the Yêdeh-stone. The history of this celebrated superstition, as given by D'Herbelot,* is, that Japhet, on leaving his father Noah, to go to inhabit his portion of the world, received his father's blessing, and, at the same time, a stone, on which was engraved the mighty name of God. This stone, called by the Arabs Hajar-al-matter, the rain-stone, the Tûrks call Yedeh-tâsh, and the Persians Sangîdeh. It had the virtue of causing the rain to fall or to cease: but, in the course of time, this original stone was worn away or lost. It is pretended, however, that others, with a similar virtue, and bearing the same name, are still found among the Tûrks; and the more superstitious affirm, that they were originally produced and multiplied by some mysterious sort of generation, from the original stone given by Noah to his son.

Izzet-Ulla, the intelligent traveller to whom I have already alluded, in giving a description of Yârkend,† mentions the Yedeh-stone as one of the wonders of the land. He says, that it is taken from the head of a horse or cow; and that, if certain ceremonies be previously used, it inevitably produces rain or snow. He who performs the ceremonies is called Yedehchi. Izzet-Ulla, though, like Baber, he professes his belief in the virtues of the stone, yet acknowledges that he was never an eye-witness of its effects; he says, however, that he has so often heard the facts concerning its virtues stated over and over again, by men of unimpeachable credit, that he cannot help acquiescing in their evidence. When about to operate, the Yedehchi, of whom there are many at this day in Yârkend, steeps the stone in the blood of some animal, and then throws it into water, at the same time repeating certain mysterious words. First of all, a wind is felt blowing, and this is soon succeeded by a fall of snow and rain. The author, aware of the incredulity of his readers, attempts to show that, though these effects certainly follow in the cold country of Yârkend, we are not to look for them in

* Biblioth. Orient. Art. Turk. See also the Supplement de Visdelou et Galand, p. 140, folio edition.
† MS. Persian Journal communicated by Mr Moorcroft.

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the warm region of Hind; and farther, ingeniously justifies his opinions regarding the unknown and singular qualities of the rain-stone, by the equally singular and inexplicable properties of the maguet.

The branch of literature chiefly cultivated to the north of the Oxus, was poetry; and several of the persons mentioned in the progress of the following work, had made no mean proficiency in the art. The age which had produced the great divines and philosophers, the Bûrhân-eddins and the Avicennas, was past away from Màweralnaher; but every department of science and literature was still successfully cultivated on the opposite side of the southern desert, at Herât in Khorasân, at the splendid court of Sultan Hussain Mirza Baikera. It is impossible to contemplate the scene which Khorasân then afforded, without lamenting that the instability, inseparable from despotism, should, in every age, have been communicated to the science and literature of the East. Persia, at several different eras of its history, has only wanted the continuous impulse afforded by freedom and security, to enable its literature to rank with the most refined and useful that has adorned or benefited any country. The most polished court in the west of Europe could not, at the close of the fifteenth century, vie in magnificence with that of Herât; and if we compare the court of Khorasân even with that of Francis the First—the glory of France, at a still later period—an impartial observer will be compelled to acknowledge, that in every important department of literature—in poetry, in history, in morals and metaphysics, as well perhaps as in music and the fine arts—the palm of excellence must be assigned to the court of the oriental prince. But the manners of Baber's court, in the early part of his reign, were not very refined; the period was one of confusion, rebellion, and force; and his nobles probably bore rather more visible traces of the rude spirit of the inhabitants of the desert from which their Türki ancestors had issued, and in which their own followers still dwelt, than of the polished habits of the courtiers who crowd the palaces of princes that have long reigned over a prosperous and submissive people.

Baber frequently alludes to the Türeh or Yâsi, that is, the Institutions of Chengiz Khan; and observes, that though they were certainly not of divine appointment, they had been held in respect by all his forefathers. This Türeh, or Yâsi, was a set of laws which were ascribed to that great conqueror, and were supposed to have been promulgated by him on the day of his inthronization. They seem to have been a collection of the old usages of the Moghul tribes, comprehending some rules of state and ceremony, and some injunctions for the punishment of particular crimes. The punishments were only two—death and the bastinado;* the number of blows extending from seven to seven hundred. There is something very Chinese in the whole of the Moghul system of punishment; even princes advanced in years, and in command of large armies, being punished by bastinado with a stick, by their father's orders.† Whether they received their usage in this respect from the Chinese, or communicated it to them, is not very certain. As the whole body of their laws or customs was formed before the introduction of the Musulman religion, and was probably in many respects

* D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Art. Turk.

† Hist. de Timur Bec, vol. III. p. 227, 263, 386, &c.

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inconsistent with the Koran, as, for instance, in allowing the use of the blood of animals, and in the extent of toleration granted to other religions, it gradually fell into decay. One of these laws ordered adulterers to be punished with death; in consequence of which, we are told that the inhabitants of Kaindu, who, from remote times, had been accustomed to resign their wives to the strangers who visited them, retiring from their own houses during their stay, represented to the Tartar Prince the hardship to which this new enactment would subject them, by preventing the exercise of their accustomed hospitality, when they were relieved by a special exception from the oppressive operation of this law.* It is probable that the laws of Chengiz Khan were merely traditionary, and never reduced into writing. In Baber's days, they were still respected among the wandering tribes, but did not form the law of his kingdom. The present Moghul tribes punish most offences by fines of cattle.

We are so much accustomed to hear the manners and fashions of the East characterized as unchangeable, that it is almost needless to remark, that the general manners described by Baber as belonging to his dominions, are as much the manners of the present day as they were of his time. That the fashions of the East are unchanged, is, in general, certainly true; because the climate and the despotism, from the one or other of which a very large proportion of them arises, have continued the same. Yet one who observes the way in which a Musulman of rank spends his day, will be led to suspect that the maxim has sometimes been adopted with too little limitation. Take the example of his pipe and his coffee. The Kalliûn, or Hûkka, is seldom out of his hand; while the coffee-cup makes its appearance every hour, as if it contained a necessary of life. Perhaps there are no enjoyments the loss of which he would feel more severely; or which, were we to judge only by the frequency of the call for them, we should suppose to have entered from a more remote period into the system of Asiatic life. Yet we know that the one (which has indeed become a necessary of life to every class of Musulmans) could not have been enjoyed before the discovery of America; and there is every reason to believe, that the other was not introduced into Arabia from Africa, where coffee is indigenous, previously to the sixteenth century;† and what marks the circumstance more strongly, both of these habits have forced their way, in spite of the remonstrances of the rigorists in religion. Perhaps it would have been fortunate for Baber had they prevailed in his age, as they might have diverted him from the immoderate use first of wine, and afterwards of deleterious drugs, which ruined his constitution, and hastened on his end.

The art of war in the countries to the north of the Oxus, was certainly in a very rude state. No regular armies were maintained, and success chiefly depended upon rapidity of motion. A prince suddenly raised an army, and led it, by forced marches, into a neighbouring country, to surprise his enemy. Those who were attacked, took refuge in their walled towns, where, from the defects in the art of attacking fortified

* For a farther account of this code, see Notes to Langles Instituts Politiques et Militaires de Timour, p. 396; Hist. des Decouvertes Russes, tom. III. p. 337; and Tooke's Russia, vol. IV. p. 23; whence farther particulars may be gleaned.

† La Roque, Traité Historique de l'Origine et du Progrés du Café, &c. Paris, 1716, 12mo.

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places, they were for the most part secure. The two countries harassed each other by predatory inroads and petty warfare. Sometimes the stronger party kept the field, blockaded a fort, and reduced it by wasting the surrounding country; but peace was usually made with as much levity as war had been entered upon. Great bravery was often exhibited in their desperate forays; and the use of the sword and the bow was carefully studied. Some matchlocks were beginning to be introduced into their armies; but the sabre and the charge of horse still generally decided the day. They were not ignorant of the art of *mining*. Their most skilful miners were from Badakhshan, where they probably learned the art from working the ruby mines and beds of lapis lazuli. A few cannon had begun to be used in sieges, and latterly even in the line. Their military array, however, was still formed according to the rules given by Taimur Beg. They had, indeed, a right and left wing, and a centre, with a body in advance, and a reserve;* they had also parties of flankers on their wings; but they seem seldom to have engaged in a regular battle. Most of the armies mentioned by Baber were far from being numerous; and the day seldom appears to have been decided by superior skill in military tactics.

These are the only remarks that seem necessary regarding the countries north of the Hindukûsh Mountains; and little need be added concerning those to the south, which were subdued by Baber. The labours of Major Rennell throw sufficient light on the geography of that monarch's transactions in India; and long before this volume can appear, a similar light must have been shed over his marches in Afghanistân, by the publication of the work of Mr Elphinstone on that country. It may only be briefly remarked, that the Hindûkûsh range, after passing to the north of Kâbul, breaks into numerous hills running west and south-west, which constitute the ancient kingdom of Bamiân, and the modern countries of the Hazâras and Aimaks; that the Belût-tâgh Mountains, formerly mentioned as running north from Hindûkûsh, seem also to shoot south by Sefid Koh, forming the Sulemân range which traverses the whole of Afghanistân, as far as the country of Belochistân, running in the greater part of its course nearly parallel to the Indus; and that this range, soon after it passes the latitude of Ghazni, seems to divide into three or more parallel ridges that run south; but that though the mountains run north and south, the slope of the land is from west to east; in consequence of which, some of the rivers that rise in the high lands of Ghazni and Kâbul, appear to be obliged to force their way through a rupture in the transverse ranges, when they pursue their course eastward to the Indus. Such is the case with the river of Kâbul, when it bursts its way first through the Logur range, and lower down, through the Sulemâni, near Jelâlâbâd; and in an inferior degree, with the Kurram and Gomul rivers, which have wrought themselves a course through the more southern branches of the same range.

From this long range, which runs south, there issue three minor branches of some note, that run eastward. The most northerly is the Khaiber, or Kohat range, which extends from Sefid Koh, to Nilâb on the Indus, running all the way nearly parallel to

* See White's Translation of the Institutes of Timour.

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the Kâbul river, and to the road from Kâbul to Peshâwer. The next, which by Baber is called the Bangash Hills, and by Mr Elphinstone is designated as the Salt Range, runs from Sefîd Koh, south-east to Kâlabagh, where it is crossed by the Indus, but pursues its course in its original direction to the Behat or Jelam river, the Hydaspes of antiquity, beyond Pind-Daden-Khan. The third, which runs from Bâzâr to Paniâla, on the Indus, may be called the Dûki Range. Between the two first lies the valley of Kohat, so particularly mentioned by Baber; and between the two last, Bânu, part of Bangash, and several other districts. The other places in this direction will be noted when they occur.

From the west of the Sefîd Koh, runs a range which passes to the south-west of Kâbul, Ghazni, and Kandahâr, whence it runs down to the desert of Sistân.

Between this range and that of Paropamisus, the level country of Kâbul rises up to Ghazni, which is the highest table land in Afghanistân, the rivers descending on the one side, north to Kâbul, on the other, west to Kandahâr, and on the eastward, to the Indus. The western slope of Ghazni is by Kandahâr, to the Lake of Sistân, and the desert. This level country is of no great breadth.

But the part of Afghanistân which is most frequently alluded to by Baber, is the tract lying along the southern slope of the Hindûkûsh Mountains, and the angle formed by the Paropamisan Hills, as they advance to the south. It consists of a number of mountainous mounds, pushed forwards from the higher hills, and forming steep and narrow, but beautiful and finely watered valleys between, which transmit their streams to swell the Kâbul river. Most of these, from Ghourbend and Penjshêr, down to Penjkora and Sewâd, are particularly commemorated by Baber himself, in his lively description of the country. His account of the different roads from Hindustân is a curious portion of the geography of Afghanistân.

With the assistance of Major Rennell's and Mr Elphinstone's maps, it will be easy to follow Baber through all the journeys mentioned in the two last parts of the Memoirs; and the Memoir and map of Mr Waddington will give a clearer idea than is elsewhere to be found of the country north of the Oxus, the scene of the first part of the Memoirs.

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INTRODUCTION,

PART SECOND,

CONTAINING

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSORS OF TAIMUR BEG,

FROM THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE TO THE ACCESSION OF BABER.

Baber begins his Memoirs abruptly, by informing us, that he mounted the throne of Ferghâna at the age of twelve. As he often alludes to events that occurred previous to that time, and speaks familiarly of the different princes who had governed in the neighbouring countries, supposing the reader to be well acquainted with their history, it becomes necessary, for the better understanding of his text, to give a short review of the succession of the most eminent of those who had ruled in his kingdom, and in the adjoining countries, for some years before his accession; and as the whole of these princes were descended from the famous Tamerlane, or Taimur Beg, as all their kingdoms were only fragments of his immense empire, and their claims and political relations derived from him, the reign of that prince is the most convenient period from which to commence such a review.

Death of Taimur Beg.

Taimur Beg, after having spread his empire over the fairest provinces of Asia, died in the year 1405,* near the city of Otrar, beyond the river Sirr. His dominions, however, though extensive, were ill compacted and ill governed. He had conquered countries, but he had not the genius to found an empire. Though a conqueror, whatever

* 17 Shaban, A. H. 807. Wednesday, 18th February, A. D. 1405, (not 1st April, as fixed by Petis de la Croix, Hist. de Timur Bec, vol. IV. p. 228, and Gibbon's Rom. Empire, vol. X. p. 42.) I generally follow Gladwin's Tables of the Christian and Mahommedan Æras, Calc. 1790, 8vo, and correct them by the Chronological Tables in the first volume of L'Art de Verifier les Dates, 3 vols. Paris, 1783, folio.

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his encomiasts may assert, he was no legislator. He had marched into Tartary, into Hindustân, into Mesopotamia, into Syria and Asia Minor, and had subdued a great portion of all these countries; but in the course of a very few years, his native country of Mâweralnaher, with Persia and Kâbul, alone remained in his family, and Persia also very soon after escaped from their grasp, and was over-run by the Turkomâns.

In his lifetime, he had given the immediate government of different quarters of his extensive dominions to his sons and their descendants, who, at the period of his death, were very numerous; and the Tûrki and Moghul tribes, like other Asiatics, having no fixed rules of succession to the throne, various princes of his family set up for themselves in different provinces. The nobles who were about his person at the time of his death, proclaimed his grandson Khalîl, an amiable prince of refined genius and warm affections, but better fitted to adorn the walks of private life, than to compose the dissensions of a distracted kingdom, or to check the ambitious designs of a turbulent nobility. He reigned for some years, with little power, at Samarkand, his grandfather's capital; but was finally dethroned by his ambitious nobles.* His uncle Shahrokh, the youngest son of Taimur Beg, a prince of solid talents and great firmness of character, on hearing of this event, marched from Khorasân, which was the seat of his dominions, took possession of Samarkand, and reduced all the rest of Mâweralnaher under his obedience. He governed his extensive dominions with a steady hand till death, which happened in 1446.†

He is succeeded in Samarkand by Khalîl. A.D. 1412.

Shahrokh Mirza seizes Mâweralnaher. A. D. 1415.

His death. A.D. 1446.

On his death, his sons, according to the fashion of their country and age, seized the different provinces which they had held as governors, each asserting his own independence, and aiming at the subjugation of the others. He was succeeded in Samarkand by his eldest son Ulugh Beg, a prince illustrious by his love of science, and who has secured an honest fame, and the gratitude of posterity, by the valuable astronomical tables‡ constructed by his directions, in an observatory which he built at Samarkand for that purpose. Ulugh Beg, who had long held the government of Samarkand in his father's lifetime, soon after his accession, led an army from that city against his nephew, Alâ-ed-doulet, the son of his brother Baiesanghar, who was the third son of Shahrokh. Alâ-ed-doulet, who had occupied the kingdom of Khorasân, being defeated by his uncle Ulugh Beg, on the river of Murghâb, fled to his brother, the elder Baber Mirza. That prince had taken possession of Jorjân, or Korkân, on the south-east of the Caspian, the government of which he had held in the lifetime of his grandfather, Shahrokh, and now asserted his independence. Baber led the forces of his principality towards Herât, to restore his brother Alâ-ed-doulet; but being defeated, and hard pushed by Ulugh Beg, was forced to abandon even his capital, Asterâbâd, and to take refuge in company with Alâ-ed-doulet, in Irâk, which was then held by another of their brothers, Muhammed Mirza. Ulugh Beg having soon afterwards returned across the Amu to Bokhâra, Baber Mirza again entered Khorasân, and took possession of Herât; while Ulugh Beg's own son, Abdal-latîf, revolted and seized upon Balkh.‖

Is succeeded in Samarkand by Ulugh Beg Mirza.

In Khorasân by Alâ-ed-doulet, who is dethroned by Ulugh Beg.

In Korkân by Baber Mirza, who marches to restore his brother;

but is defeated, and flies to Irâk. 1448. Conquers Khorasân.

* See De Guignes's Hist. Gen. des Huns, vol. V. p. 75. † De Guignes, vol. V. p. 82.

‡ See the learned Hyde's Syntagma Dissert. vol. I. and Hudson's Geograph. Min. Graec. vol. III.

‖ There is some confusion regarding the succession in Fârs. Ibrahim, the second son of Shahrokh, Mirza, had held it in his father's lifetime, and was succeeded by his son, Abdalla Mirza.

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Revolt of Abusaîd Mirza.

To complete Ulugh Beg's misfortunes, Abusaîd Mirza, who was the son of Muhammed Mirza, the grandson of Taimur Beg, by that conqueror's second son Mirânshah, but who is better known by his own conquests, and as the grandfather of the great Baber, also appeared in arms against him. Abusaîd had been educated under the eye of Ulugh Beg. When his father, Muhammed Mirza, was on his death-bed, Ulugh Beg had come to visit him. The dying man took Abusaîd's hand, and putting it into Ulugh Beg's, recommended his son to his protection. Ulugh Beg was not unworthy of this confidence, and treated the young prince with great kindness and affection. One of Ulugh Beg's friends having remarked to him, that his young cousin seemed to be attached and active in his service, "It is not my service in which he is now employed," said the generous Sultan; "he is busy acquiring the rudiments of the arts of government and of policy, which will one day be of use to him."* Abusaîd, during the disorders that followed the death of Shahrokh, had for some time held the province of Fârs; but, being stripped of that possession by Muhammed Mirza, (the brother of Alâed-doulet and of Baber Mirza,) had again taken refuge at the court of Ulugh Beg, who had given him one of his daughters in marriage. Believing, probably, according to the maxims of his age and country, that the pursuit of a throne dissolved all the obligations of nature or of gratitude, he now availed himself of the prevailing confusions, and of the absence of Ulugh Beg, who had marched against Abdal-latîf, his rebellious son, to seize on Samarkand. Ulugh Beg, on hearing of this new revolt, had turned back to defend his capital, but was followed from Balkh by Abdal-latîf, who defeated and slew him, after a short reign of three years.

Death of Ulugh Beg.

1449.

Abdal-latîf conquers Samarkand.

Abdal-latîf, after the murder of his father, continued his march, defeated Abusaîd Mirza, took him prisoner, and recovered Samarkand. But Abusaîd, who was destined to act an important part in the history of Asia, was fortunate enough to effect his escape, and found shelter and concealment in Bokhâra. While in this retreat, he heard that Abdal-latîf had been murdered by a mutiny in his army, and had been succeeded by his cousin Abdalla,† who was the son of Ibrahîm, the second son of Shahrokh, and consequently a nephew of Ulugh Beg. The ambitious hopes of Abusaîd Mirza were revived by this event. He succeeded in forming a party, seized upon Bokhâra, and marched against Samarkand, but was defeated and forced to take shelter in Turkestân,‡ beyond the Sirr. Next year, however, having engaged the Uzbeks of the desert to assist him, he returned towards Samarkand, defeated Abdalla in a great battle, and occupied all Mâweralnaher. His new allies appear to have indulged in great excesses, and were with difficulty prevailed upon to retire from the fertile plains and rich pillage of the valley of the Soghd.||

Is succeeded by Abdalla.

1451.

Abusaîd Mirza defeats Abdalla, and reduces Samarkand.

Baber Mirza driven from Herât by Yar-Ali.

Meanwhile Baber Mirza had not remained long in possession of Herât, having been driven from it by Yar-Ali, a Turkoman chief. Baber, however, retired slowly, and with reluctance; and returning soon after by forced marches, came upon him by surprise in that capital, took him prisoner, beheaded him in the public market-place, and

* Târikh Khâfi Khan, vol. III. MS.

† It does not appear how this Abdalla had lost Fârs, or even if he was the same prince who had held it.

‡ This is the Turkestân below Tâshkend, and north-west from that country.

|| D'Herbelot in voce Abousaîd. De Guignes, vol. V. p. 84.

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succeeded in occupying all Khorasân. But repose was not an enjoyment of those unquiet times. Before he could establish himself in his new conquest, he was attacked and defeated by his two elder brothers, Alâ-ed-doulet and Muhammed Mirza, the Kings of Fârs and Irâk. He retired for some time to the strong fortress of Omad, whence he took the field and defeated the governor, whom Muhammed Mirza had left in charge of Asterâbâd; but having been closely followed by that prince, and overtaken before he could gain the town, he found himself once more compelled to seek safety in flight, and was fortunate enough to escape back to his fastness. Muhammed Mirza did not long remain in Khorasân. Disgusted with some circumstances in the conduct of his brother, Alâ-ed-doulet, he withdrew to his own territories; whereupon Baber once more issued from his retreat, drove Alâ-ed-doulet out of Khorasân, following him to Balkh, which he took, as well as all the low country up to Badakhshân, where the fugitive prince sought refuge. He then returned back to Herât. Alâ-ed-doulet soon after fell into his hands.

Recovers all Khorasân.

Driven from it by his brothers.

Again recovers it, and takes Alâ-ed-doulet.

This success of Baber Mirza recalled his brother Muhammed into Khorasân, in an evil hour. He met with a fatal discomfiture, was taken prisoner, and put to death by the command of Baber; who, at the same time, to free himself from all apprehensions from his surviving brother, ordered the fire-pencil to be applied to the eyes of Alâ-ed-doulet. The operation, however, from accident, or the mercy of the operator, was imperfectly performed, and Alâ-ed-doulet did not lose his sight. Baber Mirza, for the purpose of improving his victory to the utmost extent, now marched against Muhammed Mirza's kingdom of Fârs. He had made some progress in the conquest of it, when he was recalled into Khorasân by the alarming intelligence that Alâ-ed-doulet had escaped from custody, and was at the head of a numerous and increasing army. On his return to Khorasân, he found the revolt suppressed, and Alâ-ed-doulet expelled from his territories; but Jehân-Shah, the powerful chief of the Turkomâns of the Black-sheep, now descended from Tabrîz, and after occupying Persian Irâk, pursued his conquests, and in a few years subdued Fârs and the remaining territories of Muhammed Mirza. To regain these provinces, Baber Mirza led a formidable army into Persian Irâk and Azerbaejân; but had scarcely set his foot in the country, when he learned that Abusaîd Mirza had entered his dominions from the north. Enraged at this insult, he measured back his steps, followed Abusaîd across the Amu, and laid siege to Samarkand; but after lying before it forty days, he concluded a peace, which left the Amu or Oxus the boundary between the two countries. Baber then returned to Khorasân, and enjoyed several years of comparative peace. He was carried off in the year 1457, by a disease originating in his habitual excesses in wine.*

Defeats and puts to death his brother, Muhammed.

Orders Alâ-ed-doulet to be blinded.

1457. Death of Baber Mirza.

His death was the signal for Abusaîd Mirza again to attempt the conquest of Khorasân. From this enterprize he was, however, recalled towards Balkh, by a revolt of the sons of Abdal-latîf Mirza, one of whom he slew, while the other, Muhammed Juki, took refuge in the deserts of Tartary, with Abdal-Khair, one of the Khans of the Uzbek principality of Tura, a part of the empire of Kipchâk that lies to the east of the

Abusaîd invades Khorasân.

* D'Herbelot, in voce Abusaid; de Guignes, vol. V. p. 88.

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Ural mountains, and who dwelt in summer towards the banks of the river Jaik, and in winter on the Sirr.* Abusaîd soon after returned into Khorasân, a great part of which he overran, and repressed the commotions excited by the restless Alâ-ed-doulet. But he was glad to retire before the formidable irruption of Jehân-Shah, the Turkoman chief, who entered Herât, which was cruelly plundered by his troops. When the first fury of the invasion was over, the Turkomans began to divide their forces. Abusaîd, watching the opportunity, fell furiously on Jehân-Shah's son, near Murghûb, defeated the detachment under his command, and compelled his father to sue for a peace, and retreat from Khorasân. A treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that the town of Semnân, which lies between Khorasân and Persian Irâk, should be the boundary between the territories of these two princes.

1458. And conquers the country.

Sultan Hussain Mirza invades Khorasân.

In these times of confusion, Sultan Hussain Mirza, a prince of great talents, and who is often mentioned in the Memoirs of Baber, had fixed himself in the possession of Asterâbâd and Mazenderân. He was descended from Taimur Beg† by his son Omersheikh Mirza. Not contented with the peaceable enjoyment of the rich provinces which he held, he had pushed on his plundering parties into Khorasân as far as Sebzewâr. Abusaîd having disengaged himself of the Turkomans, and defeated Alâ-ed-doulet, who had once more invaded his territories on the side of Meshed, now marched to chastise Sultan Hussain Mirza. The contending armies met, Abusaîd was victorious, and, pursuing his advantage, entered his enemy's capital, Asterâbâd, in which he left one of his sons, Sultan Mahmûd Mirza.

1459. Driven from Asterâbâd.

Muhammed Jûki invades Samarkand.

But Abusaîd was not yet destined to enjoy repose. Muhammed Jûki, the son of Abdal-latîf, and grandson of Ulugh Beg Mirza, who, after his defeat, had fled, as has been mentioned, to Abdal-khair, the Khan of the Uzbeks,‡ had meanwhile returned, accompanied by his new allies, and was ravaging Abusaîd's territories beyond the Amu. Abusaîd once more hastened to Samarkand, and the predatory bands of his enemies, on his approach, retired beyond the Sirr. From the prosecution of this war, Abusaîd was recalled by the unwelcome intelligence of the defeat of his son, Mahmûd Mirza, whom Sultan Hussain Mirza had driven from Asterâbâd. Not contented with this success, Sultan Hussain had advanced into the very heart of Khorasân, and had even laid siege to the capital, Herât. The return of Abusaîd speedily raised the siege. He drove the Sultan out of his territories, and, following him into his own, stripped him of all that he held in Jorjân and Mâzenderân.

1460. Retires before Abusaîd Mirza.

Sultan Hussain Mirza recovers Asterâbâd. Again dispossessed by Abusaîd,

Who besiegesShahrokhîa, and takes Muhammed Jûki.

This success enabled Abusaîd to turn his undivided force to complete the destruction of Muhammed Jûki. He besieged that prince in Shahrokhîa, a strong and populous city on the Sirr, and, after a siege of one year,§ took the place and his rival. Being finally disengaged of this enemy, he now returned across the Amu, where Sultan Hussain Mirza had availed himself of his absence to enter Khorasân. That active

* Abulghazi Khan's Gen. History of the Turks, &c. vol. I. p. 289, Lond. 1730, 8vo.

† He was the son of Mansûr, the son of Baikar, the son of Omer Sheikh, the son of Taimur Beg. See D'Herbelot, art. Taimur.

‡ Abdal-khair's wife was sister of Muhammed Jûki's father. Gen. History of Turks, vol. I. p. 212.

§ Abulgazi Khan says of four months. Vol. I. p. 215.

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prince was once more compelled to fly, and sought shelter in Khwârizm. Abusaîd, being now delivered from all his enemies, gave his attention, for some time, to the extension of his territories on the side of Sistân and India, by means of his generals, and to the settling of his extensive dominions. He soon after went to Merv, where he gave a splendid feast, which lasted five months, to celebrate the circumcision of the princes his sons. It was on this occasion that his son, Omersheikh Mirza, Baber's father, received the government of Ferghâna, as is mentioned in the Memoirs. 1463. 1465.

While Abusaîd was yet at Merv, Hassan Ali, the son of Jehân Shah, the prince of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, arrived from Irâk, where, by one of those reverses so frequent in the East, his father had been defeated and slain by the celebrated Uzun Hassan, the Beg of the Turkomans of the White Sheep. Hassan Ali now solicited the protection and assistance of Abusaîd, who gladly undertook to restore him to his paternal dominions. The expedition which followed is famous in eastern history, and is often alluded to by Baber, under the name of "the disaster of Irâk." Abusaîd Mirza advanced into Azerbaejân with a powerful army, subduing the country in his course. He sent two detachments to take possession the one of the Persian Irâk, the other of Fârs. As he pushed on towards Aderbîl and Tabrîz, among the hills of Azerbaejân, Uzun Hassan, alarmed at his progress, sent repeated embassies to sue for peace; but in vain, as Abusaîd, to all his offers, annexed the condition that the Turkoman should appear in his presence, and humble himself before the descendant of Taimur Beg. To this Uzun Hassan refused to submit, and, reduced to despair, betook himself to the hills and fastnesses in which the country abounds, and employed himself indefatigably in harassing and cutting off the supplies of the enemy, whom he prudently avoided meeting in the field. What the sword could not achieve was completed by famine. The large but tumultuary army of Abusaîd began to suffer from the pressure of want, and no sooner suffered than it began to fall away. The various chieftains and tribes of which it was composed gradually withdrew each to his own country. The army fell to pieces. Abusaîd was compelled to seek safety in flight, was pursued, taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded. Of his mighty army few returned to their homes. The greater part were taken prisoners, or slaughtered in the course of their long retreat.* 1466. Hassan Ali solicits the assistance of Abusaîd, 1467. who marches into Azerbaejân, The disaster of Irâk. 1468. Abusaîd beheaded.

The dominions of Abusaîd, who was by far the most powerful prince of his time, extended, at the period of his death, from Azerbaejân to the borders of India, and from Mekrân to the deserts of Tartary. Of his sons, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, who was the eldest, retained possession of Samarkand and Bokhâra, the government of which he had held in the lifetime of his father. Another of them, Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, held the government of Asterâbâd, from whence, after the "disaster of Irâk," he marched to take possession of Herât; but the inhabitants preferring the government of Sultan Hussain Mirza, called him in; and Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, expelled from Khorasân, and forced to cross the Amu, took refuge in Samarkand, with his brother, Sultan His sons. Sultan Ahmed Mirza, king of Samarkand and Bokhâra. Sultan Mahmud Mirza, king of Hissâr, Kundez, and Badakhshân.

* See De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, vol. V. p. 93, Tarikh-e-Khâfi Khan, Baber's Memoirs, and D'Herbelot, Art. Abusaid.

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Ahmed Mirza, having lost Asterâbâd in his attempt to gain Khorasân. In the course of a few months, he fled privately from his brother's protection, and by means of Kamber Ali Beg, a Moghul nobleman of great influence, who was at that time the governor of Hissâr, gained possession of all the country, from the straits of Kalugha, or Derbend, to the Belût mountains, and from the hills of Asfera to the mountains of Hindûkûsh, an extensive tract of country, that included Hissâr, Chegâniân, Termiz, Kûndez, Badakshân, and Khutlân. Another of Abusaîd's sons, Ulugh Beg Mirza, retained possession of Kâbul and Ghazni, which he had governed in his father's lifetime. Another, Omer-Sheikh Mirza, the father of the illustrious Baber, and the fourth son of Abusaîd, continued to reign in Ferghâna. Sultan Murâd Mirza, another of Abusaîd Mirza's sons, who had held the government of Germsîr and Kandahâr, had advanced, at the period of his father's death, to occupy Kermân. He was forced to retreat by the ensuing events, and found that he could not maintain himself even in Kandahâr. He repaired to the court of Sultan Hussain Mirza, by whom he was sent to Samarkand, to his brother, Sultan Ahmed Mirza; but he soon after returned to Herât, after which he is little mentioned. It is needless to detail the fortunes of the other sons, as they had no influence on * the history of Baber.

Ulugh Beg Mirza, king of Kâbul and Ghazni.

Omar Sheikh Mirza, king of Ferghâna.

Sultan Murad Mirza.

Sultan Hussain Mirza was no sooner relieved of his formidable enemy, by the death of Abusaîd, than he once more entered Khorasân, invited, as has been already mentioned, by the wishes and affections of the inhabitants. He quickly drove from Asterâbâd, Yadgar Mirza, a son of Muhammed Mirza, the late sovereign of Irâk and Fârs, who had been selected by Uzun Hassan and the Turkomans to fill the throne of Khorasân, and compelled him to take refuge in Tebrîz, at the court of his patron. Next year, however, Yadgar Mirza returned, supported by a formidable body of Turkomans, penetrated into Khorasân, and took Herât, which Sultan Hussain, unable to resist the first impulse of the enemy, was glad to abandon. The Sultan retired to Balkh, but it was only to watch the favourable moment for returning; and he had no sooner learned, by a secret correspondence which he maintained with some of the chief officers about Yadgar Mirza's person, that that young prince had given himself up to all the enjoyments of a luxurious capital, than, returning by forced marches, he came upon him by surprize, while overpowered with wine, in the Bagh-e-zaghan,† near Herât, took him prisoner, dispersed his troops, and put him to death.

Sultan Hussain Mirza occupies Khorasân.

Drives Yadgar Mirza from Asterâbâd.

1469.

Surprises and puts him to death near Herât.

1470.

The remaining years of the reign of Sultan Hussain Mirza were little disturbed, except by the rebellion of his sons, and, towards its close, by the invasion of Sheibâni Khan. But these events will be best explained by Baber himself in his Memoirs, where copious details will be found regarding the family, dominions, and court of this monarch.‡

Reigns in Khorasân.

Sultan Omer Sheikh Mirza, the sovereign of Ferghâna, and the father of Baber, has by some writers been supposed to have had his capital at Samarkand, and by others

Reign of Omer Sheikh Mirza in Ferghâna.

* Chiefly from Baber's Memoirs. † The Raven Palace.

‡ The seventh volume of the Rozet-es-Sefa, the Garden of Purity, or rather Pleasure Garden, by Mir Khâwend Shah, contains a very detailed account of all the incidents of Sultân Hussain Mirza's reign.

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to have extended his dominions even into India.* His dominions, however, never extended beyond the narrow limits of Ferghâna and Uratippa, unless for a short time, when he received Tâshkend and Seirâm from his eldest brother, Sultan Ahmed, and gained Shahrokhîa by stratagem. These acquisitions he soon lost, having given them up to his father-in-law, Sultan Mahmûd Khan, in return for assistance afforded him in his wars; and at his death, which happened in 1494, he only retained possession of Ferghâna, Uratippa having just been taken from him by his brother, Sultan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand. He was a restless, profuse, good-humoured man, who left his dominions in considerable disorder to his eldest son, the illustrious Baber, then only twelve years of age.

State of Mâweralnaher at the accession of Baber.

It is from this event that Baber commences his Memoirs. At that period, his uncle, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, was still king of Samarkand and Bokhâra. Another of his uncles, Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, was the sovereign of Hissâr, Termiz, Kundez, Badakhshân, and Khutlân. A third uncle, Ulugh Beg Mirza, was king of Kâbul and Ghazni; while Sultan Hussain Mirza Baikra, a descendant of the great Taimur, and the most powerful prince of his age, was king of Khorasân. To the west and north of Ferghâna, Sultan Mahmûd Khan, a Moghul prince, Baber's maternal uncle, and the eldest son of Yunis Khan, so often alluded to by Baber, held the fertile provinces of Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa, along the Sirr or Jaxartes, as well as the chief power over the Moghuls of the desert as far as Moghulistan, where Sultan Ahmed Khan, his younger brother, appears to have governed a separate division of the same tribe. Three daughters of Yunis Khan, the sisters of these two princes, had been married to the three brothers, the kings of Samarkand, Hissâr, and Ferghâna; and the relations of affinity arising from these marriages are often alluded to by Baber.

Account of the family of Sheibâni Khan.

To prevent the necessity of hereafter interrupting the narrative, it may be proper, in addition to these remarks, to observe, that Sheibâni Khan, a name which occurs in every page of the earlier part of the following history, was still in the deserts of Tartary. He was descended from Chengiz Khan, by his eldest son, Tushi or Jûji Khan, the sovereign of Kipchâk. Batu, the eldest son of Tûshi, having returned from his expedition into the north of Europe, bestowed† on one of his younger brothers, Sheibâni Khan, a large party of Moghuls and Tûrks, who fed their flocks in the champaign between the Ural hills and the Sea of Arâl, and along the river Jaik or Yaik, which flows into the Caspian; and he became the founder of the Khanate of Tûra, which, in process of time, extended its conquests considerably into Siberia. One of his descendants, Uzbek Khan, was so much beloved by his tribes,‡ that they are said to have assumed his name, and hence the origin of the Uzbek nations. Abdulkhair Khan, the

The elder Sheibâni.

Uzbek Khan.

* Catrou, Hist. du Moghul, p. 46, supposes that he possessed all Mâweralnaher, that Samarkand was his capital, and that his power extended even to India. In this last supposition he has been followed by a respectable living author, Langles, who, in the article *Babour*, in the Biographie Univ. Anc. et Mod. vol. II. Par. 1811, supposes that his territories extended to Samarkand and the Indus, and that Baber, on his father's death, was declared king of Western Tartary and Khorasân; ideas the more extraordinary, as he had access to a copy of the Memoirs of Baber in the royal library at Paris. See Art. *Abdoulrayhm*, vol. I. of the same valuable work.

† De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, vol. II. 431. Abulgazi's Gen. Hist. vol. I. p. 207.

‡ See D'Herbelot, Art. Uzbek.

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Abulkhair Khan. grandfather of the second Sheibâni, was a contemporary of Abusaîd Mirza. When that monarch had expelled Muhammed Jûki Mirza from Samarkand, the young prince, as has already been mentioned, had fled for protection to Abulkhair Khan, who sent
1460. him back, accompanied by one of his sons, with a powerful army, which took Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa,* and occupied all the open country of Mâweralnaher. The approach of Abusaîd compelled them to retire beyond the Sirr.

The ambition and power of Abulkhair Mirza were so formidable as to justify a combination of all the neighbouring Tartar princes against him, by which he was de-
His death. 1481. feated and put to death with several of his sons; the others saved themselves by flight. But his grandson Sheibâk or Sheibâni Khan, the son of Borak or Budak,†
Sheibâna Khan. regained at least a part of his hereditary dominions, and not only retrieved the honour, but greatly extended the power of the family. The confused state of the country between the Amu and the Sirr, soon after attracted him into the territories
1494. of Samarkand; an expedition to which the Uzbeks were probably equally called by the invitation of the contending princes of the country, and by the remembrance of the plunder and spoil which they had carried off from these rich and ill-defended countries twenty-four years before. From some expressions used by Baber, it seems pretty clear that, in spite of the extent of his conquests along the banks of the Oxus, Sheibâni Khan had never regained the power enjoyed by his grandfather in his native deserts, and was confined to the range of territory around the town and country of Turkistân, to the north-west of Tashkend, which was a recent conquest made by that division of his tribe that adhered to his interests. His subjects were a mass of tribes of Tûrki, Moghul, and probably of Fennic race, moulded down into one people, but with a great preponderance of Tûrks. His army was latterly swelled by volunteers from all the Tûrki and Moghul tribes from Kâshghar to the Wolga; ‡ and he appears, even under the partial colouring of his enemy Baber, as a prince of great vigour of mind, and of no contemptible military talents.

Baber. Such was the general division of the neighbouring countries when Zehîr-ed-dîn Muhammed, surnamed Baber, or the Tiger, ascended the throne. Immediately before the death of his father Sultan Omersheikh Mirza, his neighbours Sultan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand, and Sultan Mahmûd Khan of Tashkend, displeased with some parts of his conduct, had entered into a coalition, in consequence of which they had invaded his country.

Few incidents of the life of Baber previous to his mounting the throne are known.

* Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa, as well as all the cultivated country down the Sirr, were at that period subject to Samarkand.

† See Petis de la Croix's Life of Genghis, p. 393. De Guignes, Hist. des. Huns, vol. IV. p. 434, and the Tarikh Alim-arai Abassi in the life of Shah Ismael, vol. I. MS. also D'Herbelot, Art. Uzbek. Abulgazi's Gen. Hist. vol. I. p. 217.

‡ The Khanship of Kipchak expired A. D. 1506, and broke into several smaller divisions. That of Tura seems to have continued under a different branch of the family of Sheibâni Khan, until the year 1598, when the kingdom of Tura fell into the hands of the Russians.

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It may be remarked, however, that he was born * on the 6th Moharrem 888, and that when a boy of five years of age, he had paid a visit to his paternal uncle, Sultan Ahmed Mirza at Samarkand, on which occasion he was betrothed to his cousin, Aisha Sultân Begum, the daughter of that prince. This lady he afterwards married. 14 Feby. 1483.

Baber ascended the throne about two years after the discovery of America by Columbus, and four years before Vasco de Gama reached India. The year in which he mounted the throne, was that of the celebrated expedition of Charles VIII. of France, against Naples. His contemporaries in England were Henry VII. and Henry the VIII.; in France, Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I.; in Germany, the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V.; in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles. The discovery of America, and of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the increase of the power of France by the union of the great fiefs to the crown, and of Spain by the similar union of its different kingdoms under Charles, the destruction of the empire of Constantinople, and the influence of the art of printing, introduced about that time a new system into the west of Europe, which has continued with little change down to our times. The rise and progress of the Reformation formed the most interesting event in Europe during the reign of Baber.

* The date of his birth is recorded in a Persian couplet, preserved by Abul-fazl, who makes some characteristic remarks on them, founded on his fondness for astrology:—"As that generous prince was born on the sixth of Moharrem; the date of his birth is also (Shesh Moharrem) *the sixth of Moharrem.*" The numeral letters in these two words happen to give 888.

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MEMOIR

REGARDING THE

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MAP OF FERGHANA AND BOKHARA.

By CHARLES WADDINGTON, Esq.

OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENGINEERS.

I some time ago, at the request of Mr Erskine, undertook the construction of a map, to illustrate the operations of the Emperor Baber in Ferghâna and the neighbouring countries. For the execution of this design, Mr Erskine had been for some time employed in making collections, as he found it difficult, or impossible, to trace the expeditions and marches of Baber, in the erroneous and defective maps of those countries, extant. Mr Erskine had procured several routes, written by natives who had visited those countries, with which the kindness of Mr Elphinstone and other gentlemen had supplied him. In addition to these materials, I was furnished with the longitudes and latitudes of many of the principal towns, chiefly from the Arabian geographers, with some particulars regarding these countries, contained in a sketch drawn up by Mr Elphinstone, and with all the books and maps which could throw any light on the subject; besides having the constant benefit of the advice and assistance, which Mr Erskine's extensive reading, and intimate knowledge of the country, enabled him to afford me.

The chief difficulty which presented itself on the commencement of my labours, was the want of some well-ascertained points, from which the intermediate spaces might be filled in with tolerable accuracy. Samarkand alone, from the numerous observations that have been taken in it, appeared to be a station sufficiently well determined, to be depended on; and, unfortunately, it is situated so much to the south of the country which was the chief object of my attention, that it promised to be of but little use to me. From the peculiar nature of the country, there must always be the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the relative positions of Ferghâna and Bokhâra,

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as there is but one communication between them, by a long narrow pass near Khojend, between the mountains and the river. The whole of Karatigîn is perfectly impracticable from its mountainous nature, and precludes the possibility of procuring a cross route from Badakhshân or Hissâr, which would determine at once, with accuracy, the true position of Ferghâna. On the uncertain method of laying down this country, from the circuitous routes through Khojend, the only check that can be obtained, is by continuing those routes to Kâshghar, which, besides being pretty well ascertained by observation, has a direct route from Badakhshan. Of this check I endeavoured to avail myself.

My first step, after laying down Samarkand in long. 64° 53′ and lat. 39° 40′, which was the mean of the best observations in my possession, was to protract separately all my routes; when, by comparing them together, and making due allowances for the winding of roads and other impediments, I have reason to think that I obtained the distance very correctly, between those places through which the routes most frequently passed. The distance between Samarkand and Bokhâra, I found in this manner to be 112 miles in a direct line, which agrees remarkably well with the distance which Baber gives between these two cities.

It may not be amiss here to remark, that I did not see the translation of Baber's life, till I had laid down the whole of my routes to the north of Samarkand; and when the minuteness of his descriptions, and the opportunities he had of being well acquainted with the country, are considered, the coincidence of his accounts with the positions I had already given to the principal towns, will be esteemed no slight proof of the general accuracy of the map.

Having observations on the latitude and longitude of Bokhâra, by almost all the geographers, from whose observations Samarkand had been fixed, I easily ascertained the latitude of the place; and, intersecting it with the distance between the two cities, I also determined its longitude. Khojend, which is a considerable place, and has had many observations taken of its latitude, was fixed in like manner; that is to say, comparing the differences of the latitude of Khojend and Samarkand, as given by my several authorities, I found that they agreed very well, and I thus determined with considerable correctness, the latitude of Khojend to be 41° 5′, and, by intersecting it with its distance from Samarkand, I made its longitude 66° 49′; for the longitudes, as given by geographers, differ so widely, that much confidence cannot be placed in them.

I should mention here, that some of my routes and Baber himself, always speak of Khojend as lying to the east of Samarkand. I do not, however, think that this should be taken in its strict sense, as the natives of the East express themselves always in a loose way with respect to the direction of a place, though in giving its distance they will be pretty correct. I consider, therefore, that in calling Khojend east of Samarkand, they merely mean, that it lies more to the east, than it does to the north or south of that city. Now, there can be no doubt, from the concurrence of all geographers in giving about one and a half degree of difference, in the latitude of the two cities, that it cannot lie to the east of Samarkand. On the other hand, the

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circumstance that I have just mentioned, that Khojend is considered in all my authorities, as being situated to the east or north-east of Samarkand, proves I think sufficiently, the incorrectness of the position given, almost universally, to Khojend in all preceding maps, which is due north, or nearly so, of Samarkand. I have one more argument in favour of the position I have given to Khojend. The town of Jizzakh, a place of considerable note, is well fixed by numerous routes from Bokhâra and Samarkand. The whole of my routes make it project somewhat to the westward of a line drawn from Samarkand to Khojend, which it also does in the map, as now laid down; whereas, should Khojend be removed more to the north, Jizzakh would lie to the east, instead of the west of this line.

Having thus settled the position of Khojend, I proceeded to determine that of Kokân, and here I was necessitated to trust entirely to the two routes, which alone reached beyond Khojend, and which both agreed in placing it, as nearly as possible, in a line with that city and Samarkand. I had, I think, only one observation on Kokân, and that not much to be depended on; however, on account of its short distance from Khojend, it cannot be much misplaced.

The grand route from Samarkand to Kâshghar, which has hitherto preserved nearly a north-easterly direction, now takes a sudden turn to the eastward, and, passing through Ferghâna, crosses the lofty mountains which lie to the east of that country, and reaches Kâshghar; its general direction being a little to the south of east, though, from the mountainous nature of the country, it makes occasionally considerable deviations from that line.

As it would have been folly to expect any considerable degree of correctness, in protracting so long a route from a point so uncertainly laid down as Kokân, I was obliged to assume a position for Kâshghar from some of the oest authenticated maps; and then having two fixed points, at the extremities of the routes, I easily inserted them, and had the satisfaction of finding, that their length did not materially differ from the distance which I had already given in the map, between the two towns. One of the routes, written by Syed Izzet Ulla, a most intelligent traveller, enabled me, by the information it afforded respecting the surrounding country, to insert many towns and villages of Ferghâna, besides those actually passed through in the journey. The other gave little more than the length of the stages and the names of the places through which it passed.

I had now completed an outline of the country to the north of Samarkand and Bokhâra, and it will be sufficient to add, that it has been filled in from the information afforded by Baber's and Mr Elphinstone's description of the country, and from such particulars as could be gleaned from the accounts of Ebn Haukal, and other writers who have touched on the geography of these countries.

As I found, after availing myself of every piece of information which I could at all consider as correct, that the map was still so meagre and imperfect as, in many places, not to answer my chief object, the illustration of Baber's expeditions, it became necessary to insert many towns and some small rivers, as well as to complete the ranges of mountains, from very imperfect and doubtful authorities. The former I

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have distinguished by affixing an asterisk to their names; with respect to the latter, I shall distinguish what is doubtful, and what may be depended on, in a short account of the mountains and rivers contained in the map.

But before I proceed to this part of my Memoir, it will be proper to give some account of the method adopted in drawing the countries to the south of Samarkand and Bokhâra. For the situation of all the grand points, I am indebted to a MS. map of Lieut. Macartney, corrected by the Honorable Mr Elphinstone, and, generally speaking, the whole of the intermediate towns, rivers, &c. have been inserted from the same authority. However, from having some routes which were not in existence at the time Mr Macartney constructed his map, I was enabled to make many corrections and additions. Particularly, in the journey between Bokhâra and Balkh, I have inserted some villages, and a small river which runs into the Kohik river; I have plotted another route along the Amu river, which extends as far as Eljîk, the western extremity of Bokhâra; I have laid down two cross routes through the desert, one, from Karshi to Bushîr on the Amu river; another, from Karshi through Kirki to Andkho. I also carefully compared such routes, as I believe must have been in Lieut. Macartney's possession, with his map, and had occasion sometimes to make slight alterations, though I never did so without a most careful examination, being well aware of the general accuracy of his works. One of the most considerable alterations which I have made, is placing Hezret Imâm, the Karatigîn river, and the route from Killa-Barat-Beg to Wiskirni, considerably more to the west than they stand in his map. My authority for so doing, was, on one side, a route which, coming up the Amu river, passes through Hezret Imâm, and proceeds to Kûndez. On the other side, this arrangement agrees remarkably well with the journey along the Amu through Badakshân, which joins the route between Killa-Barat-Beg and Wiskirni, at a place called Yokatût. I have inserted a few additional towns or villages in Badakhshân on the banks of the Amu, as well as the streams which flow into that river from the southward. Amongst the former will be seen Shehr Derwâz the capital of Derwâz, which is inhabited by a fair and handsome race of people, calling themselves descendants of Alexander the Great. The limits and provinces of Bokhâra, I was enabled to describe from the MS. accounts of that kingdom by Mr Elphinstone.

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A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS OF BOKHARA AND FERGHANA.

The principal range which connects the lofty mountains of Hindûkûsh and Mûz-tagh, and which gives rise to the two most considerable rivers in the map, is the Belut-tagh, whose highest point appears to be the mountain of Pûshtikhar, the source of the river Amu. From this spot till its junction with the Hindûkûsh, the range is well laid down and described in Mr Elphinstone's Caubul, and it is quite unnecessary for me to say anything about it in this Memoir, a very small part only appearing in the map. That portion of the range which lies to the north of Pûshtikhar, is what must now engage our attention; and, of this little seems to be known, except that it joins the Mûz-tagh. It appears exceedingly probable, and has already been conjectured by Mr Elphinstone, that the mountains crossed by the route between Ferghâna and Kâshghar, are a continuation of this range. These mountains, when they reach the lat. of 42°, throw out a branch called the range of Mingbûlâk, reaching to Tâshkend, and, shortly after, either terminate or become so inconsiderable, as to form no obstacle to a free communication between Tâshkend and Kâshghar to the north of the Mingbûlâk mountains. In long. about 71° and lat. about 41° 31′ in the Belût-tagh, lies the real source of the Sirr or Seihûn river; though what is usually considered as its source, is situated in the Mingbûlâk mountains, considerably to the north-east, in long. about 70° and lat. 42° 31′. The Belût-tagh, in its progress from Pûshtikhar to Mûz-tagh, probably throws out many branches to the west, as the whole of the country in that direction is described as mountainous in the extreme. The only branch of the Belût-tagh, to the south of Pûshtikhar, which is contained in the map, is the Badakhshân mountains, which have the effect of giving a north-westerly direction to the river Amu, during part of its course. The rivers which rise from the west of the Belût-tagh, are the Sirr river, the Shiber, the Penj or Amu, and the Badakhshân river. Those to the east are the Kâshghar river and the Kâmeh river.

The mountains which I shall next speak of, and which, from their magnitude, ought perhaps first to have engaged our attention, are the Asfera mountains, which I have also seen denominated the Pamere mountains. This range forms the southern boundary of Ferghâna, and runs in a direction almost due east and west. From its latitude and

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its peculiar nature, which is that of a very broad chain of mountains rising from an elevated table land, there is little reason to doubt that it is a continuation of the Mûz-tagh. The only considerable river to which this range gives rise on the south is, I believe, the Surkhâb or Karatigîn, which, according to Lieutenant Macartney, has a course of 180 miles to its junction with the river Amu. A large river runs into the Sirr near Kokân, dividing into two branches as it approaches that city, which, according to Lieutenant Macartney, comes from the Asfera mountains, and has a course of 70 miles before it joins the Sirr. It appears probable, that the river rising in the mountains between Kokân and Kâshghar, which is said by Izzet Ullah to join the Sirr near Khojend, is the same as this Kokân river. The Asfera mountains extend from a long. of 71° to their termination near Khojend, and it is a strong evidence of their magnitude and impracticability, that the only communication between Bokhâra and Ferghâna, is by the pass of Khojend, between the extremity of this range and the river Sirr. All the mountains which now remain to be described proceed from this range.

I shall first notice the Ak-tagh, or White Mountains, which leave the Asfera mountains in long. 67° 30′. On approaching Uratippa they separate into two parts, the most westerly, which I can only trace as far as 63° 30′ long., forming the northern boundary of the Valley of Soghd; whilst the other, which is the proper Ak-tagh, separates Bokhâra from Yâr-Ailâk, and terminates in two divisions at Jizzakh and Jopâr. This range has been laid down from the concurrent testimony of all my routes, as well as of Baber's accounts, and I feel, myself, great confidence in its correctness.

The next branch which proceeds from the Asfera mountains, and which is much more considerable than the former, is the Kara-tagh or Black mountains. Of this range I have scarcely any information. All that appears to be certainly known of it is, that it proceeds from the Asfera mountains, from which it holds nearly a southerly direction, and that it is lofty and exceedingly rugged and precipitous. The celebrated pass of Derbend is situated in this range, which is the usual communication between Shehr Sebz and Hissâr. Mr Erskine has suggested to me, since the construction of the map, that this range probably leaves the Asfera mountains near Khojend, and that the hills running from the north of Khojend to the Mingbûlâk mountains, are a continuation of the range, through which the Sirr forces its way at the pass of Khojend. I am rather inclined, however, to prefer the position I have given to the northern part of this range in the map, as I can find, in my routes, no account of any such lofty mountains near Khojend, and, were I to insert them, they would leave no space for the length assigned to the Ak-Sû and Khojend rivers, and would not agree with Baber's marches over the mountains from Asfera to Samarkand. The Kara-tagh gives rise to several rivers. The Kohîk, the Shîrâbâd river, the Hissâr river, and the Cheghâniân, are amongst the number. It will not be unseasonable here, to mention the great uncertainty which there is concerning the positions of Hissâr and Cheghâniân, and indeed respecting the whole country of Hissar; a circumstance peculiarly unfortunate, as it is the scene of many of Baber's exploits. The two above-mentioned cities have had many observations, but they differ so widely that no confidence can be placed in them. I have laid them down in the map from some routes in Ebn Haukal.

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The Samarkand mountains, which form the southern boundary of the Valley of Soghd, though I have not traced them beyond 66° of long., I have every reason to suppose, are a branch of the Kara-tagh. Were I to turn them to the north, they would intercept the Kohik river, the source of which is universally agreed to be situated at a great distance to the eastward in the mountains which lie towards Sirkul. The only river which rises from the Samarkand hills, is the Kârshi river.

Much more might be said respecting the geography of these countries, but I have studied brevity as much as possible in this Memoir. For the same reason I have avoided giving any account of the political boundaries and divisions of Bokhâra and Ferghâna, a general idea of which may be formed from an inspection of the map. From what little I have said, it will be seen that the geography of these countries is still in a most imperfect state. I trust that the attempt I have made to give a tolerably correct delineation of them, though it must contain many and considerable errors, will be received with indulgence; particularly when it is considered that, of its northern portion, Ferghâna, little more has appeared in preceding maps than the name. I have the satisfaction at least of knowing that its principal object, the illustration of the first part of Baber's Memoirs, has been in a great measure attained, and that whatever faults may hereafter be discovered in it, have not arisen from want of diligence, in the use and comparison of such materials as could be procured. The public already know what Mr Elphinstone has done for geography in his excellent map lately published with his description of Caubul. The greater part of the materials used in the construction of this map, have been supplied by his kindness. The only merit I can claim, is that of comparing these modern accounts with the particulars of the country already known, and committing the result to paper.

TANNAH, DECEMBER 29, 1816.

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THE

MEMOIRS OF BABER.

In the month of Ramzân,[1] in the year eight hundred and ninety-nine, and in the twelfth year of my age, I became King of Ferghâna. Account of Ferghâna.

The country of Ferghâna is situated in the fifth climate, on the extreme boundary of the habitable world. On the east, it has Kâshgar; on the west, Samarkand; on the south, the hill-country on the confines of Badakhshân; on the north, although in former times there were cities such as Almâligh,[2] Almâtu, and Yângi, which is known in books of history by the name of Otrâr; yet, at the present date, in consequence of the incursions of the Uzbeks, they are desolate, and no population remains. Boundaries.

Ferghâna is a country of small extent, but abounding in grain and fruits; and it is surrounded with hills on all sides except on the west, towards Samarkand and Khojend, where there are none; and on that side alone can it be entered by foreign enemies. The river Seihun, which is generally known by the name of the river of Khojend, comes from the north-east, and after passing through this country, flows towards the west. It then runs on the north of Khojend and south of Finâkat,[3] which is now better known as Shahrokhîa; and thence, inclining to the north, flows down towards Tûrkestân; and meeting with no other river in its course, is wholly swallowed up in the sandy desert considerably below Tûrkestân, and disappears.

In this country there are seven districts, five on the south of the Seihun, and two on the north.

Of the districts on the south of the river, one is Andejân, which has a central position and is the capital of Ferghâna. It abounds in grain and fruits, its grapes and me- Divisions. 1. Andejân.

[1] The month of Ramzân, A.H. 899, begins on the 6th June, A.D. 1494. This was the year of Charles VIII.'s expedition to Naples.

[2] *Almâligh* or *Almâlig*, in Tûrki, signifies "a grove of apple trees." Almâtu, in the same language, signifies "abounding in apples." Almâligh is a city which lies north-east from Kâsân, on the other side of the Alâ-tagh mountains. Otrâr lies between Tâshkend and the sea of Arâl; and in the days of Taimur was a place of great note. He died there while preparing for his expedition against China.

[3] Finâkat is also called Benâkat and Fiâkat. It is situated on the Seihun or Sirr, between Tâshkend and Khojend.

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lons are excellent and plentiful. In the melon season it is not customary to sell them at the beds.[1] There are no better Nâshpâtis[2] produced than those of Andejân. In Mâweralnaher, after the fortresses of Samarkand and Kêsh, none is equal in size to Andejân. It has three gates. The citadel is situated on the south of the city. The water-courses of the mills by which the water enters the city, are nine;[3] and it is remarkable that of all the water that enters the city, none flows out of it. Around the fortress, on the edge of the stone-faced moat, is a broad highway covered with pebbles. All round the fort are the suburbs, which are only separated from the moat by this highway that runs along its banks.

The district abounds in birds and beasts of game. Its pheasants[4] are so fat, that the report goes that four persons may dine on the broth[5] of one of them, and not be able to finish it. The inhabitants of the country are all Tûrks, and there is none in town or market who does not understand the Tûrki tongue. The common speech of the people of this country is the same as the correct language of composition, so that the works of Mîr Ali Shîr, sirnamed Nawâi, though he was bred and flourished at Heri,[6] are written in this dialect. The inhabitants are remarkable for their beauty. Khwâjeh Yûsef, so famous for his science in music, was a native of Andejân. The air is unwholesome,[7] and in the autumn[8] agues are prevalent.

2. Ush. Another district is Ush, which is situated to the south-east of Andejân, but more to the east, and distant from Andejân four farsangs[9] by the road. The air of Ush is excellent. It is abundantly supplied with running water, and is extremely pleasant in spring. The exellencies of Ush are celebrated even in the sacred traditions.[10] On the south-east of the fort is a mountain of a beautiful figure, named Bara-koh, on the top of which Sultan Mahmûd Khan built a small summer-house, beneath which, on the shoulder of the hill, in the year 902,[11] I built a larger palace and colonnade. Although the former is in the more elevated situation, yet that built by me is the more pleasant of the two; the whole town and suburbs are seen stretched out below. The river of Andejân, after passing through the suburbs of Ush, flows on towards Ande-

[1] *i. e.* Passengers eat them gratuitously.—*Leyden.*

[2] The Nâshâpti is a species of melon.

[3] The Persian translations here differ—My copy reads, "Nine streams of water enter the fort, and it is singular that they do not all come from the same place."—Mr Metcalfe's copy reads, "And it is singular that they all issue from the same place."—A leaf of the Tûrki original is here unfortunately torn out, so that the text cannot be corrected from it. The original may perhaps be, "a stream of water large enough to turn nine mills," that being a Persian mode of describing the size of a stream; though the reading of Mr Metcalfe's copy is admissible.

[4] Kirghâwel.

[5] The broth here mentioned is called *Ishkaneh*, and is a sort of stew, or rather jelly broth.

[6] The ancient name of Herât, whence probably the Aria of antiquity.

[7] The Persian here differs, "The air is, however, corrupt, so that inflammations and swellings of the eyes are common; such as by physicians are called qerb." The chasm in Mr Elphinstone's Tûrki copy still continues.

[8] Tirmâh.

[9] The farsang may in general be taken at four English miles. It is the ancient parasanga.

[10] The Hadis.

[11] About A.D. 1496-7.

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jân.[1] On both of its banks there are gardens, all of which overlook the river. Its violets are particularly elegant. It abounds in streams of running water. In the spring its tulips and roses blow in great profusion. On the skirt of this same hill of Barakoh, between the hill[2] and the town, there is a mosque, called the Mosque of Jouza; and from the hill there comes a great and wide stream of water. Beneath the outer court of the mosque, there is a meadow[3] of clover, sheltered and pleasant, where every traveller and passenger loves to rest. It is a standing joke among the common people at Ush to carry across the three streams all such as fall asleep there.[4] On this hill, about the latter end of the reign of Omer-Sheikh Mirza, there was discovered a species of stone finely waved red and white, of which they make the handles of knives, the clasps of belts, and other things of that sort, and it is a very beautiful stone. In all Ferghâna for healthiness and beauty of situation, there is no place that equals Ush.

Another is Marghinân,[5] which lies on the west of Andejân, at the distance of seven farsangs, and is a fine district. It is noted for its pomegranates and apricots. There is one species of pomegranate named *dâna-kilân* (or great seed), which, in its flavour, unites the sweet with a sweet acid, and may even be deemed to excel the pomegranate of Semnân.[6] They have a way of taking out the stones of the zerd-âlu (or apricot), and of putting in almonds in their place, after which the fruit is dried. When so prepared, it is termed Seikkhâni, and is very pleasant. The game and venison are here also excellent. The white deer[7] is found in its vicinity. All the inhabitants are Sarts;[8] the race are great boxers, noisy and turbulent, so that they are famous all over Mâweralnaher for their blustering and fondness for boxing, and most of the celebrated bullies of Samarkand and Bokhâra are from Marghinân. The author[9] of the Hedâya was from a village named Rashdân, a dependency of Marghinân. 3. Marghinân.

Asfera is another district. It is situated at the foot of the mountains, and possesses numerous streams and beautiful gardens. It lies south-west of Marghinân, at the distance of nine farsangs.[10] Many species of fruit-trees abound there; but, in the gar- 4. Asfera.

[1] The river of Andejân is one of those that form the great river Sirr.

[2] The Persian has "between the garden (palace) and the town."

[3] The Persian reads "a meadow (or plain) of extraordinary beauty, having three fountains of water."

[4] The meaning of this passage is obscure.

[5] Mr Metcalfe's MS. has *Marghilân*, which is its present name. It is a considerable town, and the capital of Ferghâna-proper. Its trade consists chiefly in silk and shawl-wool.

[6] Semnân, a town between Khorassân and Irâk, near Damghân.

[7] The âhue werâk is said to be the *arkâli*, described in many books of natural history. See Voy de Pallas, vol. IV. p. 325.

[8] The Sârts or Tâjîks of these countries are the inhabitants of the towns and villages, and the cultivators of the ground, who speak the Persian tongue; as opposed to the Tûrks. They appear to be the remains of the more ancient population, and probably received the name of Tâjik from the Tûrks as being subjects of the Arab or *Tâzi* government; the Persians and Tûrks having first known the Arabs by the name of Tâzi or Tâji.

[9] Sheikh Burhân-ed-din Ali.

[10] About 36 miles. It is not easy to convert the Tartar and Indian measures used by Baber into English ones, with any degree of certainty; but a few observations are required to account for the mode of reduction adopted in the notes:

The smaller measure most commonly used is the *Ges*. Abul-fazl (Ayeen Akberi, vol. I. p. 281) specifies three kinds of it, each consisting of twenty-four tesuj (fingers or inches), but the inch of the

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dens, the almond trees are most numerous. The inhabitants are all mountaineers and Sarts. Among the small hills to the south-east of Asfera,[1] is a slab of stone called sang aineh (the stone-mirror), its length is about ten gez. It is in some places as high as a man, in others not higher than his middle; everything is seen in it as in a glass.

The district of Asfera is separated into four divisions, all situated at the foot of the hills; one of them is Asfera, another Warûkh, another Sukh, and the fourth Hûshiâr. When Muhammed Shiebâni Khan defeated Sultan Mahmûd Khan and Ulchi Khan, and took Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa, I spent nearly a year in Sûkh and Hûshiâr among the hills, in great distress; and it was from thence that I set out on my expedition to Kâbul.

5. Khojend. Khojend, another of the districts, is situated on the West of Andejân, at the distance of twenty-five farsangs,[2] and it is also at the same distance from Samarkand.[3] This is a very ancient city. Sheikh Maslehet and Khwâjeh Kemâl[4] were of Khojend. Its fruits are very good, particularly its pomegranates, which are so celebrated, that the apples of Samarkand and the pomegranates of Khojend have passed into a proverb; but excellent as the latter are, they are greatly excelled at present by the pomegranates of Marghinân. The fortress of Khojend is situated on an eminence, having on the north the river Seihun, which flows past at the distance of about a bow-shot. On the north of the fort and of the river Seihun, there is a hill, which is named Myoghil, where they say that there are turquoise and other mines. In this hill there are many serpents. Khojend is a good sporting country; the white deer, the mountain goat, the stag,[5] the fowl of the desert,[6] and the hare, are found in great

largest equal to the breadth of eight barley-corns, that of the smallest equal to that of only six, according to some, each equal to six hairs from the tail of a yabu horse. A fourth is mentioned as used in ancient books, and containing two spans and two inches. Hanway mentions three species of Gez; one of thirty-two fingers; the Ilahi gez of forty-one fingers, and that of Bokhara of thirty-one inches English. In India the small gez is a cubit, or eighteen inches; the larger a half more, or twenty-seven inches, being three quarters of a yard. There is, however, one in common use of twenty inches; that used at Bombay is twenty-four inches; the Surat gez is twenty-three and a half. Baber himself makes the cubit six hand-breadths, and the gez or pace a cubit and a half, or nine hand-breadths. A fair allowance for the pace or gez of Baber would thus be thirty inches, which applies to his regular *tenab* or surveying cord. But as the regulated measures were larger than the ordinary one, we may perhaps assume two feet or a little more as an average popular gez. A great variety of other *gez* are to be found.

The farsang, the ancient parasanga, may be safely taken at about four English miles.

The varieties of the *kos* are numerous, as will be seen in Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan. Baber's measured kos at 4000 paces of thirty inches each, would be one English mile, seven furlongs, and thirty-three yards. But if the ordinary gez of twenty-four inches be taken, the kos will be one mile, four furlongs, and twenty-seven yards. The usual kos is perhaps nearly an English mile and a half.

The Turki *Yeghâj* is properly the farsang, but is frequently translated in the Persian by *Shiraa*, which, I fancy, is the long kos.

In general I have, in a rough way, considered the gez as equal to two English feet, the kos as equal to an English mile and a half.

[1] The Persian has " on the south one Shiraa cos from Asfera, among rising grounds," &c.

[2] About ١٤٠ miles.

[3] The words, " and it is also at the same distance from Samarkand," are not in the Persian translations. The chasm still continues in the Tûrki copy.

[4] These were two men eminent for their sanctity. [5] Gawazen. [6] Mûrgh-deshti.

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plenty; but the air is extremely noisome, and inflammations of the eyes are common; insomuch, that they say that even the very sparrows have inflammations in the eyes. This badness of the air they ascribe to the hill on the north. Kandbâdâm is one of the districts belonging to Khojend. Though of no great extent, yet it is rather a fine little district, and its almonds, from which it derives its name,[1] are of excellent quality, and are exported to Hindustân, Hormuz,[2] and other quarters. It is distant from Khojend five or six farsangs to the east. Between Kandbâdâm and Khojend, there is a desert, named Ha-dervîsh, where a sharp wind prevails, and constantly blows from the desert in the direction of Marghinân, which lies to the east of the desert, or in the direction of Khojend, which lies to the west, and this wind is excessively keen. It is said that certain Dervishes having encountered the wind in this desert, and being separated, were unable to find each other again, and perished, calling out, "Ha, Dervîsh! Ha, Dervîsh!"[3] and that hence the desert is denominated Ha-dervîsh unto this day. Kandbâdâm.

Of the districts to the north of Seihun, one is Akhsi, which in histories is called Akhsîkat.[4] Hence Asîr-ed-din, the poet, is termed Asîr-ed-din Akhsîkati. There is no town in Ferghâna after Andejân, which is more considerable than this. It lies to the west of Andejân, at the distance of nine farsangs.[5] Omer-Sheikh Mirza made it his capital. The river Seihun flows under the walls of its castle. The castle is situated on a high precipice, and the steep ravines around serve instead of a moat. When Omer-Sheikh Mirza made it his capital, he, in one or two instances, scarped the ravines outside of the fort. In all Ferghâna there is no fortified town so strong as this. The suburbs are rather more than a shiraa kos from the fort. The proverb, "Where is the town, and where are the trees?"[6] applies in a particular manner to Akhsi. The melons here are excellent; there is one species which is termed Mîr Taimûri, no such melons are known to exist in the world. The melons of Bokhâra are also celebrated; but, at the time when I took Samarkand, I had melons brought from Akhsi and Bokhâra, and cut open at an entertainment, when those of Akhsi were judged beyond comparison the best. There is good hunting and hawking. From the river of Akhsi to the town there is a desert, in which the white deer are very numerous. Towards Andejân is a waste, abounding with the stag,[7] the fowl of the desert, and the hare, all of which are extremely fat. 6. Akhsi.

Another district is Kâsân, which lies to the north of Akhsi, and is of small extent. As the river of Andejân comes from Ush, so the river of Akhsi comes from Kâsân. The air of Kâsân is extremely good, and its gardens are beautiful. In consequence of its gardens being all sheltered along the banks of the stream, they call it the mantle 7. Kâsân.

[1] *Kand* or *kend* signifies a town in Tûrki, and *bâdâm* an almond.

[2] Our Isle of Ormus, in the mouth of the Persian Gulph.

[3] Help, Dervîsh! help, Dervîsh!

[4] It is singular that D'Herbelot expresses doubts whether Tâshkend, Khojend, and Akhsîkat, are not all the same place.—See these articles in the Bibliotheque Orientale; a very strong proof of the imperfection of the geography of these quarters down to his time.

[5] About 36 miles. [6] *i. e.* Where are your houses and gardens?—*Leyden.* [7] Gawazen.

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of five lambskins.[1] There is a standing quarrel between the inhabitants of Kâsân and those of Ush concerning the beauty and climate of their respective districts.

All around the country of Ferghâna, among the mountains, there are excellent Yailâks[2] (or summer stations). The tabûlghû wood is found here among the mountains, and in no other country. The tabûlghû, which has a red bark, is a wood of which they make walking-staves, whip-handles, and bird-cages. They also cut it into the forked tops of arrows.[3] It is an excellent wood, and is carried to a great distance, as a rarity in much request. In many books it is related, that the Yabruj-us-sannam[4] grows on these hills; but now it is quite unknown. There is, however, a species of grass which is produced on the mountains of Bete-kend,[5] and which the people of the country term *aikoti*, that is said to have the virtue of the mehergîah, and is what passes under the name of mehergîah. In these hills, also, there are mines of turquoise and of iron.

The revenues of Ferghâna may suffice, without oppressing the country, to maintain three or four thousand troops.

Reign of Omer-Sheikh Mirza.

As Omer-Sheikh Mirza was a prince of high ambition and magnificent pretensions, he was always bent on some scheme of conquest. He several times led an army against Samarkand, was repeatedly defeated, and as often returned back disappointed and desponding. He oftener than once called in to his assistance his father-in-law, Yunis Khan, who was descended of Chaghatâi Khan, the second son of Chengîs Khan, and who was at that time the Khan of the tribe[6] of Moghuls in the dominions of Chaghatâi Khan. He was also my maternal grandfather. Every time that he was called in, Omer-Sheikh gave him some province; but as things did not succeed to the Mirza's

[1] Postîn-pish-burra. The Persian has *postîn e mîsh burra*, or lambskin mantle.

[2] The wandering tribes all over Persia and Turkestân are accustomed to shift their ground according to the season. In summer, they move northward, or ascend the hills and higher grounds. The Persian Court is often transferred to these summer quarters, for the purpose of shunning the excessive heats. They are called Yailâks, from the Tûrki word *Yai*, summer. In winter, they move southward, or descend to warm and sheltered valleys, to their winter stations, which are called *Kishlâks*, a word derived from *Kîsh*, which in the Tûrki signifies winter. The custom is as old as the age of Cyrus.—See Xenoph. Inst. Cyr. Lib. viii, p. 222.

[3] Giz.

[4] *i. e.* The mallow consecrated to idols.—*Leyden.* The *Yabruj-us-sannam* is the plant called the mandragora or mandrake.—See the *Ulfaz Udwîyeh*, or Materia Medica of Noureddeen Mohamed Abdalla Shirazy, published with a translation, by Gladwin, Calcutta, 1793. The name *aikoti* is derived from the Tûrki word *ayek*, vivacity, and *oti*, grass. *Mehergîah* seems to be merely a Persian translation of the name, from *meher*, affection, and *gîah*, grass. It is, however, called *atikoti*, or dog-grass, a name which comes from the way in which it is said to be gathered. They have a fancy that any person who plucks up this grass dies; on which account they are said to dig round its roots, and when these are sufficiently loosened, tie it to the neck of a dog, who, by his endeavours to get away, pulls it out of the earth.—See D'Herbelot, Art. Abrousanam. The same story is still told.

[5] *Bete-kend.*—Mr Elphinstone's Tûrki copy has Yetikent; Mr Metcalfe's Persian MS. Bikesht; my Persian MS. Neikenet.

[6] Ulûs.

[7] It would seem, that when Jaghatâi or Chaghatâi Khan received possession of his share of the empire of Chengis Khan, he also got a tribe of Moghuls to attend him, and to confirm his authority over the Tûrki population. The same appears to have been the case in Kipchâk, which was given to another brother; and also in the formation of the kingdom of Tûra, under Sheibâni.

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wish, Yunis Khan was unable to keep his footing in the country, and was therefore repeatedly compelled, sometimes from the misconduct of Omer-Sheikh Mirza, sometimes from the hostility of other Moghul tribes, to return back to Moghulistân. The last time, however, that he brought his force, Omer-Sheikh Mirza[1] gave Yunis Khan the country of Tâshkend, which was then in the possession of the Mirza. Tashkend is sometimes denominated Shâsh, and sometimes Châch, from whence comes the phrase, *a bow of Châch.* From that time to the year 908, the countries of Tashkend and Shahrokhîa remained subject to the Chaghatâi Khans. At this time, the Khanship of the (Ulûs or) tribe of Moghuls was held by my maternal uncle, Sultan Mahmûd Khan, the eldest son of Yunis Khan. He and Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the King of Samarkand, who was my father Omer-Sheikh Mirza's elder brother, having taken offence at Omer-Sheikh Mirza's conduct, entered into a negotiation, the result of which was, that Sultan Ahmed Mirza having given Sultan Mahmûd Khan one of his daughters in marriage, they this year concluded an alliance, when the latter marched an army from the north of the river of Khojend, and the former another from the south of it, against that prince's dominions.

A. D. 1502-3.

A. D. 899. Alliance against him.

At this very crisis a singular incident occurred. It has already been mentioned that the fort of Akhsi is situated on a steep precipice, on the very edge of which some of its buildings are raised. On Monday, the 4th of the month of Ramzân, of the year that has been mentioned, Omer-Sheikh Mirza was precipitated from the top of the steep, with his pigeons, and pigeon-house,[2] and took his flight to the other world.

9th June, 1494. His death.

He was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was born at Samarkand in the year 860. He was the fourth son of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, being younger than Sultan Ahmed Mirza, Sultan Muhammed Mirza, and Sultan Mahmûd Mirza. Sultan Abusaîd Mirza was the son of Sultan Muhammed Mirza, the son of Mirza Mirânshah, who was the third son of Taimur Beg, being younger than Omer-Sheikh Mirza and Jehangîr Mirza, and elder than Shahrokh Mirza. Sultan Abusaîd Mirza had at first given Kâbul to the Mirza, and sent him off for that country, attended by Baba Kâbuli as his *Beg-atkah,* (or Protector and Regent.) He, however, recalled him to Samarkand, when he had reached the Dera-Gez,[3] in order that he might be present at the festival of the circumcision of the Mirzas.[4] After the festival, as Taimur Beg had given Omer-Sheikh Mirza the elder, the country of Ferghâna, Abusaîd was induced, by the coincidence of names, to bestow on his son Omer-Sheikh the country

His early life. A. D. 1456.

[1] The character of the restless Omer-Sheikh, as given by Catrou, may serve to show how history is sometimes written:—"Jamais Prince Tartare ne parût d'ûn naturel plus paisible que Sec Omor. Content du royaume que la Providence lui avoit assigné, il ne troubla point ses voisins par son ambition, et n'accabla point ses sujets de tributs et de fatigues."—*Hist. Generale du Mogol,* p. 47.

[2] The Musulman princes of Asia are often ridiculously fond of training tame pigeons. These are taught to take circular flights, to tumble in the air, to attack each other when on the wing, and to stand on the defensive. Abul-fazl tells us (Ayeen Akbery, vol. I. p. 251,) that in Akber's pigeon-houses each pigeon, before he received his allowance of grain, performed fifteen circular flights and seventy tumbles. In the same place may be found a curious account of the mode of training them.

[3] The valley of Gez or Manna, which lies on the Dehàs or Balkhâb south of Balkh.

[4] The festival given by Abusaid Mirza at Mour or Merv, A. D. 1465, to celebrate the circumcision of his sons, lasted five months, and was famous for its uncommon splendour.

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of Andejân,[1] appointed Khoda-berdi Taimur-Tâsh his guardian and regent, and sent him off to his government.

His person. Omer-Sheikh Mirza was of low stature, had a short bushy beard, brownish hair, and was very corpulent. He used to wear his tunic extremely tight; insomuch, that as he was wont to contract his belly while he tied the strings, when he let himself out again the strings often burst. He was not curious in either his food or dress. He tied his turban in the fashion called *Destâr-pêch* (or plaited turban). At that time all turbans were worn in the *char-pêch* (or four-plait) style. He wore his without folds, and allowed the end to hang down. During the heats, when out of the Divân, he generally wore the Moghul cap.

His opinions and habits. As for his opinions and habits, he was of the sect of Hanifah, and strict in his belief. He never neglected the five regular and stated prayers,[2] and during his whole life he rigidly performed the Kaza,[3] (or retributory prayers and fasts.) He devoted much of his time to reading the Koran. He was extremely attached to Khwâjeh Obeidullâh, whose disciple he was, and whose society he greatly affected. The reverend Khwâjeh, on his part, used to call him his son. He read elegantly: his general reading was the Khamsahs,[4] the Mesnevis,[5] and books of history, and he was in particular fond of reading the Shahnâmeh.[6] Though he had a turn for poetry, he did not cultivate it. He was so strictly just, that when the caravan from Khita[7] had once reached the hill-country to the east of Andejân, and the snow fell so deep as to bury it, so that of the whole only two persons escaped; he no sooner received information of the occurrence, than he dispatched overseers to collect and take charge of all the property and effects of the people of the caravan; and, wherever the heirs were not at hand, though himself in great want, his resources being exhausted, he placed the property under sequestration, and preserved it untouched; till, in the course of one or two years, the heirs, coming from Khorasân and Samarkand, in consequence of the intimation which they received, he delivered back the goods safe and uninjured into their hands.[8] His generosity was large, and so was his whole soul; he was of an excellent temper, affable, eloquent and sweet in his conversation, yet brave withal, and manly. On two

[1] Andejân, it will be recollected, was the capital of Ferghâna, and the name is often given to all that country.

[2] It is very well known that the Musulmans must, by their law, pray five times a-day regularly; at dawn, at noon, between noon and sunset, at sunset, and about an hour and a half after sunset.

[3] These are prayers and fasts *performed*, if the expression may be allowed, by pious Musulmans, to make up for any omissions at the stated times. If sick, if on a journey, or in war, they are not bound to fast at the time, but should do so afterwards.

[4] Several Persian poets wrote *Khamsahs*, or poems, on five different given subjects. The most celebrated is Nezâmi.

[5] The most celebrated of these Mesnevis is the mystical poem of Moulavi Jilâleddin Muhammed. The Sufis consider it as equal to the Koran.

[6] The *Shahnâmeh*, or Book of Kings, is the famous poem of the great Persian poet Ferdausi, and contains the romantic history of ancient Persia.

[7] North China, but often applied to the whole country from China to Terfân, and now even west to the Ala-tagh Mountains.

[8] This anecdote is erroneously related of Baber himself by Ferishta and others.—See Dow's Hist. of Hindostan, vol. II. p. 218.

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occasions he advanced in front of the troops, and exhibited distinguished prowess; once, at the gates of Akhsi, and once at the gates of Shahrokhîa. He was a middling shot with the bow; he had uncommon force in his fists, and never hit a man whom he did not knock down. From his excessive ambition for conquest, he often exchanged peace for war, and friendship for hostility. In the earlier part of his life he was greatly addicted to drinking bûzeh and talar.[1] Latterly, once or twice in the week, he indulged in a drinking party. He was a pleasant companion, and in the course of conversation used often to cite, with great felicity, appropriate verses from the poets. In his latter days he was much addicted to the use of Maajun,[2] while under the influence of which, he was subject to a feverish irritability. He was a humane man. He played a great deal at backgammon, and sometimes at games[3] of chance with the dice.

His wars.

He fought three great battles; the first with Yunis Khan, to the north of Andejân, on the banks of the Seihun, at a place called Tika-Sakaratkû,[4] which derives its name from this circumstance, that the river, in flowing past the skirt of a hill, becomes so much contracted in breadth, that it is said that, on one occasion, a mountain-goat leaped from the one bank to the other. Here he was defeated, and fell into the hands of Yunis Khan, who treated him with great generosity, and sent him back to his own country. This is termed the battle of Tîka-Sakaratkû, because it was fought at that spot; and it is still used as an era in that country. Another battle he fought in Tûrkestân, on the banks of the river Aras,[5] with the Uzbeks, who, having plundered the territory of Samarkand, were on their return back. The Aras being frozen over, he passed it on the ice, gave them a severe defeat, and recovered the prisoners and effects which they had carried off, all of which he restored to their families and owners, retaining nothing to himself. The third battle was fought with Sultan Ahmed Mirza, between Shahrokhîa and Uratippa, at the place named Khawâs,[6] where he was defeated.

His dominions.

His father gave him the country of Ferghâna. He held for a short period Tâshkend and Seirâm,[7] which his eldest brother Sultan Ahmed Mirza had given him. He was also, at one time, in possession of Shahrokhîa, which he gained by a stratagem. Finally, however, he lost both Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa, and only retained Ferghâna, Khojend, and Uratippa, the original name of which is Usrûshta, and which is also called Austerûsh. Many do not reckon Khojend to be included in Ferghâna. When Sultan Ahmed Mirza went to Tâshkend against the Moghuls, whom he engaged, but

[1] Bûzeh is a sort of intoxicating liquor somewhat resembling beer, made from Millet. *Talar* I do not know, but understand it to be a preparation from the poppy. There is, however, nothing about bûzeh or talar in the Persian, which only specifies *sherâb*, wine or strong drink.

[2] Any medical mixture is called a maajun; but in common speech the term is chiefly applied to intoxicating comfits, and especially those prepared with *bang*.

[3] These to Musulmans are unlawful.

[4] The he-goat's leap.

[5] Could it be by confounding it with this river that some ancient authors called the Chirr or Jaxartes the Araxes? The Aras seems to be one of the rivers flowing into the Sirr along which the richer part of Turkestân lies.

[6] Khawâs was in the Uratippa territory.

[7] Seirâm lies on the Sirr, considerably below Tashkend.

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was defeated on the banks of the river Chirr,[1] Hafiz Beg Duladai, who was in Uratippa, delivered it up to Omer-Sheikh Mirza, from which period it continued in his possession.

His children. Baber. Jehângîr. Nâsir. Khan-Zâdeh Begum.

He had three sons and five daughters. Of the sons I, Zehîreddîn Muhammed Baber, was the eldest. My mother was Kûtlak-Nigâr-Khânum. The second son was Jehângîr Mirza, who was two years younger than myself. His mother was sprung of one of the chiefs of the race of the Moghul Tumans, and was named Fatima Sultan. The third was Nâsir Mirza, whose mother was of the country of Andejân, and a concubine, by name Umeid. He was four years younger than I. Of all the daughters, the eldest was Khan-Zâdeh Begum, who was born of the same mother as myself, and was five years older than I. The second time that I took Samarkand, although my army was defeated at Sire-pûl, I threw myself into the town, and sustained a siege of five months; when, no succour or assistance coming from any of the neighbouring kings or Begs, in despair, I abandoned the place. During the confusion that ensued, Khan-Zâdeh Begum fell into the hands of Muhammed Sheibâni Khan, and had by him a son named Khurram Shah, a fine young man, who had the country of Balkh assigned to him; but, a year or two after his father's death, he was received into the mercy of God.[2] When Shah Ismael defeated the Uzbeks at Merv, Khan-Zâdeh Begum was in that town; out of regard for me, he paid her every attention, and caused her to be conducted in the most honourable manner to join me at Kûndez.—We had been separated for ten years, when I and Muhammedi Gokultash went out to meet her; the Begum and her attendants did not know us, not even after I had spoken; but in a short while they recognized me. The second daughter was Meherbânu Begum, who was born of the same mother as Nâsir Mirza, and was two years older than I. The third daughter was Sheherbânu Begum, who was likewise born of the same mother with Nâsir Mirza, and was eight years younger than I. The fourth daughter was Yâdgâr Sultan Begum, whose mother, Agha Sultan, was a concubine. The youngest daughter was Rokhîa Sultan Begum, whose mother, Sultan Makhdûm Begum, went by the name of Karagûz Begum, (the black-eyed princess.) These two last were born after the Mirza's death. Yâdgâr Sultan Begum was brought up by my grandmother Isan, Doulet Begum. When Muhammed Sheibâni Khan took Andejân and Akhsi, Yâdgâr Sultan Begum fell into the hands of Abdallatîf Sultan, the son of Khamzeh Sultan. When I defeated Khamzeh Sultan and the other Sultans in Khutlân, and took Hissâr, Yâdgâr Sultan Begum came and joined me. During those same troubles, Rokhîah Sultan Begum had fallen into the hands of Jâni Beg Sultan, by whom she had one or two sons, who died young. I have just received information that she has gone to the mercy of God.

Meherbânu Begum. Sheherbâun Begum. YâdgârSultan Begum. Rokhîa Sultan Begum.

A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1511.

His wives. Kûtlak-Nigâr-Khânum.

The principal wife of Omer-Sheikh Mirza was Kutlak-Nigâr-Khânum, who was the second daughter of Yunis Khan, and the elder sister of Sultan Mahmûd Khan and

[1] The Chirr, Sirr, or river of Khojend, the ancient Jaxartes. It is also called the river of Châch or Shâsh.

[2] A well-educated Musulman is very unwilling to say directly that a man died. He uses some circumlocutory expression, which gives the fact by inference.

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Sultân Ahmed Khan by the same mother. Yunis Khan was of the race of Chaghatâi Khan, the second son of Chengîs Khan, and his genealogy runs thus: Yunis Khan, the son of Wais Khan, the son of Shîr Ali Oghlân, the son of Muhammed Khan, the son of Khazer Khwâjeh Khan, the son of Tughlûk Taimur Khan, the son of Aishbugha Khan, the son of Dawa Khan, the son of Burâk Khan, the son of Isan-bugha, the son of Mutukân, the son of Chaghatâi Khan, the son of Chengîs Khan. Descent of Yunis Khan.

Since the opportunity thus presents itself, I shall now briefly state a few particulars regarding the history of the Khans. Yunis Khan and Isan-bugha Khan,[1] were the sons of Wais Khan. The mother of Yunis Khan was of Turkestân, and was either the daughter or grand-daughter of Sheikh Nûr-ed-dîn Beg, who was one of the Amîrs of Kipchâk, and had been brought forward by Taimur Beg. On the death of Wais Khan, the Ulûs (or Horde) of the Moghuls divided into two parties, one of which adhered to Yunis Khan, while the majority sided with Isan-bugha Khan. This occasioned a separation of the tribe. Before this time the elder sister of Yunis Khan had been engaged by Ulugh Beg Mirza to be married to his son Abdal-Aziz Mirza. This connexion induced Airzin, who was a Beg of the Tuman[2] of Nârin, and Mirak Turkman, who was a Beg of the Tûman of Khirâs, to carry Yunis Khan, attended by three or four thousand families[3] of the tribe of Moghuls, to Ulugh Beg Mirza; in the expectation that, with the assistance which he could afford them, they might reduce the whole of the Moghul tribe under the authority of the Khan. The Mirza did not give them a favourable reception, but with great unkindness,[4] imprisoned some, and dispersed the rest in all directions over the face of the country; so that "the Dispersion of Airzin" has become an era among the Moghuls. The Khan he sent into Irâk. Yunis Khan accordingly remained in Tabrîz for upwards of a year, at the time when Jehan-Shah Barani Kara-koilûk[5] (of the black sheep) was sovereign of Tabrîz. Thence he proceeded to Shirâz, where Shâhrokh Mirza's second son, Ibrâhîm Sultan Mirza, then reigned. Five or six months after his arrival, this prince died, and was succeeded by his son Abdulla Mirza. The Khan engaged in the service of Abdulla Mirza, and remained in Shirâz and that country for seventeen or eighteen years. When the disturbances between Ulugh Beg Mirza and his sons broke out, Isan-bugha Khan, seizing the opportunity, came and plundered the country of Ferghâna, as far as Kend-bâdâm, took Andejân, and made all the inhabitants prisoners. Sultan Abusaîd had no sooner mounted the throne, than he collected an army, advanced beyond Yângi,[6] and gave Isan-bugha Khan a severe defeat, at a town in Moghulistan,

History of the Khans of the Moghuls.

Yunis Khan leaves Moghulistan.

[1] Also called Aisbûgha Khan.

[2] These Tumâns are the septs or divisions of the larger tribes or associations.

[3] Literally houses; the Tartars reckon the numbers of the families in their tribes by households, tents, and sometimes by kettles.

[4] This happened in the lifetime of Shahrokh Mirza, Ulugh Beg's father, who had given the government of Samarkand to his son.

[5] The Kara-koilûk or Kara-koinlû Turkomans, that is, the Turkomans of the black sheep, so called from their banner, are celebrated in the history of Persia and of Baghdad.

[6] Yângi, or Yengi-kent, that is *New Town*, the *Alkarieh-al-jadideh* of the Arabian geographers, better

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named Ashpera. In order still more effectually to secure himself from such inroads, he was induced by his connexion with Yunis Khan, to invite him back from Irâk and Khorasân, Yunis Khan's elder sister having been married to Abdalazîz Mirza. On the Khan's arrival he made a great feast, received him in the most friendly manner, acknowledged him as Khan of the tribe of Moghuls, and sent him into their country to assert his rights. At that time it happened that all the Begs of the Tuman of Sagharichi had come to Moghûlistân, highly displeased with Isan-bugha Khan. Yunis Khan went among them. The greatest of the Begs of the Sagharichi, was then Shîr Haji Beg, whose daughter, Ais-doulet Begum, Yunis Khan married. Shir Haji Beg having seated the Khan and Ais-doulet Begum on a white felt,[1] according to the Tûreh, or ancient Institutions of the Moghuls, they proclaimed him Khan.

Restored.

Marries Ais-doulet Begum.

The Khan had three daughters by Ais-doulet Begum, of whom the eldest was Meher-nigâr Khanum, whom Sultan Abusaîd Mirza took for his eldest son Sultan Ahmed Mirza. By the Mirza she had neither son nor daughter. In the succeeding wars she fell into the hands of Sheibâni Khan; but after I went to Kâbul, she accompanied Shah Begum from Samarkand to Khorasân, and thence to Kâbul. When Sheibâni Khan invested Nâsir Mirza in Kandahâr, I proceeded to Lamghân, and Khan Mirza, Shah Begum, and Meher-Nigâr Khanum, set out for Badakhshan. Mobârek-shah having invited Khan Mirza to the fortress of Zafer, they were met on the road, attacked and plundered by one of Abu-beker Kashghari's marauding parties, and Shah Begum and Meher-Nigâr Khanum, with their whole family and attendants, were taken prisoners; and, in the prisons of that wicked miscreant, they departed from this perishable world.

Yunis Khan's Children.

Meher-nigâr Khanum.

Kutlâk Nigâr Khanum. A. D. 1505.

The second daughter, Kutlûk Nigâr Khanum, was my mother, and accompanied me in most of my wars and expeditions. Five or six months after the taking of Kâbul she departed to God's mercy, in the year 911.

Khub-nigâr Khanum.

The third daughter was Khûb Nigâr Khanum, who was married to Muhammed Hussain Korkân Doghlet.[2] He had by her one daughter and one son. The daughter married Abeid Khan, and when I took Bokhâra and Samarkand, was residing there, and being unable to effect her escape, staid behind: when her paternal uncle Syed Muhammed Mirza came to me in Samarkand as ambassador from Sultan Saîd Khan,[3] she accompanied him back, and was married to Sultan Saîd Khan. She had a son, Haider Mirza, who, after his father was slain by the Uzbeks, entered my service and re-

A. D. 1503.

known as Otrâr, is a city of Turkestân low down on the river Sirr. Ashpera, which is mentioned in the histories of Tamerlane, lies N.E. from it, on a small river which flows towards the Sirr.

[1] Petis de la Croix, in his history of Genghiscan, describing the general diet held by that prince at Tonkat, says, "They erected a magnificent throne for Genghiscan, and forgot not to place on an eminence the black felt-carpet on which this prince was seated when he was proclaimed Grand Can. And this emblem of the poor estate of the Mogols at that time was always held in great veneration by them so long as their Empire lasted."—P. 358. Eng. Translation. See also Hist. de Timur-Bec, vol. I. p. 78.

[2] Muhammed Hussain Korkân Doghlet held the government of Uratippa under Sultan Mahmûd Khan.

[3] Sultan Saîd Khan was Prince of Kâshghar.

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mained in it three or four years; he then took leave of me and went to Kâshghar to the Khan; but as

> Everything returns to its original principles,
> Whether pure gold, or silver, or tin;

it is said that he has now adopted a commendable course of life and become reformed. He excels in penmanship, in painting, in fletchery, in making arrow-heads, and thumblets for drawing the bow-string. He is remarkably neat at all kinds of handywork. He has also a turn for poetry, and I have received an epistle from him, the style[1] of which is by no means bad.

Another of the Khan's wives was Shah Begum; though he had other wives besides these, yet he had children by these two only. Shah Begum was the daughter of Shah Sultan Muhammed, King of Badakhshân. The Kings of Badakhshân are said to trace back their descent to Sekander Filkûs.[2] This Sultan Muhammed had also another daughter, elder than Shah Begum, who was married to Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, and bore to him Ababekir Mirza. Yunis Khan had two sons and two daughters by Shah Begum. Among these, Sultan Mahmûd Khan was younger than the three daughters who have been mentioned, and elder than the other three children. In Samarkand and these quarters he is generally called Janikeh Khan. Sultan Ahmed Khan was younger than Sultan Mahmûd Khan, and is well known by the name of Ilcheh Khan. He received this denomination from the following circumstance:—In the language of the Kilmâks[3] and Moghuls, they call a slayer Ilaji; and, as he several times overcame the Kilmâks with great slaughter, he on that account was generally spoken of under the name of Ilaji, which, in pronunciation, was converted into Ilcheh. It will often be necessary to make mention of these Khans in this history, when their transactions and affairs shall be fully detailed. Sultan Nigâr-Khanum was the youngest of all the family, except one daughter. She was given in marriage to Sultan Mahmûd Mirza (the son of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza), by whom she had one son, named Sultan Wais, who will be mentioned in the sequel. After the death of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, this princess, having taken her son along with her, without giving any notice of her intention, proceeded to Tashkend to her brothers. A few years afterwards, her brother married her to Uzbek Sultan,[4] one of the Sultans of the Kizâks,[5] who was descended of Juji Khan, the eldest son of Chengîs Khan. When Sheibâni Khan defeated the

Shah Begum.

Sultan Mahmûd Khan.

Sultan Ahmed Khan.

Sultan Nigâr-Khanum.

[1] The Insha, or Art of letter-writing, in Persian, is quite a science, requiring a long study to be perfectly understood. It is generally the art of telling insignificant things in an involved and rhetorical style. The number of *bienseances* to be observed, is quite overwhelming.

[2] Alexander the son of Philip, concerning whom the Persians have many traditions and idle stories. The King of Derwâz, a small territory north of Badakhshân, still claims descent from the Macedonian hero.

[3] The Kilmâks, or Kalemâks, are our Kalmuks, one of the chief divisions of the Moghuls.

[4] The Persian has Awik Sultan.

[5] The Kirghis tribes at this day call themselves *Sara-Kaizâk*, or robbers of the desert, and occupy the deserts about Tâshkend. The name Cossack is a corruption of the same word.

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Khans, and took Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa, she fled with ten or twelve of her Moghul attendants to Uzbek Sultan, by whom she had two daughters: one of them was given to one of the Sheibâni Sultans, and the other to Rashîd Sultan, a son of Sultan Saîd Khan.[1] After the death of Usbek Sultan, she married Kâsim Khan, the chief of the horde of the Kizâks. It is said that no one of the Khans or Sultans of the Kizaks ever kept the horde in such complete order as Kâsim Khan. His army amounted to nearly three hundred thousand fighting men. After the death of Kâsim Khan, she went to Kâshghar to Sultan Saîd Khan Kâshghari. Doulet Sultan Khanum, who was the youngest daughter of all, at the sack of Tâshkend fell into the hands of Taimur Sultan, the son of Sheibâni Khan. By him she had one daughter. She left Samarkand along with me, and lived three or four years in Badakhshân, after which she went to Kâshghar to Sultan Saîd Kâshghari.[2]

Doulet Sultan Khanum.

Another of Omar-Sheikh Mirza's wives was Ulûs Aghâi, the daughter of Khwâjeh Hussain Beg; by her he had one daughter, who died young. A year, or a year and a half after her marriage, she was removed from the Haram.

Omar-Sheikh's other wives.

Ulûs Aghai.

Another of his wives was Fatima Sultan Agha, who was the daughter of one of the Begs of the Moghul Tumans. Omar-Sheikh Mirza married her first of all his wives.

Fatima Sultan Agha.

There was yet another named Karagûz Begum (or the black-eyed Princess), whom he married towards the end of his days. She was tenderly beloved by Omar-Sheikh Mirza, and, in order to flatter him, they affected to derive her origin from Minocheher Mirza, the elder brother of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza.

Karagûz Begum.

He had many women and concubines. One of them was Omeid Aghâcheh, who died before the Mirza. In the Mirza's latter days he had one called Yûn Sultan, of Moghul extraction. Another was Agha Sultan.

His concubines.

Of his Amîrs, one was Khoda-berdi Taimurtâsh,[3] who was of the family of the elder brother of Akbugha Beg, the Hâkim of Heri. When Sultan Abusaîd Mirza besieged Juki Mirza in Shahrokhîah, he gave the country of Ferghâna to Omar-Sheikh Mirza, and sent Khoda-berdi Taimurtâsh with him as Master of his Household.[4] At that time Khoda-berdi Taimurtâsh was only about twenty-five years of age, but young as he was, his method, his arrangements, and regulations were excellent. One or two years afterwards, when Ibrâhim Begchak ravaged the territory of Ush, Khoda-berdi Taimurtâsh having pursued and overtaken him, a severe battle ensued, in which Khoda-berdi was defeated and slain. When this event occurred, Sultan Ahmed Mirza was among the Yailâk (or summer habitations) of Uratippa, called Ak Kechghai, eighteen farsangs[5] to the east of Samarkand, and Sultan Abusaîd Mirza was at Babakhâki, which is twelve farsangs[6] to the east of Heri, when this intelligence was transmitted to him

His Amîrs.

Khoda-berdi Taimurtâsh.

[1] The Chief of Kâshghar.

[2] Here closes the long digression concerning the family of Baber's mother. He next proceeds to mention his father's other wives.

[3] Most Tûrki names, both of persons and places, have some signification. Thus *Khoda-berdi* means given-of-God, and *Taimurtâsh*, iron-stone.

[4] That is, as Prime Minister. [5] About seventy-two miles. [6] About forty-eight miles.

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express by Abdal Wahâb Shaghâwel. The messenger accomplished this distance, which is one hundred and twenty-six farsangs,[1] on horseback in four days.

Another of his Amîrs was Hafez Beg Duladâi, the son of Sultan Malek Kâshghari, and a younger brother of Ahmed Haji Beg.[2] After the death of Khoda-berdi Beg, he was appointed Master of the Household, and sent to succeed him. As he was unpopular among the Begs of Andejân, on the death of Sultan Abusaid Mirza, he repaired to Samarkand, and entered into the service of Sultan Ahmed Mirza. When the news arrived of the defeat of Sultan Ahmed Mirza in the battle on the Chirr, he was governor of Uratippa, and when Omar-Sheikh Mirza had reached Uratippa on his way to attack Samarkand, Hafez Beg delivered up the place to the Mirza's people, and himself entered into his service. Omar-Sheikh Mirza again intrusted him with the government of Andejân. He latterly went into the service of Sultan Mahmûd Khan, who gave him the charge of Mirza Khan with the government of Dizak.[3] Before I took Kâbul he had set out by way of Hind, with the intention of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, but, on the road, he departed to the mercy of God. He was a plain unassuming man, of few words, and not very profound. Hafez Beg Duladâi.

Another was Khwâjeh Hussein Beg, who was a good-humoured man, of plain, simple manners; he excelled in singing at drinking parties, as was the fashion of the time, what was called *Tûtûk*, a sort of Moghul drinking-song. Khwâjeh Hussein Beg.

There was another named Sheikh Mazîd Beg, who was first appointed my governor. His arrangements and discipline were excellent. He had been in the service of Baber Mirza.[4] No man stood higher in the esteem of Omar-Sheikh Mirza than himself. He was, however, of grossly libidinous habits, and addicted to pederasty. Sheikh Mazîd Beg.

Ali Mazîd Beg Kochin was another. He twice rebelled, once in Akhsi and once in Tâshkend. He was a libidinous, treacherous, good-for-nothing hypocrite. Ali Mazîd Kochin.

Another was Hassan Yâkûb Beg, who was frank, good-tempered, clever, and active. The following verses are his— Hassan Yâkûb Beg.

> Return again, O Hûma,[5] for without the parrot down of thy cheek
> The crow will assuredly soon carry off my bones.

He was a man of courage, an excellent archer, and remarkable for his skill in playing the games of choughân[6] and leap-frog. After the death of Omar-Sheikh Mirza, he

[1] Upwards of five hundred miles.

[2] The Persian has Ahmed Chachi Beg.

[3] Jizzikh.

[4] This Baber Mirza was the son of Baiesanghar, the son of Shahrokh, one of Taimur Beg's sons. He was an active prince, was for some time master of Khorasân, and died A. D. 1457.

[5] The Hûma is a bird much celebrated in oriental poetry. It never alights on the ground, and it is believed that every head which it overshadows will one day wear a crown. The verses here quoted are written in the character of one in adversity, who had formerly indulged better hopes.

[6] The choughân is a game played by men on horseback, with long crooked sticks. They divide into two parties, each party trying themselves to hole a ball and to prevent the other party doing it. It requires both strength and skill. See Ayeen Akbery, vol. I. p. 249.

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became Master of my Household. He was, however, narrow-minded, of small capacity, and a promoter of dissension.

Kâsim Beg Kochin.

Another was Kâsim Beg Kochin, who was one of the ancient Begs of the army of Andejân. He succeeded Hassan Beg as Master of the Household. As long as he lived, his power and consequence with me went on increasing uninterruptedly. He was a brave man. On one occasion, a party of Uzbeks having ravaged the country round Kâsân,[1] were on their retreat, when he pursued, overtook, engaged, and gave them a severe defeat. He had also distinguished himself by his gallant use of his scymiter in presence of Omar-Sheikh Mirza. In the war of Yâsi-kijet[2] he made some bold forays. During my difficulties, when I proposed going from the hill-country of Masîkhi to Sultan Mahmûd Khan, Kâsim Beg separated from me, and went to Khosrou Shah. In A. D. 1504. the year 910, when I took Khosrou Shah and blockaded Mokîm in Kabul, Kâsim Beg came again and joined me, and I showed him my wonted affection and regard. When I attacked the Turkoman Hazâras in the Dera, or glen of Khîsh, as Kâsim Beg, notwithstanding his advanced years, displayed more ardour than many younger men, I gave him the government of the country of Bangash as a reward for his services. Afterwards, on my return to Kabul, I appointed him governor to Humâiûn.[3] He was received into the mercy of God about the time I reduced the Zemîn Dâwer.[4] He was a pious, religious, faithful Moslem, and carefully abstained from all doubtful meats. His judgment and talents were uncommonly good. He was of a facetious turn, and though he could neither read nor write, had an ingenious and elegant vein of wit.

Baba Kûli Beg.

Another was Baba Kûli Beg, of the family of Sheikh Ali Behâder. After the death of Sheikh Mazîd Beg, he was appointed my governor. When Sultan Ahmed Mirza led his army against Andejân, he went over to him and delivered Uratippa into his hands. After Sultan Mahmûd Mirza's death, he fled from Samarkand, and was on his way to join me, when Sultan Ali Mirza, issuing out of Uratippa, encountered, defeated, and slew him. He was remarkable for maintaining his troops in good order, and with excellent equipments. He kept a watchful eye over his servants, but neither prayed nor fasted, and was cruel, and like an infidel in his whole deportment.

Mîr Ali Dost Taghai.

Another was Mîr Ali Dost Taghai, who was of the Begs of the Tumans of Saghrichi, and related to my maternal grandmother Isan-doulet-begum. I showed him great favour from the time of Omar-Sheikh Mirza. I was told that he would be an useful man; but during all the years that he was with me, I cannot tell what service he ever did. He had been in Sultan Abusaîd Mirza's service, and pretended to be an enchanter.[5] He was Grand Huntsman, and was a man of disagreeable manners and habits, covetous, mean, seditious, insincere, self-conceited, harsh of speech, and sour of visage.

[1] A city to the north of the Sirr.

[2] So denominated from the battle fought at Yâsi-kijet, A. H. 904.

[3] Baber's son, who succeeded him in his dominions.

[4] The district of Zemin Dâwer lies about ninety miles west of Kandahâr, on the right bank of the Hermend, towards the upper part of its course, after it issues from the mountains.

[5] For an account of the *Yedeh* and *Yedeh-ji-geri*, see the Introduction, p. xlvii. These magicians pretended chiefly to bring rain by rubbing the Yedeh stone.

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Weis Laghari was another. He was from Samarkand and of the Tokchi tribe, and was latterly much in the confidence of Omar-Sheikh Mirza. He attended me on my expeditions. He was a man of excellent understanding and talents, but a little disposed to be factious. Weis Laghari.

Mîr Ghiâs Taghai, the younger brother of Ali Dost, was another. None of all the young Moghul Emirs in Sultan Abusaîd Mirza's court was a greater favourite, and the Great Seal[1] was delivered to his custody by that prince. He was in very great favor with Omar-Sheikh Mirza in his latter years, and was on intimate terms with Weis Laghari. From the time that Sultan Mahmûd Khan got possession of Kâsân, till the end of his life, he remained in the service of the Khan, by whom he was treated with great consideration. He was an extremely witty and jocose man, but fearless in debauchery. Mîr Ghiâs Taghai.

There was another named Ali Dervîsh, a native of Khorasân, who served in the Khorasân Bands under Sultan Abusaîd Mirza; for when that prince got possession of Samarkand and Khorasân, he formed such of the young men of these two kingdoms as were fit for service into bands of household troops, which he termed the Bands of Khorasân, and the Bands of Samarkand. He made a gallant charge in my presence in the affair at the gate of Samarkand. He was a brave man. He wrote the Nastâlik character after a fashion. He was, however, a gross flatterer, and sordidly mean and miserly. Ali Dervîsh.

Kamber Ali, Moghul, an Akhteji,[2] was another; when his father came to the country, he for some time exercised the trade of a skinner, whence he got the name of Kamber Ali Selakh, (or the skinner.) He had served Yunis Khan in the capacity of Ewer-bearer, but finally arrived at the rank of Beg. From me he received distinguished favours. Till he had attained high rank, his conduct was exceedingly good; but, after he had gained a certain elevation, he became negligent and perverse. He talked a great deal and very idly; indeed there can be no doubt that a great talker must often talk foolishly. He was a man of contracted capacity, and of a muddy brain. Kamber Ali, Moghul.

At the time when this fatal accident[3] befel Omar-Sheikh Mirza, I was in Andejân, at the Chârbâgh palace. On Tuesday the fifth of Ramzân, the news reached Andejân; I immediately mounted in the greatest haste, and taking with me such of my followers as were at hand, set out to secure the castle. When I had just reached what is called the Mirza's gate, Shiram Taghâi seized my horse's bridle[4] and carried me towards the Id-gâh.[5] The idea had entered his mind that, as Sultan Ahmed Mirza, 10 June, 1494. Baber attempts Andejân.

[1] *Moher-charâi*, the square seal. Chardin, in describing the seals used in the Persian court in his time, says, "Le sçeau carré est le plus consideré, et celui auquel on obeit le plus regulierement; c'est pròprement le sçeau ou le seing du roi, car il le porte a son cou; et ses ancêtres, de puis Abas le Grand, en ont fait de même."—See Voyages de Chardin, tom. V. p. 461, of the edition of M. Langlès.

[2] D'Herbelot informs us that Akhteji, in the Moghul tongue, signifies a vassal who holds his states of a liege-lord.—See Art. Akhtagi, in the Bibliotheque Orientale. In the Turki it signifies a gelder.

[3] Baber now returns to the death of his father, who was killed by falling from the pigeon-house at Ahsi.

[4] These words mean also, metaphorically, "stopped me by the way."

[5] The Id-gâh or Namâzsâh is generally an open terrace, with a wall on the side towards the *kibleh*, and on the outside of the town, whither on festival days the people go out in crowds to pray.

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who was a powerful prince, was approaching with a great army, the Begs of Andejân might deliver up both the country and me into his hands; he was therefore for conducting me towards Urkend[1] and the country on the skirt of the hills in that quarter, that if they should deliver up the country, I might not fall into his power, but might join my maternal uncles Ilcheh Khan or Sultan Mahmûd Khan.

Khwâjeh Moulâna Kazi, the son of Sultan Ahmed Kazi, was of the race of Sheikh Bûrhanân-ed-dîn Kilij, and by the mother's side descended of Sultan Ilik Mâzi. He was sprung of a religious family that had come to be regarded as the protectors of that country. This family in some sort held the office of Sheikh-ul-Islâm[2] by hereditary descent, and will hereafter be often mentioned. The Kazi, and the Begs who were in the Castle, on hearing of our proceedings, sent Khwajeh Muhammed Derzi, who was an old and trusty household servant[3] of Omar-Sheikh Mirza, and the Beg-utkeh or governor of one of his daughters, to dispel our apprehensions. He overtook us and made me turn, after we had nearly reached the Id-gâh, and conducted me into the citadel, where I alighted. Khwâjeh Moulâna Kazi and the Begs having met in my presence, held a consultation; and, after having mutually communicated their ideas, and resolved on their plan, applied themselves to put the fortress, with its towers and ramparts, in a state of defence. Hassan Yâkub, Kâsim Kochîn, and some other Begs, who had been sent on an excursion to Marghinân and that quarter, arrived a day or two after, and entered into my service; and all of them, with one heart and soul, set themselves zealously to maintain the place.

Is received into the Citadel.

Sultan Ahmed Mirza approaches Andejân.

Sultan Ahmed Mirza, after having made himself master of Uratippa, Khojend, and Marghinân, advanced to Kaba,[4] within four farsangs[5] of Andejan, and encamped. At this time one Dervîsh Gaw, a man of note in Andejân, was capitally punished on account of some seditious expressions, an example which reduced all the rest of the inhabitants to their duty.

I now sent Khwâjeh Kazi, Uzûn Hussan, and Khwâjeh Hussain, as ambassadors, to Sultan Ahmed Mirza, with a message to this effect:—"It is plain that you must place some one of your servants in charge of this country; I am at once your servant and your son; if you intrust me with this employment, your purpose will be attained in the most satisfactory and easy way." As Sultan Ahmed Mirza was a mild, weak man, of few words, who was implicitly guided in all his opinions and actions by his Begs; and as they were not favourably disposed to this proposition, a harsh answer was returned, and he marched forward.—But the Almighty God,[6] who, of his perfect power,

[1] Urkend or Uzkent lies towards the Ala-tagh hills north of Ush.

[2] The Sheikh-ul-Islâm is the chief Judge in all civil and religious causes which are decided by the divine law (*Sheriat*). There is generally one in each great city. The Seder, when there is one, is the superior officer.

[3] I am at a loss for the correct meaning of *Baberian*, which often occurs. It appears to signify one who had been about the person of a prince from infancy. It is sometimes written Baeriân.

[4] Kaba was a small town on the river Kaba, west of Andejân.

[5] Mr Elphinstone's Turki copy has four *Yeghâji*. The Persian four *Kos*.

[6] Baber, like all other Turks, uses the word Tengri for Deity. It is of Pagan origin, and seems originally to have been Moghul. It is now current all over Tartary and in China. It has found its way too into Persian, and is used for the Almighty.

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has, in his own good time and season, accomplished my designs in the best and most proper manner, without the aid of mortal strength, on this occasion also brought certain events to pass, which reduced the enemy to great difficulties, frustrated the object of their expedition, and made them return without success, heartily repenting of their attempt.

Causes of his failure.

One of these was the following; the Kaba is a black river and extremely slimy, insomuch, that it can be only passed by a bridge: as the host was very numerous, there was a great crowding on the bridge, and many horses and camels fell over into the black water and perished. Now as three or four years before this, the same troops had suffered a severe defeat at the passage of the river Chirr, the present disaster recalled the former to their remembrance, and the soldiers of the army were seized with a panic. Another circumstance was, that, at this time, a disease attacked the horses with such violence that they were taken ill, and began to die in great numbers. A third circumstance was, that they found my soldiers and subjects so unanimous and resolute, that they perceived clearly that their determination was to fight to the last drop of their blood, and the last gasp of their life, without yielding, and that they would never submit to the government of the invaders. Disconcerted by these circumstances, after they had come within one farsang of Andejân, they on their part sent Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân, who was met near the Idgah by Hassan Yâkub, from the castle, when they conferred together and patched up a sort of a peace, in consequence of which the invading army retired.

Sultan Mahmûd Khan invades the northern Provinces.

In the meanwhile Sultan Mahmûd Khan had entered the country on the north of the river of Khojend in a hostile manner, and laid siege to Akhsi. Jehângîr Mirza was in the place, and Ali Dervîsh Beg, Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh, Muhammed Baker Beg, and Sheikh Abdulla the Chamberlain,[1] were along with him. Weis Laghari and Mir Ghîâs Taghâi were also there, but, in consequence of some misunderstanding between them and the other Begs, they withdrew to Kâsân, which was Weis Laghari's government. As Weis Laghari was Beg-Utke (or governor) to Nâsir Mirza, that prince resided at Kâsân. As soon as the Khan arrived in the neighbourhood of Akhsi, these Begs waited on him, and surrendered Kâsân: Mir Ghîâs continued with the Khan; but Weis Laghari carried off Nâsir Mirza and delivered him to Sultan Ahmed Mirza, by whom he was given in charge to Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân. The Khan having approached Akhsi, made several assaults on it, but without success; the Begs and youth of Akhsi fought with distinguished valour. At this crisis Sultan Mahmûd Khan fell sick, and being besides disgusted with the war, returned to his own country.

But is forced to retreat.

Ababeker Kâshghari invades Ferghana on the east.

Ababeker Doghlet Kâshghari, who acted as an independent prince, and had for several years been Hâkim of Kâshghar and Khoten, was seized, like the rest, with the desire of conquest, and had advanced to Uzkend, where he constructed a fortress, and employed himself in plundering and laying waste the country. Khwâjeh Kazi and a number of Begs were dispatched to expel him. When the army approached, the

[1] Ishek-Agha, lord or keeper of the entrance or door, an officer resembling the chamberlain, or perhaps rather a master of ceremonies, and of some consequence in Asiatic courts.

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But is repelled.

Kâshgharian, who perceived that he was unable to contend with it, applied to Khwâjeh Kazi as mediator, and contrived to extricate himself from his situation with great address and cunning.

During these important events, the Begs and younger nobility, who had been about Omar-Sheikh Mirza, united resolutely, and displayed a noble spirit, being eager to devote their lives to the cause. They afterwards conducted the Mirza's mother, Shah Sultan Begum, Jehângîr Mirza, and the family in the haram, from Akhsi to Andejân, where they performed the ceremonies of mourning for him, and distributed food and victuals to the poor and to religious mendicants.

Baber's Begs and officers rewarded.

When delivered from these dangers, it became necessary to attend to the administration and improvement of the country, and to placing everything in proper order. The government of Andejân, and the prime authority in the Court, were bestowed on Hassan Yâkub; Ush was given to Kâsim Kochin; Akhsi and Marghinân were intrusted to Uzûn Hassan and Ali Dost Taghâi; and each of the Begs and younger nobility of Omar-Sheikh Mirza's court had a district, an estate, or portion of land assigned to him, or received some mark of distinction suited to his rank and consequence.

Death of Sultan Ahmed Mirza.

Middle of July 1494.

Meanwhile Sultan Ahmed Mirza, after having made two or three marches on his return home, fell very ill, and being seized with a burning fever, departed from this transitory world, in the territory of Uratippa, just as he had reached the Aksû,[1] (or White river,) in the middle of the month Shawâl 899, in the 44th year of his age.

His birth and extraction. A. D. 1451.

He was born in 855, the year in which Sultan Abusaîd Mirza came to the throne, and was the eldest of all his sons. His mother was the daughter of Urdah Bugha Terkhân, was elder sister of Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân, and the most respected of the Mirza's wives.

Figure and features.

He was tall, of a ruddy complexion, and corpulent. He had a beard on the forepart of the chin, but none on the lower part of the cheek. He was a man of extremely pleasant manners. He wore his turban, according to the fashion of the time, in what was termed *Châr-mâk* (the four-plaited), with the tie or hem brought forward over the eyebrows.

His manners and religious opinions.

He was strictly attached to the Hanifah[2] sect, and was a true and orthodox believer. He unfailingly observed the five stated daily prayers, and did not neglect them even when engaged in drinking parties. He was attached to Khwâjeh Abîd-ûlla, who was his religious instructor and guide. He was polite and ceremonious at all times, but particularly in his intercourse with the Khwâjeh; insomuch that they say, that, while in company with him, however long they sat, he never changed the position of his knees, by shifting the one over the other, except in one instance, when, contrary to his usual practice, he rested the one knee on the other. After the Mirza rose, the Khwâjeh desired them to examine what there was particular in the place in which the Mirza had been seated, when they found a bone lying there.[3]

[1] The Habîb-es-seir makes him die at Armena, a village on the Aksû, which is a considerable river, rising in the Asfera hills, and which falls into the Sirr a little to the west of Khojend.

[2] The Hanifah is one of the four orthodox Musulman sects.

[3] It will be recollected that the Asiatics sit cross-legged on a carpet. The bone of a dead animal being impure, is thought to defile a Musulman, who is obliged, after touching it, to purify himself.

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His character.

He had never read any,[1] and, though brought up in the city, was illiterate and unrefined. He was a plain honest Tûrk, but not favoured by genius. He was, however, a just man; and as he always consulted the reverend Khwâjeh in affairs of importance, he generally acted in conformity to the law. He was true to his promises, and faithful to his compacts or treaties, from which he never swerved. He was brave; and though he never happened to be engaged hand to hand in close combat, yet they say that in several actions he showed proofs of courage. He excelled in archery. He was a good marksman. With his arrows and forked arrows[2] he generally hit the mark; and in riding from one side of the exercise ground to the other, he used to hit the brazen basin several times.[3] Latterly, when he became very corpulent, he took to bringing down pheasants and quails with the goshawks, and seldom failed. He was fond of hawking, and was particularly skilled in flying the hawk, an amusement which he frequently practised. If you except Ulugh Beg Mirza, there was no other king who equalled him in field-sports. He was singularly observant of decorum, insomuch that it is said, that even in private, before his own people and nearest relations, he never uncovered his feet.[4] Whenever he took to drinking wine, he would drink without intermission for twenty or thirty days at a stretch, and then he would not taste wine for the next twenty or thirty days. In his social parties he would sometimes sit day and night, and drink profusely; on the days when he did not drink, he ate pungent substances. He was naturally of a penurious disposition, was a simple man, of few words, and entirely guided by his Begs.

His wars.

He fought four battles: the first with Sheikh Jemâl Arghûn, the younger brother of Niâmet Arghûn, in the territory of Zâmin,[5] at Akâr-tûzi, in which he was victorious; the second with Omar-Sheikh Mirza, at Khawâs,[6] in which likewise he was victorious; the third affair was with Sultan Mahmûd Khan, in the vicinity of Tâshkend, on the river Chirr, in which there was in truth no battle, for as soon as a few scattered plundering Moghuls came up with the army, and seized some baggage, a whole mighty host, without fighting, without resistance, and no man having engaged

[1] The expressions in the text would lead us to suppose that he could not read.

[2] Giz.

[3] This refers to an exercise in archery practised by the Tûrks. A brazen basin (kapak) is placed on the top of a very lofty pole, to serve as a mark. This is shot at, sometimes from a fixed station, and sometimes while the archer gallops across the ground and past the mark at full speed. Abulghazi Behader, in his account of the festival of Kiun Khan, describes a similar exercise. "He caused to be erected near these tents two trees, forty fathoms high, and a golden hen to be fixed on the top of the tree, which was planted near the tents on the right hand; and on the top of the tree which was planted near the tents on the left side, a hen of silver; ordering that all who bore the name of Bussick should exercise themselves in shooting at the golden hen, running full speed, and that those of the name of Utz-ock should shoot in the same manner at the silver hen; and he ordered considerable prizes for those who hit the hen."—*Genealogical History of the Tatars*, vol. I. p. 22. Lond. 1730, 8vo.

[4] When the Asiatics sit down, they draw in their legs under their bodies. It is regarded as a mark of disrespect, or of great familiarity, to show their feet. Their long and loose dress renders it easy to conceal them.

[5] Zâmin, or Râmin, lies in Uratippa. Akâr-tûzi signifies the plain of the flowing stream.

[6] Khawâs lies between Uratippa and Tâshkend.

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another, or even seen an enemy, was completely panic-struck and broken up, and numbers of them drowned in their disorderly flight across the Chirr. His fourth battle was with Haider Gokaltâsh, in the confines of Yâr-Ilâk,[1] in which he was victorious.

His dominions.

He possessed the countries of Samarkand and Bokhâra, which his father had given him; and, after the death of Sheikh Jemâl, who was slain by Abdul Kadûs, he got possession of Tâshkend, Shahrokhîa, and Seirâm.[2] He afterwards gave Tâshkend and Seirâm to his younger brother, Omar-Sheikh Mirza; and also, for some time, occupied Khojend and Uratippa.

His children.

He had two sons, who died young, and five daughters, four of whom were by Katak Begum. The eldest of them all was Rabîa Sultan Begum, whom they called Karagoz (or the Black-eyed) Begum. He gave her in his lifetime to Sultan Mahmûd Khan, by whom she had a son, named Baba Khan, a very promising boy. When the Uzbeks slew the Khan in Khojend, they put to death him and many others like him of tender years. After the death of Sultan Mahmûd Khan, Jani Beg Sultan married her. The second daughter was Salikeh Sultan Begum, who was called Ak Begum, (or the Fair Lady.) After Sultan Ahmed Mirza's death, Sultan Mahmûd Mirza celebrated her marriage with that prince's eldest son, Sultan Masaûd Mirza, with great festivity. She afterwards fell into the hands of the Kâshgharian at the same time with Shah Begum and Meher-Nigâr Khanum. The third daughter was Aisha Sultan Begum. When I visited Samarkand, at the age of five years, she was betrothed to me. She afterwards came to Khojend during the troubles, when I married her; and, about the time when I took Samarkand the second time, I had one daughter by her, who lived only a few days. She left my family before the overthrow of Tâshkend, induced by the machinations of her elder sister. The fourth daughter was Sultanam Begum, who was married first to Sultan Ali Mirza, afterwards to Taimur Sultan, and lastly to Mehedi Sultan. The youngest of all his daughters was Maasûmeh Sultan Begum, whose mother, Habîbah Sultan Begum, was of the tribe of Arghûn, and the daughter of one of Sultan Arghûn's brothers. I saw her when I went to Khorasân, and, being pleased with her, asked her in marriage, and carried her to Kâbul, where I married her. I had by her one daughter, at the time of whose birth she was taken ill in childbed, and was united to the mercy of God. The daughter whom she bore received her mother's name.

1. Rabîa Sultan Begum.

2. Salikeh Sultan Begum.

3. Aisha Sultan Begum.

4. Sultanam Begum.

5. Maasûmeh Sultan Begum.

His wives.

Of his wives and ladies, the principal was Meher-Nigâr Khanum, the eldest daughter of Yunis Khan, who was betrothed to him by his father, Sultan Abusaîd Mirza. She was my mother's eldest sister of the full blood.

Meher-Nigâr Khanum.

Another of his wives was of the family of Terkhâns, and named Terkhân Begum.

Terkhân Begum.

Another was Katak Begum, who was the foster-sister of this same Terkhân Begum. Sultan Ahmed Mirza married her for love. He was prodigiously attached to her, and she governed him with absolute sway. She drank wine. During her life, the Sultan

Katak Begum.

[1] This name is variously written in the different manuscripts at various times—sometimes Bar-ilâk, sometimes Yaz-ilâk, and sometimes Yar-ilâk.

[2] Tâshkend, as has been already remarked, lies between Shahrokhia and Seirâm.

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durst not venture to frequent any other of his ladies. At last, however, he put her to death, and delivered himself from his reproach.

Khan-Zâdeh Begum.

Another of his wives was Khan-Zâdeh Begum, who was sprung of the Khans of Termez. When I went to Samarkand, at the age of five years, to visit Sultan Ahmed Mirza, he had newly married her, and she still kept her face covered with a veil, according to the custom of the Tûrks.[1] He directed me, and I took off her veil.

Latîf Begum.

Another of them was the daughter of the daughter of Ahmed Hâji Beg, named Latîf Begum, who, after the Mirza's death, was married to Khamzeh Sultan, by whom she had three sons. When I defeated the Sultans under the command of Khamzeh Sultan and Taimur Sultan, and took Hissâr, these princes, as well as the children of the other Sultans, fell into my hands, and I set all of them at liberty.

Habîbeh Sultan Begum.

There was another, named Habîbeh Sultan Begum, the brother's daughter of Sultan Arghûn.

His Emirs.

Jâni Beg Duladâi.

Of his Emirs, one was Jâni Beg Duladâi, the younger brother of Sultan Malek of Kâshghar. Sultan Abusaîd Mirza conferred on him the government of Samarkand, with the prime direction of Sultan Ahmed Mirza's court. He was a man of singular habits and manners, and many strange stories are related of him. Among these it is said, that, when he held the government of Samarkand, an ambassador came from the Uzbeks, who was famous among them for his strength. The Uzbeks call a very stout champion *Bûkeh*. Jâni Beg asked him, "Why do they call you Bûkeh? If you are a *Bûkeh*, come let us have a set-to." The ambassador, do what he would, was unable to get off. The Hâkim grappled with the Uzbek, who was thrown. Jâni Beg was a man of perfect courage.

Ahmed Hâji Beg.

Another of his nobles was Ahmed Hâji Beg, who was the son of Sultan Malek of Kâshghar. Sultan Abusaîd Mirza gave him the government of Heri, which he retained for some time. After the death of his paternal uncle, Jâni Beg, he was appointed to succeed him in his rank and dignity, and sent to Samarkand. He was of an ingenious and manly character, and in his poetical compositions assumed the name of Wafâi. He was the author of a Diwân,[2] and was no mean poet. The following is his:—

> Let me alone to-day, my good judge, for I am tipsy;
> Call me to account some other time, when you catch me sober.

Mîr Ali Shîr Nawâi accompanied him when he came from Heri to Samarkand; but when Sultan Hussein Mirza became King, he went to Heri, where he was received

[1] It is customary among the Tûrki tribes for the bride to continue veiled, even in her own family, for some time after her marriage. When a few days have elapsed, some child from among her relations is desired to pluck the veil off and run away. This is believed to procure the child so employed success in marriage.

[2] The composition of a Diwân is considered as the great trial of skill among the poets of Persia. It is a series of poems, in which the rhyme is taken successively from each letter of the alphabet, beginning with a poem, the rhymes of which terminate with the first letter of the alphabet, and finishing with one rhyming with the last. In these Diwâns there are generally many poems rhyming in the same letter.

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with most extraordinary favour. Ahmed Hâji Beg kept excellent horses of the breed termed Tipchâk.[1] He was an admirable horseman, and most of his Tipchâks were of his own breeding. Though a brave man, his generalship was not equal to his courage. He was careless, and left the conduct of his affairs and enterprises to his servants and dependants. When Baiesanghar Mirza attacked Sultan Ali Mirza in Bokhâra and was defeated, Ahmed Hâji Beg was taken prisoner and shamefully put to death, on the charge of the blood of Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân.[2]

Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân.

Another of his officers was Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhan, the son of Urda Bugha Terkhân,[3] and full maternal uncle of Sultan Ahmed Mirza and Sultan Mahmûd Mirza. He stood higher in rank and estimation with the Mirza than any other of the Begs. He was a good Moslem, of religious habits, and simple manners, and was constantly reading the Koran. He was very fond of chess, and played much and well. He was extremely skilful in falconry, and excelled in flying his hawks. In the troubles between Sultan Ali Mirza and Baiesanghar Mirza he died, in bad repute, in the height of his greatness.

Abdal Ali Terkhân.

Another was Abdal Ali Terkhân, a near relation of Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân; he married Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân's younger sister, who was the mother of Bâki Terkhân. Though Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân was his superior, not only according to the customs and rules of the tribe, but in rank and estimation; yet this haughty Pharaoh pretended to look down upon him. For some years he possessed the government of Bokhâra, when his servants amounted to three thousand. He maintained them well and handsomely. His information and intelligence, his forms of judicial investigation, his court, his suite, his entertainments[4] and levees, were all quite princely. He was a strict disciplinarian, tyrannical, lascivious, and haughty. Sheibâni Khan, though he did not take service with him, lived with him for some time. Many of the smaller and more inconsiderable Sultans were in his service. This Abdal Ali Terkhân was the prime cause of the rise and progress of Sheibâni Khan's fortune, as well as of the downfall and destruction of the family of the ancient Khans.

Syed Yûsef Oghlâkchi.

Syed Yûsef Oghlâkchi was another. His grandfather was from the horde of Moghuls. Ulugh Beg Mirza had promoted and patronized his father. He was a man of profound reflection and counsel, was brave, and excelled in the exercise of throwing the jerîd.[5] He was one of those who were with me when I first went to Kâbul. I

[1] Round-bodied and swift.—LEYDEN. They are taught particular paces.

[2] The Muhammedan law admitting of the doctrine of retaliation, a murderer is frequently given up to the *avengers of blood*, the nearest relations of the person murdered, by whom he is sometimes ransomed, sometimes put to death with circumstances of great cruelty.

[3] The Terkhân was originally a rank among the Moghuls and Tûrks, though in the time of Baber it had come to belong to a particular family or clan. The ancient Terkhân was exempt from all duties; he did not divide his booty even with the prince's collectors; he could go into the royal presence without asking leave, and was to be pardoned nine times, be the fault what it would. Abul-faraj, ap. Petis de la Croix's Life of Genghis, p. 49. See also Vie de Timur, vol. II. p. 107. He had perfect liberty of speech, and might say what he pleased in the royal presence.

[4] The *shilân* was an entertainment to dependants, in which food was often distributed, instead of giving a regular dinner; much as the *sportula* was given by the Roman *patroni* to their *clientes*.

[5] Both Mr Elphinstone's Tûrki copy and the Persian read, "He played well on the Kabûz," a kind of musical instrument.

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showed him great attention, and indeed he was deserving of it. The first time that I led my army against Hindustân, I left Syed Yûsef Beg behind in Kâbul, and he departed into the mercy of God that same year.

Dervîsh Beg.

There was another named Dervîsh Beg, of the race of Aiko Taimur Beg, who was a favourite of Taimur Beg's. He was extremely attached to the reverend Khwâjeh Abîd-ûlla, was skilled in the science of music, and a good performer. He had a genius for poetry. When Sultan Ahmed Mirza was routed on the banks of the Chirr, he perished in the river.

Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân.

Another was Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, who was brother of the full blood to Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân, but younger. He was for some years Hâkim or Governor of Turkestân. Sheibâni Khan took Turkestân from him. He had an excellent judgment and understanding, but was impudent and voluptuous. The second and third time that I took Samarkand he came to me, and I gave him a favourable reception. He fell in the battle of Kûl-Malek.

Bâki Terkhân.

Bâki Terkhân was another, the son of Abdal Ali Terkhân, and maternal cousin of Sultan Ahmed Mirza. After his father's death he had the government of Bokhâra. In the time of Sultan Ali Mirza, he rose to great consequence, and his retainers amounted to five or six thousand. He was far from being in a proper state of subjection or obedience to Sultan Ali Mirza. He engaged Sheibâni Khan and was defeated at the fort of Dabûsi, when Shiebâni Khan, pursuing his advantage, took Bokhâra. He was very fond of hawking, and is said to have had seven hundred falcons at one time. His manners and habits were such as cannot well be described; he was educated and grew up in the midst of magnificence and state. As his father had conferred benefits on Sheibâni Khan, he went over and joined him; but that ungenerous and ungrateful man showed not the least return of favour or kindness for the good which he had received; and Bâki Terkhâni departed this life in great wretchedness and misery, in the country of Akhsi.

Sultan Hussain Arghûn.

Another was Sultan Hussain Arghûn. As he for some time held the government of Karakûl, he was thence known by the name of Sultan Hussain Karakûli. He was a man of reflection and sound judgment, and was much with me.

Kûl Muhammed Baghdad Kochîn.

Another was Kûl Muhammed Baghdâd Kochîn, a man of courage.

Abdal Kerîm Ashret.

Abdal Kerîm Ashrat was another; he was an Yûighûr,[1] and chamberlain[2] to Sultan Ahmed Mirza. He was a man of generosity and courage.

Malek Muhammed Mirza's attempt on Samarkand.

After the death of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the Begs, having held a consultation, dispatched a messenger over the hills[3] to Sultan Mahmûd Mirza to invite him to join them. Meanwhile Malek Muhammed Mirza, who was the son of Manucheher Mirza, Sultan Abusaîd Mirza's elder brother, having separated from the camp, set out, attended by some low desperadoes and adventurers, and repaired to Samarkand for the purpose of asserting his pretensions to the sovereignty; but he could accomplish nothing,

[1] The Oighûr, Jughur, or Yûighûr, was a very celebrated Tartar tribe. They had a peculiar alphabet, and were generally chosen as secretaries to the Tartar Princes.

[2] Ishik-Agha, Master of Ceremonies.

[3] Sultan Mahmûd Mirza was then at Hissâr. The messenger, therefore, was obliged to cross the Karatagh mountains.

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Unsuccessful.

and was only the cause of his own destruction, and of the death of several innocent princes.

Sultan Mahmûd Mirza's reign in Samarkand.

Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, as soon as he received intelligence of these events, lost no time in repairing to Samarkand, and mounted the throne without any kind of difficulty. He soon, however, by some of his proceedings, disgusted both high and low, soldiery and subjects, who began to fall off from him. The first of these offensive acts regarded the Malek Muhammed Mirza, who has been mentioned, who was his uncle's son, and his own son-in-law: he sent to the Gok-serai[1] four Mirzas, two of whom he suffered to live, but murdered Malek Muhammed Mirza, and another Mirza. Though Malek Muhammed Mirza was certainly not free from blame, the other prince had been guilty of no kind of fault or crime whatever. Another circumstance which added to his unpopularity was, that though his plan of government and general arrangements were laudable, and though he was naturally just, and qualified to direct the concerns of the revenue, being well versed in the science of arithmetic, yet his temper had something in it tyrannical and profligate. Immediately on his arrival at Samarkand, he began arranging, on a new system, the whole of the regulations of government, including the expenditure and taxes. The dependents of Khwâjeh Abîd-ûlla, who, by their influence, had formerly protected many poor defenceless persons from oppression, and delivered them from difficulties, now on the contrary suffered great hardship themselves, and were exposed to much severity and oppression; nay, this severity and harsh treatment were extended even to the family of the Khwâjeh himself. What added to these evils was, that, as the Prince himself was tyrannical and debauched, his Begs and servants all faithfully imitated his example. The men of Hissâr, and particularly the body of troops that followed Khosrou Shah, were constantly engaged in debauchery and drinking; and to such a length did matters go, that when one of Khosrou Shah's retainers had seized and carried off another man's wife by force, on the husband's coming with a complaint to Khosrou Shah, he received for answer—"You have had her for a great many years; it is certainly but fair that he should now have her for a few days." Another circumstance which disgusted the inhabitants was, that none of the townsmen or shop-keepers, and not even the Tûrks and soldiers, could leave their houses, from a dread lest their children should be carried off for catamites. The people of Samarkand, who, for twenty-five years, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, had lived in ease and tranquillity, and had seen affairs in general managed according to justice and law, in consequence of the influence enjoyed by the reverend Khwâjeh, were stung to the soul at the prevalence of such unbridled licentiousness and tyranny; and great and small, rich and poor, lifted up their hands to heaven in supplications for redress, and burst out into curses and imprecations on the Mirza's head.

Causes of his unpopularity.

(*Persian*) Beware of the smoke of internal wounds;
For a wound, though hidden, will at last break out.
Afflict not, if you can, even one heart,
For a single groan is sufficient to confound a world.

[1] The Gok-serai, or Green mansion, was the prison of the Princes of the house of Taimur, which when they entered, they were never expected to return. The import of the phrase *to send to Gok-serai*, is afterwards explained.

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From the judgment that attends on such crime, tyranny, and wickedness, he did not reign in Samarkand above five or six months.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 900.[1]

Affairs of A. H. 900.

THIS year Abdal Kaddûs Beg came to me as ambassador from Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son Sultan Masaûd Mirza to Ak-Begum, the second daughter of his elder brother Sultan Ahmed Mirza, and brought me a marriage present, consisting of almonds and pistachios of gold and silver. This ambassador, on his arrival, while he openly claimed kindred to Hassan Yâkub, yet secretly pursued the object for which he had come, that of diverting him from his duty, and of gaining him over to his master's interest, by tempting offers and flattering promises. Hassan Yâkub returned him a conciliatory answer, and in reality was gained over. When the ceremonial of the congratulations on the marriage was over, the ambassador took leave. In the course of five or six months the manners of Hassan Yâkub were visibly changed; he began to conduct himself with great impropriety to those who were about me; and it was evident, that his ultimate object was to depose me, and to make Jehângîr Mirza king in my place. His deportment towards the whole of the Begs and soldiers was so highly reprehensible, that nobody could remain ignorant of the design which he had formed. In consequence of this, Khwâjeh Kazi, Kâsim Kochîn, Ali Dost Taghâi, Uzûn Hassan, and several others who were attached to my interests, having met at my grandmother Isan-doulet Begum's, came to the resolution of dismissing Hassan Yâkub, and in that way of putting an end to his treasonable views.

Treasonable views of Hassan Yâkub;

There were few of her sex who equalled my grandmother Isan-doulet Begum[1] in sense and sagacity.[2] She was uncommonly far-sighted and judicious; many affairs and enterprises of importance were conducted by her advice. Hassan Yâkub was at this time in the citadel, and my mother and grandmother in the stone fort. I proceeded straight to the citadel, in execution of the plan which had been concerted. Hassan Yâkub, who had mounted and gone a-hunting, on receiving intelligence of what was going forward, posted off for Samarkand. The Begs and others in his interest were taken prisoners. These were Muhammed Bâkir Beg, Sultan Mahmûd Douladâi, the father of Sultan Muhammed Douladâi, and some others. The greater part of them I allowed to proceed to Samarkand. Kasim Kochîn was appointed Master of the Household,[3] and received the government of Andejân.

who is forced to flee.

Hassan Yâkub, after having proceeded as far as Kandbâdâm on his way to Samarkand, a few days after, in pursuance of his treacherous intentions, resolved to make an

[1] This year commenced 2d October, A. D. 1494.
[2] She was the widow of Yunis Khan, the chief of the Moghuls.
[3] That is to say, Prime Minister.

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attempt on Akhsi; and, with that view, entered the territory of Khokân.[1] On receiving information of this, I dispatched several Begs with a body of troops to fall upon him without loss of time. The Begs having sent on some troops in advance, Hassan Yâkub, who received intelligence of the circumstance, fell by night on this advanced guard, which was separated from the main body, surrounded the quarters they had taken up for the night, and attacked them by discharges of arrows; but, having been wounded in the dark in his hinder parts, by an arrow shot by one of his own men, he was unable to retreat, and fell a sacrifice to his own misdeeds:—(Persian verse.)

Is slain.

> When thou hast done wrong, hope not to be secure against calamity;
> For its appropriate retribution awaits every deed.

This same year I began to abstain from forbidden or dubious meats;[2] and extended my caution to the knife, the spoon, and the table-cloth: I also seldom omitted my midnight prayers.

Jany. 1495. Death of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza.

In the month of the latter Rabîa, Sultan Mahmûd Mirza was seized with a violent disorder, and, after an illness of six days, departed this life, in the forty-third year of his age.

A.D. 1453.

He was born in the year 857, and was the third son of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza by the same mother as Sultan Ahmed Mirza. He was of short stature, with little beard, corpulent, and a very rough-hewn man in his appearance.

His person & features.

Manners.

As for his manners and habits, he never neglected his prayers, and his arrangements and regulations were excellent; he was well versed in calculation, and not a single dirhem or dinâr[3] of his revenues was expended without his knowledge. He was regular in paying the allowances of his servants; and his banquets, his donatives, the ceremonial of his court, and his entertainment of his dependants, were all excellent in their kind, and were conducted by a fixed rule and method. His dress was elegant, and according to the fashion on the day. He never permitted either the soldiery or people to deviate in the slightest degree from the orders or regulations which he prescribed. In the earlier part of his life he was much devoted to falconry, and kept a number of hawks; and latterly was very fond of hunting the nihilam.[4] He carried his violence and debauchery to a frantic excess; and was constantly drinking wine. He kept a number of catamites; and over the whole extent of his dominions, wherever there was a handsome boy or youth, he used every means to carry him off, in order to gratify his passion. The very sons of his Begs, nay his own foster-brothers,[5] and the

[1] Khokân, the Khwâkend of the Arabian geographers, is the modern Kokân, which lies on the road from Khojend to Akhsi.

[2] The Musulmans have many observances regarding unlawful meats, and ceremonial defilements. Some of these are not much attended to by soldiers or men in active life.

[3] The dirhem and dinar are Persian pieces of money: the former is now of the value of about fivepence halfpenny; the latter of about nine shillings.

[4] I do not know what animal the nihilam is. From its name it may perhaps be the *Nîl-gau*. It is said to be the *Gawazin kohî*.

[5] The connexion formed between foster-brothers is always very strong in rude ages. The Tûrks called them Gokultâsh, or heart of stone, to denote their unchangeable attachment. Baber often mentions his Gokultâshes with great affection.

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children of his foster-brothers, he made catamites and employed in this way. And such currency did this vile practice gain in his time, that every man had his boy; insomuch, that to keep a catamite was thought to be a creditable thing, and not to have one was regarded as rather an imputation on a man's spirit. As a judgment upon him for his tyranny and depravity, all his sons were cut off in their youth.

His genius.

He had a turn for versifying, and composed a Diwân; but his poetry is flat and insipid: and it is surely better not to write at all than to write in that style. He was of an unbelieving disposition, and treated Khwâjeh Abîd-ûllah very ill. He was, in short, a man equally devoid of courage and of modesty. He kept about him a number of buffoons and scoundrels, who acted their vile and disgraceful tricks in the face of the court, and even at public audiences. He spoke ill, and his enunciation was often quite unintelligible.

His wars.

He fought two battles, both of them with Sultan Hussain Mirza; the first at Asterâbâd,[1] in which he was defeated; the second in the territory of Andekhûd,[2] at a place named Chekmân,[3] in which likewise he was defeated. He went twice on a religious war against Kâferistân[4] on the south of Badakhshân; on which account he used in the Toghra[5] of his Firmâns the style of Sultan Mahmûd Ghâzi.[6]

His dominions.

Sultan Abusaîd Mirza bestowed on him Asterâbâd, and, after the unfortunate business of Irâk, he repaired to Khorasân. At that crisis Kamber Ali Beg, the Hâkim of Hissâr, who, according to orders which he had received from Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, was conducting the army of Hindustân towards Irâk to the assistance of that prince, had got as far as Khorasân, where he joined Sultan Mahmûd Mirza. The people of Khorasân, immediately on hearing the report of Sultan Hussain Mirza's approach, rose in revolt, and drove Sultan Mahmûd Mirza out of Khorasân; whereupon he repaired to Sultan Ahmed Mirza at Samarkand. A few months after, Syed Beder, Khosrou Shah, and some other officers, under the direction of Ahmed Mushtâk, carried off Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, and fled with him to Hissar, to Kamber Ali Beg. From that time downward, Kohlugha, with all the countries to the south of the hill of Kotin,[7] such as Termez, Cheghâniân, Hissar, Khultân, Kûndez, Badakhshân, and the districts as far as the mountain of Hindûkûsh, remained in the possession of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza. On the death of his elder brother Sultan Ahmed Mirza, that prince's territories also fell into his hands.

His family.

Sons.

Sultan Masaûd Mirza.

Baiesanghar Mirza.

Sultan Ali Mirza.

Sultan Hussain Mirza.

He had five sons and eleven daughters. The eldest of his sons was Sultan Masaûd Mirza, whose mother was Khanzâdeh Begum, a daughter of Mîr Buzûrg of Termez; another of his sons was Baiesanghar Mirza, whose mother was Pasheh Begum; a third was Sultan Ali Mirza, whose mother, Zuhreh Beghi Agha, was an Uzbek and a concubine. Another son was Sultan Hussain Mirza, whose mother was Khanzâdeh Be-

[1] On the south-east corner of the Caspian.

[2] Below the hills, west of Balkh 88 miles, towards the Desert.

[3] Mr Metcalfe's copy has *Chekmân-serâi*.

[4] The country of the Siâhposhes.

[5] The Toghra is the ornamented preamble of public papers containing the prince's titles, &c.

[6] *Ghâzi* means victorious in a holy war.

[7] The hill of Kotin seems to be the mountainous country that bounds Karatigîn on the south. Kohlugha, or Kaluga, is the Pass of Derbend (between Hissar and Kesh) where there was probably a fort.

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gum, the grand-daughter[1] of Mîr Buzûrg. He went to the mercy of the Almighty in his father's lifetime, at the age of thirteen. The other son was Sultan Weis Mirza, whose mother, Sultan Nigâr Khanum, was a daughter of Yunis Khan, and the younger sister of my mother. The transactions of these four Mirzas will be detailed in the succeeding years.

Sultan Weis Mirza.

His daughters.

Of the daughters, three were by the same mother with Baiesanghar Mirza; the eldest of whom Sultan Mahmûd Mirza gave in marriage to Malek Muhammed Mirza, the son of his paternal uncle Manucheher Mirza. By Khanzâdeh Begum, the grand-daughter of Mîr Buzûrg, he had five daughters, the eldest of whom, after the death of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, was given to Ababeker Kâshghari. The second daughter was Begeh Begum, whom Sultan Hussain Mirza, when he besieged Hissar, engaged to Haider Mirza, his son by Payendeh Sultan Begum, a daughter of Abusaîd Mirza; after which he made peace and raised the siege. The third daughter was Ak-Begum. When Sultan Hussain Mirza advanced against Kundez, Omar-Sheikh Mirza sent his son Jehangîr Mirza with the army of Andejân to succour the place; at which time the fourth princess was betrothed to Jehangîr Mirza. In the year 910, when Bâki Cheghâniâni came and met me on the banks of the Amu, these Begums were with their mothers in Termez, and they all of them came along with the wife of Bâki Cheghâniâni and accompanied me; and, on our reaching Kohmerd, Jehangîr Mirza married his bride. They had one daughter, who is at present with her grandmother Khanzâdeh Begum in Badakhshân. The fifth daughter was Zeineb Sultan Begum, whom, when I took Kâbul, I married, at the instance of my mother, Kutluk Nigâr Khanum. We did not agree very well; two or three years after our marriage she was seized with the small-pox, which carried her off. Another of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza's daughters was Makhdûm Sultan Begum, who was the elder sister of Sultan Ali Mirza, by the same mother. She is now in Badakhshân. His other two daughters were by concubines; the name of the one was Rajeb Sultan, that of the other Moheb Sultan.

A.D. 1504.

His Wives. Khanzâdeh Begum.

The chief of his wives was Khanzâdeh Begum,[1] the daughter of Mîr Buzûrg of Termez, to whom the Mirza was strongly attached, and who was the mother of Sultan Masaûd Mirza. The Mirza was deeply afflicted at her death. After that event he married the grand-daughter of Mîr Buzûrg, the daughter of a brother of Khanzâdeh Begum. She also was called Khanzâdeh Begum, and she was the mother of five daughters and one son. Another of his wives was Pasheh Begum, the daughter of Ali Shîr Beg Beharlu, one of the Begs of the Turkoman Horde of the Black Sheep. She had been married before to Muhammedi Mirza, the son of Jehân-shâh Mirza Barâni, a Turkoman of the Black Sheep. At the period when Uzun Hassan, who was a Turkoman of the White Sheep, took Azerbâejân and Irâk from the family of Jehân-shâh Mirza, the sons of Ali Shîr Beg, with four or five thousand families of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, entered the service of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza. After the defeat of the Sultan, they found their way to the countries north of the Amu: and

Another Khanzâdeh Begum.

Pasheh Begum.

[1] It is to be remembered that Sultan Mahmûd Mirza had two wives of the name of Khanzâdeh Begum, the one the daughter, the other the grand-daughter of Mîr Buzûrg.

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when Sultan Mahmûd Mirza went from Samarkand to Hissâr, they entered his service. It was at that time that the Mirza married this Pasheh Begum, who was the mother of one of his sons and three of his daughters. Another of his wives was Sultan Nigâr Khanum, whose extraction has already been mentioned in the account of the Khans. Sultan Nigâr Khanum.

He had many concubines and handmaids, the principal of whom was Zohreh Begi Agha, an Uzbek, whom he had taken in the lifetime of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza. She was the mother of one son and one daughter. By two of his numerous handmaids, he had the two daughters who have already been mentioned. His concubines.

The first of his Begs was Khosrou Shah,[1] who was from Turkestân, of a tribe of Kipchâk. In his youth he had been in the service of the Terkhân Begs, nay, had been a catamite. He next was in the service of Mazîd Beg Arghûn, who treated him with great favour. He accompanied Sultan Mahmûd Mirza in the disastrous expedition into Irâk; and, during the course of the retreat, did him such acceptable service, that the Mirza gave him high marks of his regard. He afterwards rose to an exceeding height of power. In the time of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, his dependants amounted to the number of five or six thousand. From the banks of the Amu to the mountain Hindûkûsh, the whole country, except Badakhshân, depended on him, and he enjoyed the whole revenues of it. He was remarkable for making a very extensive distribution of victuals,[2] and for his liberality. Though a Tûrk, he applied his attention to the mode of raising his revenues, and he spent them liberally as they were collected. After the death of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, in the reign of that prince's sons, he reached the highest pitch of greatness, and indeed became independent, and his retainers rose to the number of twenty thousand. Though he prayed regularly, and abstained from forbidden foods, yet he was black-hearted and vicious, of mean understanding, and slender talents, faithless, and a traitor. For the sake of the short and fleeting pomp of this vain world, he put out the eyes of one, and murdered another of the sons of the benefactor, in whose service he had been, and by whom he had been patronised and protected; rendering himself accursed of God, abhorred of men, and worthy of execration and shame till the day of final retribution. These crimes he perpetrated merely to secure the enjoyment of some poor worldly vanities; yet with all the power of his many and populous territories, in spite of his magazines of warlike stores, and the multitude of his servants, he had not the spirit to face a barn-door chicken. He will be often mentioned again in these memoirs. His Begs. Khosrou Shah.

Another was Pîr Muhammed Ilchi Bûgha, a Kochin. In the war of Hazârasp, near the gates of Balkh, he did great execution with his fists by way of bravado, in the presence of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza. He was a brave man, and always remained in the employment of the Mirza, who was much influenced by his opinions. When Sultan Hussain Mirza besieged Kundez, Pîr Muhammed, from rivalry to Khosrou Shah, made Pîr Muhammed Ilchi Bûgha.

[1] This Khosrou Shah acts a considerable part in the course of these Memoirs.

[2] These distributions of victuals were made, as has been remarked, for the purpose of acquiring and retaining followers.

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a night attack on the enemy with a handful of unarmed men, contrary to all rule, but accomplished nothing; and indeed what could be expected from an attempt made on a mighty army with such inferior force? Being hotly pursued by some light-armed horse, he threw himself into the river, and was drowned.

Ayûb. Another was Ayûb, who had served Sultan Abusaîd Mirza in the band of Khorasân Youths. He was a man of courage, and was Beg Utke (or governor) to Baiesanghar Mirza. He was moderate in his table and dress, and of an humorous, lively turn. Sultan Mahmûd Mirza having called him Bîhyâ (or shameless), the epithet stuck to him.

Wali. Wali was another of them, the younger brother of the full blood of Khosrou Shah. He took good care of his servants. It was, however, at the instigation of this man, that Sultan Masaûd Mirza was blinded, and Baiesanghar Mirza put to death. He was in the habit of speaking ill of everybody behind their backs. He was a foul-tongued, scurrilous, self-conceited, scatter-brained fellow. He never approved of any thing or any person, but himself or his own. When I separated Khosrou Shah from his servants in the country of Kundez, in the vicinity of Kîlkâi and Doshi, and dismissed him, Wali, from dread of the Uzbeks, went to Anderâb and Sirâb. The Aimaks of these quarters defeated and plundered him, and he afterwards came to Kâbul with my permission. Wali subsequently went to Muhammed Sheibâni Khan, who ordered his head to be struck off in Samarkand.

Sheikh Abdulla Birlâs. Another of his chiefs was Sheikh-Abdulla Birlâs. He married Shah Sultan Muhammed's daughter,[1] who, by the mother's side, was aunt to Sultan Mahmûd Khan and Ababeker Mirza. He wore his frock very strait and tightened by a belt. He was an upright, unaffected man.

Mahmûd Birlâs. Another was Mahmûd Birlâs, who was of the Birlâses of Nundâk. He had attained the rank of Beg in Sultan Abusaîd Mirza's time. When that prince subdued the territories of Irâk, he gave Kermân to this Mahmûd Birlâs; and at a later period, when Ababeker Mirza, accompanied by Mazîd Beg Arghûn, and the Begs of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, came against Sultan Mahmûd Mirza at Hissâr, and the Mirza fled to Samarkand to his elder brother, Mahmûd Birlâs refused to surrender Hissâr, and manfully held it out. He was a poet, and composed a Diwân.

Khosrou Shah expelled from Samarkand. After Sultan Mahmûd Mirza's death, Khosrou Shah wished to conceal the event, and seized upon the treasure. How was it possible that such an event could remain concealed? It was instantly noised about among all the towns-people and inhabitants of Samarkand. That day happened to be a great festival; the soldiery and citizens, rising tumultuously, fell upon Khosrou Shah. Ahmed Hâji Beg and the Terkhân Begs, having allayed the tumult, sent off Khosrou Shah towards Hissâr. Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, in his lifetime, had given Hissâr to his eldest son Sultan Masaûd Mirza, and Bokhâra to Baiesanghar Mirza, and sent them away to their governments, so that, at this time, neither of them was at hand. After the expulsion of Khosrou Shah, the

[1] Shah Sultan Muhammed, King of Badakhshân, has already been mentioned as the father of Shah Begum, who was one of the wives of Yunis Khan, and mother of the Great and Little Khans, and their two sisters.

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Begs of Samarkand and Hissâr having met and consulted together, sent an express to Baiesanghar Mirza, who was in Bokhâra, and, bringing him to Samarkand, placed him on the throne. When Baiesanghar became king he was only eighteen years of age. Baiesanghar Mirza is raised to the throne.

At this crisis, Sultan Mahmûd Khan, at the instigation and by the advice of Sultan Jûneid Birlâs and some of the chief men of Samarkand, advanced with an army against that capital, as far as Kanbâi, which lies in the territory of Samarkand. Baiesanghar Mirza, with the utmost activity and vigour, led out a strong and well-appointed body of troops, and engaged him not far from Kanbâi. Haider Gokultâsh, who was the great pillar of the Moghul army, and commanded the advanced guard, had dismounted with all his men, who were actively employed in shooting their arrows.[1] The instant that the resolute mailed warriors of Samarkand and Hissâr charged keenly on horseback, the whole of Haider Gokultâsh's division, which had dismounted, was ridden down and trampled under the horses' feet. After the discomfiture of this body, the rest of the army no longer made a stand, but were totally defeated. A vast number of Moghuls perished; so many of them were beheaded in the presence of Baiesanghar Mirza, that they were forced three several times to shift his pavilion, in consequence of the heaps of slain that lay before it.[2] Sultan Mahmûd Khan invades Samarkand. but is defeated.

At this same time Ibrâhim Sâru, who was of the tribe of Minkaligh, who had been brought up from his infancy in my mother's service, and had attained the dignity of Beg, but who had afterwards been dismissed on account of some misdemeanour, now entered the fort of Asfera, read the Khutbeh (or public prayer for the Prince) in the name of Baiesanghar Mirza, and commenced open hostilities against me. In the month of Shâbân I made the army mount, and marched to quell the revolt of Ibrâhim Sâru; and in the end of the month I came to my ground and invested the place. The very day of our arrival, the young warriors, in the wantonness of enterprise, immediately on reaching the foot of the walls, mounted a rampart that had been recently built, and entered and took an outwork that had just been finished. Syed Kâsim, the chamberlain,[3] this day acted the most distinguished part, pushed on before the other assailants, and laid about him with his scymitar. Sultan Ahmed Tambol, and Muhammed Dost Taghâi, also wielded their scymitars gallantly; but Syed Kâsim gained the Ulûsh[4] (or prize of valour). The Ulûsh (or prize of valour) is an ancient usage that is retained among the Moghuls. In every entertainment and feast, he who has most distinguished himself by the gallant use of his sword, takes the Ulûsh, or prize of valour. When I went to Shahrokhîa to visit my maternal uncle Sultan Mahmûd Khan, Syed Kâsim claimed and received the Ulûsh. In this first day's action, Khoda-berdi, my governor,[5] was struck with an arrow from a cross-bow[6] and died. As the troops had rushed into the enterprise without armour, several of them were slain, and a great many wounded. Ibrâhim Sâru revolts in Asfera. May 1495. Is besieged by Baber;

[1] Leyden has, *in throwing up entrenchments*, which would be convenient for the sense, if the words would admit of it. The *shibeh* is a kind of forked arrow, often mentioned in the Memoirs.

[2] The prisoners were brought out one after another, and had their heads struck off before the royal tent.

[3] Ishek Agha.

[4] Ulûsh is an Arabic word, signifying the food left after a feast. The honour seems nearly to correspond with the Aristeia of the Greeks.

[5] Atkeh.

[6] Tîr-takhsh also means a rocket. See the Burkân-e-kataa.

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Ibrâhim Sâru had with him a cross-bow man, who shot astonishingly well, I never met with his equal, he wounded a great many of my people. After the surrender of the castle, he entered into my service.

As the siege drew out to some length, orders were given to construct, in two or three places, the works called *Sir-kob*,[1] to run mines, and to use every exertion to get ready whatever machines or works were wanted for pushing on the siege. The siege lasted forty days; but, at last, Ibrâhim Sâru, being reduced to the last extremity, made his offers of unlimited submission through the medium of Khwâjeh Moulâna Kazi; and, in the month of Shawal, having come out and presented himself before me with a scymitar suspended from his neck,[2] delivered up the fort.

and taken. June, A. D. 1495.

Khojend had, for a long period, belonged to Omar-Sheikh Mirza, but, during the wars at the close of his reign, it had been occupied by Sultan Ahmed Mirza. As I had advanced so near it, I determined, situated as matters were, to proceed against it. Abdal Wahâb Shaghâwal, the father of Mîr Moghul, commanded in the place; and, immediately on my approach, without making any difficulty, surrendered the fortress.

Baber recovers Khojend;

At this period, Sultan Mahmûd Khan happened to be in Shahrokhîa. Some time before, when Sultan Ahmed Mirza advanced into the territory of Andejân, the Khan, on his side, laid siege to Akhsi, as has been mentioned. It occurred to me, that, as we were now so near, and as he stood in the relation of a father and elder brother to me,[3] I ought to go and pay him my respects, and dispel from his mind any misunderstanding that might exist in consequence of past events; a line of conduct which I perceived would be attended with this farther advantage, that it would enable me to form a nearer and better idea of the real state of things at his court.

and visits Sultan Mahmûd Khan.

Having formed this resolution, I went on, and waited on the Khan in the neighbourhood of Shahrokhîa,[4] in a garden which had been laid out by Haider Beg. The Khan was seated in a pavilion erected in the middle of the garden. Immediately on entering it, I made three low bows. The Khan returned my salutation by rising from his seat and embracing me; after which I went back and again bowed once; when the Khan, inviting me forward, placed me by his side, showing me every mark of affection and kindness. In the course of one or two days afterwards, I set out by way of Kundezlik and Amâni,[5] and proceeded towards Akhsi and Andejân. When I arrived at Akhsi, I went and visited the tomb of my father. Leaving Akhsi, on a Friday, about noon-day prayers, I proceeded towards Andejân, by the route of Bend-Sâlâr, and arrived between evening and bed-time prayers. The road by Bend-Sâlâr is nine farsangs.

Returns by way of Akhsi.

[1] *Sir-kob* is a framework constructed of carpentry, or a mound of earth, equal in height to the wall, or overtopping it.

[2] This usage is to show that the person so coming surrenders at discretion, and considers himself as ready for execution.

[3] As the remains of the patriarchal system were still strong among the Moghuls and Tûrks, great respect was paid to the father or chief person of the family; and the forms of this respect subsisted, both in language and ceremony, long after the reality had ceased.

[4] Shahrokhîa, formerly Benâket, stands on the Sirr, between Khojend and Tâshkend.

[5] The road by Kundezlik and Amâni seems to have been that generally pursued in going from either Tâshkend or Shahrokhîa to Akhsi.

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Among the inhabitants of the wilds of the country of Andejân, there is one tribe, named Jagrag, which is very numerous, consisting of five or six thousand families. They reside in the mountains that lie between Ferghâna and Kâshghar. They have great numbers of horses and sheep; and on these mountains, instead of the common ox, they have the Kitâs, or mountain ox, in great numbers; and as they inhabit mountains difficult of access, they will not pay tribute. Having, therefore, given Kâsim Beg the command of a strong force, I dispatched him against the Jagrag, to seize some of their property, that there might be something to give the troops. Kâsim Beg accordingly proceeded against them, and took twenty thousand sheep and fifteen hundred horses, which were divided among the soldiers of the army. Plunders the Jagrag.

After the return of the army from the country of the Jagrag, I proceeded against Uratippa, which had long been subject to Omar-Sheikh Mirza, but had been lost the year of his death. It was at present held for Baiesanghar Mirza by his younger brother, Sultan Ali Mirza. Sultan Ali Mirza, on receiving information of my approach, escaped alone to the hill-country of Masîkha, leaving his governor, Sheikh Zûlnûn, in Uratippa. While on the road, after I had passed Khojend, I dispatched Khalîfa as my envoy to Sheikh Zûlnûn, to communicate with him; but that wrong-headed man, instead of returning a suitable answer, seized on Khalîfa, and gave orders that he should be put to death. Such, however, was not the pleasure of God; and Khalîfa escaped, and, two or three days afterwards, returned back to me, naked and on foot, after having endured a thousand distresses and hardships. I went forward, and entered the territory of Uratippa; but as winter was now near at hand, the inhabitants had taken in all their grain and provender for that season, so that in a few days I was obliged to march back on my return to Andejân. After my departure, the Khan's people attacked Uratippa, and the inhabitants being unable to resist, were obliged to surrender the city. The Khan gave Uratippa to Muhammed Hussain Korkân, in whose hands it remained from that time till the year 908.[1] Marches against Uratippa. A. D. 1502.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 901.[2]

Sultan Hussain Mirza having led an army from Khorasân against Hissâr in the winter season, arrived at Termez.[3] Sultan Masaûd Mirza, on his part, also collected an army, advanced towards Termez, and took post in front of him, to prevent his crossing the Amu. Khosrou Shah, having fortified himself in Kundez, sent his younger Sultan Hussain Mirza marches against Hissâr.

[1] In that year it was taken by Sheibâni Khan.
[2] The year of the Hejira 901 commences 21st September, A. D. 1495.
[3] Termez is the chief passage over the Amu, between Balkh and Hissâr.

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brother, Wali, to join Masaûd's army.[1] Sultan Hussain Mirza spent the greater part of the winter on the banks of the river, without being able to effect a passage. Finally, however, being an experienced and intelligent general, and full of expedients, he marched up the river towards Kundez; and, after having by this manœuvre put the opposite army off their guard, he dispatched Abdallatîf Bakhshi, who was an excellent officer, with five or six hundred chosen men, down to the passage of Kilif. Before the enemy were apprized of his motions, Abdallatîf Bakhshi had made good his passage with his whole party at the ferry of Kilif,[2] and fortified a position on the opposite bank of the river. When this intelligence reached Sultan Masaûd Mirza, in spite of the warmest instances of Khosrou Shah's brother Wali, who strongly urged an immediate attack on that part of the enemy's army which had passed, the Sultan, either from want of courage, or misled by the advice of Baki Cheghaniâni, who hated Wali, would not march against them, but, breaking up in terror and confusion, took the road to Hissâr. Sultan Hussain Mirza having passed the river, detached Bedîaez-Zemân Mirza, Ibrahîm Hussain Mirza, Muhammed Wali Beg, and Zûlnûn Arghûn, without loss of time, against Khosrou Shah, and sent Muhammed Berenduk Birlâs against Khutlân; whilst he himself advanced upon Hissâr. On learning the news of his near approach, Sultan Masaûd Mirza no longer thought himself safe even in Hissâr; but flying up the river Kamrûd,[3] by way of Siretâk, went to join his younger brother Baiesanghar Mirza, in Samarkand. Wali drew off towards Khutlân; while Bâki Cheganiâni, Mahmûd Birlâs, and Sultan Ahmed, the father of Kuch Beg, fortified themselves in Hissâr. Khamzeh Sultan and Mehedi Sultan, who, several years before, had separated themselves from Sheibâni Khan, and had been entertained in the service of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, with a body of Uzbeks; and Muhammed Doghlet and Sultan Hussain Doghlet, who, with a band of Moghuls, had settled in the country of Hissâr, all now, in this general dispersion, retired towards Karatigîn.

Sultan Masaûd Mirza retires to Hissâr;

and flees thence to Samarkand. His chief nobles disperse;

Sultan Hussain Mirza being informed of these proceedings, dispatched Abul Hassan Mirza with a body of troops to the valley of Kamrûd, in pursuit of Sultan Masaûd Mirza. They overtook him at the pass, but were able to effect nothing of importance. Mirza Beg Feringi distinguished himself by his bravery. The Sultan also dispatched Ibrahîm Terkhân and Yâkub Ayûb with a considerable detachment, against Khamzeh Sultan and the Moghuls, who had taken refuge in Karatigîn. The detachment having overtaken them in that country, an engagement ensued, and Sultan Hussain Mirza's troops were defeated. The greater part of the Begs were dismounted and taken prisoners, but afterwards suffered to depart. Khamzeh Sultan, Mehedi Sultan, and Mamak Sultan, the son of Khamzeh Sultan, Muhammed Doghlet, who was afterwards better known by the name of Muhammed Hissâri, Sultan Hussain Doghlet, and such

and are pursued.

Several of them join Baber.

[1] Sultan Musaûd Mirza, it will be recollected, was the eldest son of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, whom he had nominally succeeded in the sovereignty of Hissâr and the adjoining countries. The real authority was in the hands of Khosrou Shah.

[2] Kilif is on the Amu, below Termez. The expression rather imports *ford of Kilif*, but it may be doubted if there is any ford so low down.

[3] The Kamrûd river descends from the Kâra-tagh mountains, flowing S. E. towards Hissâr.

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of the Uzbeks as depended on the Sultans, along with the Moghuls who had settled in the country of Hissâr, and who had been in the service of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, after giving me due notice of their approach, came to Andejân, in the month of Ramzân. On this occasion I received them sitting on a toshak, according to the custom of the sovereigns of the house of Taimur. When Khamzeh Sultan, with Mehedi Sultan and Mamak Sultan entered, I rose to do them honour, and descending from the toshak, embraced them, and placed them on my right hand on a baghish.[1] A body of Moghuls, commanded by Muhammed Hissâri, also came and entered into my service. May or June, 1496.

Sultan Hussain Mirza having invested the fort of Hissâr, encamped and busied himself, without rest or intermission, night and day, in running mines, in assaulting the fort, in battering it with shot[2] and planting cannon. Mines were run in four or five places. The mine which advanced towards the city-gate having made great progress; the besieged countermined, discovered it, and from above introduced smoke upon those in the mine:[3] the besiegers, on observing this, instantly closed up the hole of the mine. This was no sooner effected than the smoke was forced back on the besieged, who were obliged to retreat in their turn, nearly suffocated. At length having brought pitchers of water, they poured them into the mine, and drove out the besiegers. On another occasion, a party of active warriors having sallied out from the fort, attacked a party of the besiegers who were stationed at the mine, and drove them off. Sultan Hussain Mirza besieges Hissar.

On the north side, again, where the Mirza in person was encamped, a battering piece was set a-going, which threw such a multitude of stones, that one of the towers was shaken, and fell about bed-time prayers. A party of warriors, with the greatest alacrity, asked permission to storm, which the Mirza refused to grant, alleging that the night was too dark. Before morning, however, the garrison had repaired the tower, so that then no attack was practicable. For two months, or two months and a half, nothing was attended to except pushing on the work, the running of mines, the raising of works[4] to overtop the wall, and discharging of stones.[5] There was no fine fighting.

Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza, with the detachment sent by Sultan Hussain Mirza against Khosrou Shah, having encamped three or four farsangs[6] below Kundez, Khosrou Shah immediately armed and marched out of that place with such of his troops as he had left with him,[7] and next morning came down upon Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza and his army; when that mighty body of Mirzas, and Begs, and Chiefs, who, with their men, Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza marches against Kundez.

[1] The *toshak* seems to have been a quilt, or cushion, on a platform elevated above the rest of the apartment; the *baghish* were probably cushions, or carpets.

[2] Lit. *In casting stones*, that is, *in discharging shot*. *Seng* means a *bullet* as well as a stone, the first bullets having generally been of stone.

[3] Probably by throwing in smoke-balls and stink-pots.

[4] Sirkob.

[5] *Sengha*, stones or bullets, that is, either from cannon or manjanils, but probably from the former.

[6] The Tûrki has *ighaj*, farsangs; the commentary explains it *mîl*, which would be 3000 large, and 4000 smaller cubits. See Graves's *Abulfeda*.

[7] A great part of his force had been dispersed on the retreat of Sultan Masaûd Mirza.

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if they were not double the number of Khosrou Shah's party, were at least one and a half times the number, consulting only their own comfort and safety, did not dare to leave their trenches. Khosrou Shah's force, good and bad, great and small, might perhaps amount to four or five thousand. And this Khosrou Shah, who, for the sake of this fleeting, unstable world, and for the vanity of being attended by a set of faithless servants, did so many bad actions, earned such a portion of infamy, and was guilty of so much tyranny and injustice; who seized so many extensive countries, and entertained so many adherents and soldiers, that, at last, his army amounted to twenty or thirty thousand men, while the countries and districts which he had occupied, exceeded in extent those of his sovereign and his Mirzas, in the whole course of his life, had only this one exploit to boast of, to entitle him or his adherents to lay claim to the praise of generalship or bravery; while those who did not venture out of their trenches from fear, became notorious for want of spirit, and their cowardice passed into a standing reproach.

But is forced to retreat.

Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza, having decamped, halted after some marches at Talikân[1] in the Ulugh Bagh.[2] Khosrou Shah remained in the fort of Kundez, and sent his brother Wali with a chosen body of well-appointed troops to Ishkamish,[3] Fûlûl, and the skirts of that hill-country, to hang upon the rear of the enemy, and to harass them in their march. On one occasion Mohib Ali Korchi, accompanied by a body of well-armed warriors, having fallen in with a party of the enemy on the banks of the river of Khutlân,[4] completely discomfited them. On another occasion he again attacked a party of their troops, and returned, after dismounting some of their men, and cutting off a few heads. In emulation of these exploits, Sîdîm Ali Derbân, and his younger brother Kuli Beg, with Behlul Ayub and a party of spirited young men, having overtaken the army of Khorasân at Amberkoh, near Khwâjeh Changal,[5] charged them on their march, but without success; and Sîdîm and Kuli Baba, with a whole body of their followers, were dismounted and made prisoners.[6]

Sultan Hussain Mirza raises the siege of Hissâr.

When news of these transactions reached Sultan Hussain Mirza, whose army, besides, was not without apprehensions on account of the spring rains of Hissâr, he patched up a peace; in consequence of which Mahmûd Birlâs having come out of the fort, and being met on the part of the besiegers by Haji Pir Bekâwal with a few great lords; and such musicians and singers as were to be got being collected, the eldest daughter of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza by Khanzâdeh Begum was given in marriage to Haider Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Hussain Mirza by Payendeh Sultan Begum, and grand-son of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza by one of his daughters; after which the Sultan broke up from Hissâr and took the route of Kundez.

Advances to Kundez and makes peace.

Having reached Kundez, he drove in all the enemy's parties, and set about making

[1] Talikân lies nearly 60 miles higher up the river than Kundez.
[2] That is, the Great Garden.
[3] Ishkamish lies higher up the Aksera river than Kundez, on the Bangi branch of it.
[4] The Persian has Silâb.
[5] Khwâjeh Changal lies on the Talikân river about fourteen miles below that place.
[6] The above paragraph is not in Dr Leyden's manuscript, and is taken from the other copies.

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his arrangements for the siege; but Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza having interposed as mediator, a peace was concluded; and, all prisoners made on both sides being mutually delivered up, the army retired.

The elevation of Khosrou Shah, and all his subsequent doings, so much out of his sphere, were entirely owing to the two expeditions of Sultan Hussain Mirza to reduce him, and to the retreat of that monarch without effecting his purpose.

Gives Balkh and Asterâbâd to his two sons.

When Sultan Hussain Mirza reached Balkh, in order the better to watch the potentates of Mâweralnaher, he gave Balkh to Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza, and the province of Asterâbâd to Muzaffer Hussain Mirza; and made them both kneel at the same levee[1] for the grant of these provinces. This arrangement gave great offence to Badîa-ez-Zemân,[2] and was the original cause of his engaging in a long series of rebellions and revolts.

May or June, 1496. Revolt of the Terkhâns in Samarkand.

Baiesanghar Mirza unpopular with them.

In the same month of Ramzân, the rebellion of the Terkhâns broke out in Samarkand. It was occasioned by the conduct of Baiesanghar Mirza, who held much greater intercourse with the Begs and soldiers of Hissâr, and behaved towards them with much more confidence and familiarity, than he did towards those of Samarkand. Sheikh Abdulla Birlâs was a Beg of high rank, and prime minister; such was the intimacy and attachment subsisting between his sons and the prince, that they had all the appearance of standing to each other in the relation of mistress and lover. This gave great offence to the Terkhân Begs, and to several of the nobles of Samarkand, so that in the end Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân leaving Bokhâra, brought Sultan Ali Mirza from Karshi,[3] proclaimed him king; and advanced along with him to Samarkand to the New Garden,[4] where Baiesanghar Mirza then resided. Having seized that prince by stratagem, they separated him from his servants and retainers, conducted him to the citadel, and put the two Mirzas in one place. About afternoon prayers they had a consultation, and came to the severe resolution of sending the Mirza to Gokserâi. Baiesanghar Mirza, under pretence of a necessary occasion, entered an edifice on the north-east of the palace gardens. The Terkhâns waited without at the door, while Muhammed Kuli Kochin and Hassan Sherbetchi entered along with him. In the back part of this house, into which the Mirza had gone under the pretence that has been mentioned, there was a door through which there had formerly been a passage out, but which had been closed up by brick on edge. The young prince contrived to throw down some of the bricks, got out, effected his escape from the citadel on the Ghadfer side of the bastion, and, descending by the Aqueduct, threw himself over the dotihi[5] or parapet wall. He betook himself to Khwâjeh Kafshîr, to the house of Khwâjehka Khwâjeh. Those who waited without, after a certain time, having entered to look after him, found that the Mirza had escaped.

Sultan Ali Mirza proclaimed king.

Baiesanghar seized, but escapes.

[1] This ceremony of kneeling, or rather bending the knee, to the prince on receiving a grant, was equivalent to an acknowledgment of vassalage.

[2] Badîa-ez-Zemân insisted that his father had previously made a grant of Asterâbâd to Muhammed Momin Mirza, a son of Badîa-ez-Zemân, and the young Mirza was now in possession of it.

[3] Karshi lies south of Kesh.

[4] *Bagh-e-nou.*

[5] The dotihi is a double wall that projects from fortifications in order to enclose and cover a road which generally leads down to water.

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Next morning the Terkhâns collected round the house of Khwâjehka Khwâjeh, demanding the prince; but the Khwâjeh refused to deliver him up; while they, on the other hand, dared not seize him by force, the Khwâjeh's influence being too great to permit them to make such an attempt. After one or two days, Khwâjeh Abul Makârim, Ahmed Hâji Beg, and some others of the Begs and soldiers, with a multitude of the town's-people rising tumultuously, brought away the Mirza from the Khwâjeh's house, and besieged Sultan Ali Mirza and the Terkhâns in the citadel, which they were unable to hold out for a single day. Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân escaping by the gate of the four roads,[1] proceeded to Bokhâra; while Sultan Ali Mirza, with Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân, fell into the hands of the assailants.

The inhabitants rise and expel the Terkhâns.

Baiesanghar Mirza was in Ahmed Hâji Beg's house when Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân was brought in. One or two questions were put to him, to which he gave no satisfactory answer; and indeed the business in which he had been engaged was not such as admitted of it. He was ordered to be put to death. He showed a want of firmness, and clung to a pillar;[2] but this did not save him, and he received his punishment. Sultan Ali Mirza was ordered to be conducted to Gok-serâi, and to have the *mîl* or fire-pencil applied to his eyes. The Gok-serâi is one of the palaces which Taimur Beg built;[3] it is situated in the citadel of Samarkand. It is remarkable on this account, that every prince of the race of Taimur who is elevated to the throne, mounts it at this place; and every one who loses his life for aspiring to the throne loses it here. Insomuch, that it has passed into a common expression, that such a prince has been conducted to the Gok-serâi, a hint which is perfectly well understood to mean, that he has been put to death. Sultan Ali Mirza was accordingly carried to Gok-serâi, and had the fire-pencil applied to his eyes; but whether it happened from the surgeon's want of skill, or from intention, no injury was done to them. Without disclosing this circumstance, he went to Khwâjeh Yahîa's house, and, after two or three days, fled, and joined the Terkhâns at Bokhâra. From this period an enmity subsisted between the sons of the reverend Khwâjeh Abîd-ulla, for the elder became the spiritual guide of the elder prince, and the younger of the younger. In a few days Khwâjeh Yahîa followed him to Bokhâra.

Sults Ali Mirza sent to Gok-serâi;

but escapes,

Baiesanghar Mirza, having collected an army, advanced towards Bokhâra against Sultan Ali Mirza; but when he arrived in the vicinity of that city, Sultan Ali Mirza and the Terkhân Begs, having arrayed their force, marched out, and a trifling action ensued, which terminated in favour of Sultan Ali Mirza, Baiesanghar Mirza being

and defeats Baiesanghar Mirza.

[1] *Derwâzeh chehâr-râheh.*

[2] Probably with a reference to the usage of the Tartars and Arabs, with whom the pole that supports the tent is sacred and considered as a sanctuary; a reverence in some situations transferred to the pillar of a house.

[3] It is curious that though Gok-serâi, the green palace, is here said to be one of the palaces built by Taimur Beg, we are told by Petis de la Croix, Hist. of Genghis Can, p. 171, that that conqueror put to death Gayer Khan, who made the brave defence of Otrar, *in the palace of Gheucserai*, and the same fact is repeated p. 227, and said to have taken place in Gheucserai, without the city of Samarkand. Perhaps Taimur Beg only rebuilt the palace, or the *proverbial saying*, applied by a later historian, may have produced the mistake.

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defeated. Ahmed Hâji Beg was taken prisoner, with a number of his best troops, the greater part of whom were put to death. The male and female servants and slaves of Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân, under pretence of revenging the blood of their master, put Ahmed Hâji Beg to a miserable death. Sultan Ali Mirza pursued Baiesanghar Mirza as far as Samarkand.

Baber marches against Samarkand.

This intelligence reached me at Andejân in the month of Shawal,[1] and in that same month I too mounted and set out with my army to attempt the conquest of Samarkand. As Sultan Hussain Mirza had retired from Hissâr and Kundez, and as Sultan Masaûd Mirza and Khosrou Shah had recovered from their alarm, Sultan Masaûd Mirza now likewise, on his side, advanced by Shehrsebz,[2] in order to assert his pretensions to Samarkand. Khosrou Shah sent his younger brother Wali to accompany the Mirza. For three or four months Samarkand was thus beleaguered on three sides; when Khwâjeh Yahia came to me from Sultan Ali Mirza, with proposals for an alliance and confederacy between us, and managed matters so successfully that a personal conference was agreed upon. I therefore moved with my army three or four farsangs,[3] on the Soghd side of Samarkand, and he also came from the opposite direction with his army towards the same place. Sultan Ali Mirza then advancing on his side with four or five persons, and I on mine with the same number, we had an interview on horseback in the midst of the river Kohik; and after a short conference, he returned towards his own side and I to mine. On that occasion I saw Mulla Binâi and Muhammed Saleh, who were with the Khwâjeh. Muhammed Saleh I never saw except on this occasion; but Mulla Binâi[4] was afterwards for some time in my service.

Samarkand invaded on three sides.

Baber's interview with Sultan Ali Mirza.

After this conference with Sultan Ali Mirza, as the winter season was fast approaching, and great scarcity prevailed in the country of Samarkand, I returned to Andejân, and Sultan Ali Mirza to Bokhâra. Sultan Masaûd Mirza being deeply enamoured of the daughter of Shiekh Abdulla Birlas, married her; and renouncing his schemes of ambition, returned to Hissâr. Nay, this was his only object in advancing against Samarkand.

The invaders all retire.

About this time Mehedi Sultan fled from the territory of Shirâz and Kanbâi and went to Samarkand; and Khamzeh Sultan, having received my permission, also went from Ramîn and repaired to the same place.

[1] The month of Shawal A. H. 901, begins 13th June 1496.

[2] Or Kesh, S. E. of Samarkand.

[3] About fourteen miles; the Persian has *kharaa* (kos), which would be probably six or seven miles.

[4] A particular account of Mulla Binâi is afterwards given in describing the eminent men of Sultan Hussain Mirza's Court. He was distinguished as a man of letters and a wit.

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THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 902.[1]

DURING this winter the affairs of Baiesanghar Mirza had attained their most prosperous situation. Abdal Kerîm Ashret having advanced on the part of Sultan Ali Mirza to Kôfîn and its environs, Mehedi Sultan issued from Samarkand with Baiesanghar Mirza's light troops, and attacked him by surprise. Abdal Kerîm Ashret and Mehedi Sultan having met face to face, engaged each other with their scymitars. Abdal Kerîm's horse fell with him, and, as he was in the act of rising, Mehedi Sultan struck a blow that severed his wrist; after which he took him prisoner and completely defeated the invaders. These Sultans, however, perceiving that the affairs of Samarkand and the court of the Mirzas were in complete disorder, availed themselves of their foresight and went off to join Sheibâni Khan.

Mehedi Sultan defeats Abdal Kerîm.

Elated by the issue of this skirmish, the men of Samarkand assembled and marched out in array to meet Sultan Ali Mirza. Baiesanghar Mirza advanced to Sirepûl, and Sultan Ali Mirza to Khwâjeh Kardzin. At this same time, Khwâjeh Abul Makârim, with Weis Laghari, Muhammed Bâkir, and Mîr Kâsim Dûldâi, who were of the Begs of Andejân, acting on the advice of Khwâjeh Murâd, set out one night with a party of the household and retainers of Baiesanghar Mirza, intending to surprise Bokhâra. Before they reached the city, however, the people of Bokhâra were alarmed, and the attempt failed; so that they were obliged to return back without effecting anything.

Unsuccessful attempt to surprise Bokhâra.

In my conference with Sultan Ali Mirza, it had been settled, that, in the summer, he should advance from Bokhâra, and I from Andejân, to form the siege of Samarkand. According to this agreement, in the month of Ramzân, I mounted, and proceeded from Andejân to Yar-Ilâk, where, having received information that the Mirzas were lying front to front, I dispatched Tûlûn Khwâjeh Moghul, with two or three hundred skirmishers, to advance on them with all expedition. By the time that they got near, Baiesanghar Mirza being apprized of our approach, broke up and retreated in great disorder. The detachment, that same night, having overtaken their rear, killed a number of men with their arrows, took a great many prisoners, and acquired much booty. In two days I arrived at the fortress of Shirâz,[2] which at that time belonged to Kâsim Dûldâi. The commandant whom he had left in the place not being able to maintain it, delivered up the fortress, which I committed to the charge of Ibrahîm Saru. Next morning, after having performed the prayers of the *Idi-Fitr*,[3] I proceeded towards Samarkand, and halted in the fields of Abyâr.[4] The same day, Kasim

Baber marches against Samarkand. May 1497.

2d June 1497.

[1] The year A. H. 902 begins on the 9th September 1496.

[2] The Shirâz here spoken of lies about 25 miles north of Samarkand.

[3] The *Id-al-fitr* is the festival of the first new moon in Shawal, when the long fast of Ramzân finishes. The first appearance of the new moon is watched for as the end of the fast, and is instantly announced, as the signal of joy, from the minarets of the mosques.

[4] Fields of Abyâr, the *Kurûgh* of Abyâr. These *Kurûgh* are retired fields, in which the Prince in the summer months encamps to enjoy the season, taking the females of his family with him. The outskirts of them are carefully guarded by patroles, to keep off intruders.

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Duldâi, Weis Laghari, Hassan Nabîreh, Sultan Muhammed Sighel, and Sultan Muhammed Weis, with three or four hundred men, came and entered into my service. Their story was, that, as soon as Baiesanghar Mirza began his retreat, they had left him, and come to offer their services to the King. I afterwards discovered, however, that, at the time of parting from Baiesanghar Mirza, they had undertaken to defend the fortress of Shirâz, and had set out with that intention; but that, on discovering how things stood with regard to Shirâz, they found that there was nothing left for it but to come and join me.

Kâsim Beg puts some Moghuls to death.

When I halted at Kara-bûlâk, many straggling Moghuls, who had been guilty of great excesses in different villages through which they had passed, were seized and brought in. Kâsim Beg ordered two or three of them to be cut to pieces, as an example. Four or five years afterwards, during my difficulties, when I went from Masîha to the Khan, Kâsim Beg found it necessary to separate from me on account of this very transaction,[1] and went to Hissâr.

Baber encamps at Yâm.

Marching from Kara-bûlâk, I crossed the river, and halted near Yâm. The same day, some of my principal Begs attacked a body of Baiesanghar Mirza's troops on the Khiabân[2] (or public pleasure-ground) of the city. In this skirmish, Sultan Ahmed Tambol was wounded in the neck with a spear, but did not fall from his horse. Khwâjehka Mullai, the Sadder (or chief judge), who was the elder brother of Khwâjeh Kilân, also received an arrow in the neck, and, on the spot, departed to the mercy of God. He was a man of worth. My father had shown him marks of regard, and appointed him keeper of the seal. He was a man of learning, and had great knowledge of language. He excelled in falconry, and was acquainted with magic.[3] While we were in the vicinity of Yâm, a number of persons, both traders and others, came from the town to the camp-bazar, and began to traffic, and to buy and sell. One day, about afternoon prayers, there was suddenly a general hubbub, and the whole of those Musulmans were plundered. But such was the discipline of my army, that, on my issuing an order that no person should presume to detain any part of the effects or property that had been so seized, but that the whole should be restored without reserve, before the first watch of the next day was over, there was not a bit of thread or a broken needle that was not restored to the owner.

Moves to Yuret-Khân.

Marching thence, I halted at Yuret-Khân,[4] about three kos to the east of Samarkand. I remained forty or fifty days on this station; and during our stay there many sharp skirmishes took place on the Khiabân (or pleasure-ground of the city), between our people and the townsmen. In one of these actions, Ibrâhim Begchick received a

[1] From an apprehension that the relations of the Moghuls so punished would prosecute the revenge of blood.

[2] The Khiabân so often mentioned, is a large avenue, planted with several parallel rows of trees, and spreading over a considerable extent of ground, where the townspeople come out in the evening, or on holidays, to divert themselves. The dressed walks of a garden inclosed by low shrubs often receive the same name.

[3] *Yedehgeri* is properly the art of bringing on rain and snow by means of enchantment and sorcery.

[4] Yuret-Khân means in Turki the Khan's mansion or station. Three kos may be about five miles.

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sabre wound in the face, from whence he was always afterwards called Ibrâhim Chapuk (or Slashed-face.) On a different occasion, in the Khiabân, at the bridge over the Moghâk,[1] Abul Kâsim Kohbûr laid about him with his piâzi[2] (or mace) in grand style. At another time, and also in the Khiabân, in the vicinity of Ternau, there was a skirmish, in which Mîr Shah Kochin distinguished himself with his mace, but received such a dreadful wound from a scimitar, that his neck was half cut through; the arteries, however, luckily were not separated.

Attempt to surprise Samarkand.

While we remained at Yuret-Khân, the townspeople treacherously sent a man, who was instructed to tell us, that, if we would come by night on the side next the Lover's Cave,[3] they would deliver the fort into our hands. Seduced by this promise, we mounted at night, and advanced by the bridge over the Moghâk,[4] whence we sent on a small party of chosen horse, with some foot soldiers, to the appointed place. The people of the town seized and carried off four or five of the foot-soldiers, before the rest were aware of the treachery. They were most active men. The name of one of them was Hâji, who had attended me from my infancy. Another was Mahmûd Gundaalasang.[5] They were all put to death.

While we remained in this station, so many of the townspeople and traders came from Samarkand, that the camp was like a city,[6] and you could find in the camp whatever is procurable in towns. During this interval, the inhabitants surrendered to me the whole country, the castles, the high lands and low, except the city of Samarkand. A small body of troops had fortified the castle of Urgut, at the foot of the hill of Shah-dâr, which obliged me to decamp from the Yuret, and march against them.

Urgut surrenders.

Being unable to maintain the place, they availed themselves of the mediation of Khwâjeh Kazi, and surrendered. I received their submission, and returned to invest Samarkand.

Rupture between Sultan Hussain and Badîa-ez-zemân.

This same year, the misunderstanding that had previously subsisted between Sultan Hussain Mirza and Badîa-ez-zemân came to an open rupture. The circumstances are as follows:—In the course of last year, Sultan Hussain Mirza had given Balkh to Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, and Asterâbâd to Muzaffer Hussain Mirza, and had received their submission on receiving the grant, as has been mentioned. From that time down to the present, a number of ambassadors had been coming and going between them. Ali Shîr Beg himself had at last been sent as ambassador, but, with all his endeavours, he could not prevail on Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza to give up Asterâbâd to his younger brother. That prince asserted, that, at the circumcision of his son Muhammed Momin Mirza, the Mirza had made him a grant of it. An incident one day oc-

[1] *Pûl-e-Moghâk* may, however, be the name of a village. The Moghâk runs a little east of Samarkand.

[2] The *piâzi* was a sort of mace, which had a set of steel balls fastened to its head by short chains, the whole strongly fixed on a wooden handle. It was a formidable weapon, much used by the warriors in the Shahnameh.

[3] Ghâr-Ashikân. [4] Pûl-e-Moghâk. [5] Guz-sagik.—*Pers.*

[6] This friendly intercourse between enemies bespeaks an advanced state of civilization, and seems to indicate that the long-continued prosperity of Samarkand, from the time of Taimur Beg downwards, had produced the usual effects of refinement, mildness of manners, and mutual confidence.

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curred between the Mirza and Ali Shîr Beg, which equally proves the Mirza's sagacity and presence of mind, and the acute feelings of Ali Shîr Beg. Ali Shîr Beg had repeated a good many confidential circumstances in a whisper to the Mirza, and, when he concluded, said, "Now, don't forget what I have mentioned." The Mirza, on the spot, answered, with apparent indifference, "Pray, what was it you mentioned?" Ali Shîr Beg was deeply affected, and cried bitterly.

At last, the discussion between the father and son came to such a pitch, that the father marched against the father, and the son against the son,[1] towards Balkh and Asterâbâd.

Sultan Hussain Mirza advancing up the country, and Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza marching down, the two armies encountered below Girzewan,[2] in the meadows of Yekchirâgh. On Wednesday the first of Ramzân, Abul Hassan Mirza, and some of Sultan Hussain Mirza's Begs, having pushed on with a detachment of troops as a plundering party, routed Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza after what could hardly be called an action. Many young cavaliers of his party were taken prisoners. Sultan Hussain Mirza ordered the whole of them to have their heads struck off. Nor in this instance alone; on every occasion when any of his sons rebelled and was defeated, he uniformly ordered every one of their adherents who fell into his hands to be beheaded. And why not? he had right on his side. These Mirzas were so extravagantly addicted to vice and pleasure, that, regardless of the approach of their father, a prince of great wisdom and experience, who had come from such a distance, and regardless of the holy and blessed month of Ramzân, of which only a single night had been enjoyed; without any reverence for their father, and laying aside the fear of God, they only thought of drinking wine and revelling in wantonness. But most certain it is that such conduct inevitably leads to destruction; and that they who so demean themselves will inevitably fall before the first attack. Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza had held the government of Asterâbâd for several years. During all that time, the young cavaliers, both in that place and its environs, were all arrayed in gay and gallant attire. He had many arms and accoutrements of silver and gold, much furniture of rich cloth, with innumerable Tipchâk horses. All these he now gave to the wind. In his flight by the rugged mountain route, he came on a dangerous precipitous road, which they descended with great difficulty. Many of his men perished at this precipice.

3d May 1497.

Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza defeated.

After the defeat of his son, Sultan Hussain Mirza advanced to Balkh, which Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza had left in charge of Sheikh Ali Taghâi, who found nothing left for it but to surrender the fortress. Sultan Hussain Mirza having given Balkh to Ibrâhim Hussain Mirza, and left with him Muhammed Wali Beg and Shah Hussain Chihreh, himself returned back to Khorasân.

Loses Balkh.

Badîâ-ez-zemân Mirza, after his defeat, being in great distress, and stript of every-

[1] That is to say, in consequence of the dispute between Muzaffer Hussain Mirza and Muhammed Momin Mirza, matters proceeded to such lengths, that Sultan Hussain Mirza, the father of Muzaffer Hussain Mirza, advanced with an army towards Balkh against Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, the father of Muhammed Momin Mirza; and Muzaffer Hussain Mirza, the son of Sultan Hussain Mirza, led an army towards Asterâbâd against Muhammed Momin Mirza, the son of Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza.—*Persian note.*

[2] Girzewân lies between Balkh and Herât, three or four marches south west of Balkh.

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Takes refuge with Khosrou Shah.

thing, accompanied by such of his men old and young, horse and foot, as still adhered to him, proceeded to Kûndez to Khosrou Shah, who gave him a handsome reception, and did him all manner of service. He was so liberal in equipping the Mirza and all that accompanied him with horses, camels, tents, pavilions, and military furnishings of every description, that such as saw them, confessed that there was no difference between their former and present arms or accoutrements, excepting that they were not mounted with gold and silver.

Khosrou Shah sends him against Hissâr.

As some misunderstandings and differences had arisen between Sultan Masaûd Mirza and Khosrou Shah, occasioned by the ungovernable ambition of the latter, he now sent his brothers Wali and Baki, accompanied by Badiâ-ez-zemân Mirza, to attack Sultan Masaûd Mirza in Hissar. They were not able to approach the fortress, but, in the environs and vicinity, there was some sharp sword-play on both sides. On one occasion at Kosh-Khaneh,[1] on the north of Hissâr, Mohib Ali Korchi, having pushed forward and advanced in front of the rest of the troops, distinguished himself by his bravery. At the moment when he was unhorsed and taken prisoner, his own party made a push and rescued him. A few days after, a hollow peace was concluded, and the army retired.

He repairs to Zulnûn Arghûn.

Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza soon afterwards set out, by the mountain route, towards Kandahâr and Zemîn-dâwer,[2] to Zulnûn Arghûn and his son Shah Shujaa Arghûn. Zulnûn, in spite of his avarice and stinginess, gave the Mirza a good reception. He presented him with forty thousand sheep as a single peshkesh.[3] It is a very singular circumstance that Muzaffer Hussain Mirza defeated Muhammed Momin Mirza at Asterâbâd on the very Wednesday on which Sultan Hussain Mirza defeated Muhammed Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza; and what adds to the oddity of the coincidence is, that Chehar-shembeh (Wednesday) was the name of the person who dismounted and made Muhammed Momin Mirza prisoner.

His son Muhammed Momin defeated and taken prisoner.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 903.[4]

Baber continues the blockade of Samarkand.

We now encamped behind the Baghe-Meidân,[5] in the meadow of Kulbeh. On this occasion the men of Samarkand, both soldiers and townsmen, sallied out in great numbers on the side of Muhammed Châp's bridge, and came upon us. As my people were off their guard, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, the enemy dismounted Sultan Ali Baba Kuli and carried him off into the town.

[1] *Kosh-khaneh.* The hawk-house.

[2] Zemîn-dâwer lies west of the Helmend below the hills, and on the right bank of the Siahbend river.

[3] The *peshkesh* is the tribute given to a superior prince.

[4] The year 903 begins on the 30th of August 1497. It may be worth while to observe, that it was in the end of this year of the Hejira that Vasquez de Gama landed at Calicut.

[5] The Garden of the plain.

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A few days after, we marched and encamped on the hill of Kohik, on the side of Kulbeh. That same day Syed Yûsef Beg came out of Samarkand, and having waited upon me at this station, entered into my service. The men of Samarkand, when they saw us on our march from the one station to the other, fancying that I had taken my departure, rushed out in great numbers, both soldiers and citizens, and advanced as far as the Mirza's bridge; and poured out by the Sheikhzâdeh's gate as far as Muhammed Châp's bridge. Orders were immediately issued for the cavaliers who were on the spot, to arm without loss of time, and to charge the enemy on the two flanks, both towards the Mirza's bridge, and towards Muhammed Châp's bridge. God prospered our proceedings—the enemy were defeated. Numbers of Begs and horsemen were dismounted and taken prisoners. Among these were Muhammed Miskîn and Hâfez Duldâi. The latter was wounded with a sabre, and had his fore-finger cut off. Muhammed Kâsim Nabîreh, the younger brother of Hassan Nabîreh, was dismounted and taken. Many other officers and fighting men of some note and distinction were also brought in. Of the lower order of townspeople there were taken Diwâneh, a Jameh-weaver,[1] and one nicknamed Kilmasuk, who were notorious as the chief ringleaders of the rabble, in fighting with stones and heading riots. They were directed to be put to death with torture, in retaliation for the foot-soldiers who had been slain at the Lover's Cave.

The defeat of the men of Samarkand was decisive; from that time forward they never sallied out, and matters came to such a pass, that our people advanced right up to the edge of the ditch, and carried off numbers of male and female slaves close under the walls.

The sun had now entered the sign of the Balance,[2] and the cold was becoming severe. I assembled the Begs and held a consultation, when we agreed, that the townspeople were reduced to great distress; that, with the blessing of God, we were likely to take the place in a very few days; but that, as we were exposed to great inconvenience from being encamped in the open country, we should for the present break up from before the city, and construct winter quarters for ourselves in some neighbouring fort; that then, should we finally be obliged to draw off, we might do so without confusion. The fort of Khwâjeh Didâr seemed the fittest for our purpose. We therefore marched from our position, and halted in a plain in front of Khwâjeh Didâr. After visiting the fort, and marking out the ground for the huts and houses, we left workmen and overseers to go on with the work, and returned to our camp. During several days, while the houses for the winter quarters were building, we remained encamped on the plain. Meanwhile Baiesanghar Mirza sent repeated messengers into Turkestân[3] to Sheibâni Khan, inviting him to come to his assistance. As soon as the erections in the fort were finished, we took up our quarters in it.

Retires to Khwâjeh Didâr.

The very next morning Sheibâni Khan, who had hastened by forced marches from

[1] The *Jameh* is a gown or tunic.

[2] It was the end of September or beginning of October.

[3] This is the Turkestân north-west of Tashkend, north of the Sirr, and east of the Aral, where the head-quarters of the Uzbeks were, previous to their conquest of Bokhâra.

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Sheibâni Khan appears before Khwâjeh Didâr;

Turkestân, advanced and presented himself before my cantonments. My army was in rather a scattered state, some of my people having gone to Rabat-Khwâjeh-Ameh,[1] some to Kâmid, other the Shirâz, for the purpose of securing proper winter quarters. Without being dismayed by these circumstances, however, I put the forces which were with me in array, and marched out to meet the enemy; when Sheibâni Khan did not venture to maintain his ground, but drew off towards Samarkand, and halted in its environs. Baiesanghar Mirza, disappointed on finding that Sheibâni Khan could not render him the effectual assistance which he had hoped for, gave him but an indifferent reception; and, in the course of a few days, Sheibâni Khan, seeing that nothing could be done, returned back in despair to Turkestân.

but returns to Turkestân.

Baiesanghar Mirza escapes from Samarkand,

Baiesanghar Mirza had now sustained the blockade for seven months, and had placed his last hope in this succour. Disappointed in this too, he resigned himself to despair, and, accompanied by two or three hundred hungry and naked wretches, set out for Kundez to take refuge with Khosrou Shah. In the environs of Termez, while he was passing the river Amu, Syed Hussain Akber, the Hâkim or Governor of Termez, who was related to Sultan Masaûd Mirza, and high in his confidence, having received notice of his motions, advanced against him. The Mirza himself had just passed the river, but several of his men and horses that had fallen behind, were taken. Mirim Terkhân perished in the stream. One Muhammed Taher, a boy of Baiesanghar Mirza's, was taken prisoner. Baiesanghar Mirza met with a good reception from Khosrou Shah.

and takes refuge with Khosrou Shah.

Baber enters Samarkand.

No sooner had Baiesanghar Mirza fled from Samarkand, than I received notice of the event. We instantly mounted and set out from Khwâjeh Didâr, for Samarkand. On the road we were met by the chief men of the city, and by the Begs; and these were followed by the young cavaliers, who all came out to welcome me. Having proceeded to the citadel, I alighted at the Bostân Serai;[2] and, towards the end of the month of the first Rabîa, by the favour of God, I gained complete possession of the city and country of Samarkand.

The end of November 1497.

Description of Samarkand.

In the whole habitable world there are few cities so pleasantly situated as Samarkand. It is situated in the fifth climate, in lat. 39° 37′, and long. 99° 16′.[3] The city is named Samarkand, and the country Mâweralnaher.[4] As no enemy has ever stormed or conquered it, it is termed *the protected city*. Samarkand embraced Islâm in the reign of Osman the Commander of the Faithful, through the means of Kâsim-ibn-Abâs, who visited the city. His tomb is close by the Iron-gate, and is at present denominated Mazâr-i-Shah, or the Shah's tomb. The city of Samarkand was founded by Sekander.[5] The Moghul and Tûrki Hordes term it Samarkand.[6] Taimur Beg made it his capital. Before Taimur Beg, no such great monarch had ever made it the seat of his government. I directed its wall to be paced round the rampart, and

[1] Or Ghek.
[2] Garden Palace.
[3] This is the calculation in Ulugh Beg's tables. The longitude is from Ferro.
[4] This is, the country *beyond the river* Amu.
[5] Alexander the Great.
[6] The Persians and Arabs call it Samarqand, the Tûrks Samarkand, the former using the guttural *Kaf*, the latter the common one.

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found that it was ten thousand six hundred paces in circumference.[1] The inhabitants are all orthodox Sûnnis, observant of the law, and religious. From the time of the Holy Prophet, downwards, no other country has produced so many Imâms and excellent theologians as Mâweralnaher. Among these is the great Imâm Sheikh Abul Mansûr Materîdi, the eminent scriptural expositor, who was of the quarter of Materîd in the city of Samarkand. There are two sects of scriptural expositors, or *Aimeh Kelâmi*, the one called *Materîdiah*, the other *Ashaariah*. This Sheikh Abul Mansûr[2] was the founder of the sect of Materîdîah. Another man of eminence was the Sahib Bokhâri,[3] Khwâjeh Ismâel Khertang, who was also of Mâweralnaher. The author of the Hedâya,[4] too, a work in jurisprudence, than which, according to the sect of Imâm-Abu Hanifeh, there is none of greater or of equal authority, was of Marghinân in Ferghâna, which is likewise included in Mâweralnaher, though it lies on the farthest bounds of the populous cultivated country.

The eminent theologians of Mâweralnaher.

On the east it has Ferghâna and Kâshghar; on the west Bokhâra and Khwârizm; on the north Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa, which are usually written Shâsh and Benâket; and on the south Balkh and Termez. The river Kohik flows from the north of Samarkand, and passes at the distance of two kos[5] from the city. Between the river and the city there is a rising ground called Kohik; and as the river flows close by the base of this hillock, it thence gets the name of the river of Kohik. A great stream, or rather a small river, separating itself from the Kohik, flows on the south of Samarkand under the name of the river Darghâm. It may be about a sharaa coss[6] from Samarkand, and the gardens and suburbs of Samarkand lie on its banks. The whole country as far as Bokhâra and Kara-kûl, which is an extent of nearly forty farsangs,[7] is covered with population, and the fields cultivated by irrigation from the river Kohik; which, large as it is, barely suffices for the drains made on it for the cultivation of the fields, and for the use of palaces and country houses; insomuch that, for three or four months during the summer heats, the waters do not reach Bokhâra. The fruits of Samarkand of every species, especially the grapes, melons, apples, and pomegranates, are of excellent quality, and produced in great abundance. Samarkand is, however, particularly famous for two kinds of fruit, the apple and a species of grape named *Sâhibi*.[8] Its winter is severe, but less snow falls than at Kâbul. It has a fine climate, but its summer does not equal that of Kâbul.

Its boundaries,

Rivers,

Fruits,

There are many palaces and gardens that belonged to Taimur Beg and Ulugh Beg, both in Samarkand and the suburbs. Taimur Beg built, in the citadel[9] of Samar-

Public buildings.

[1] This would make it about five miles in circumference. [2] See D'Herbelot, Art. Matridi.

[3] Some curious anecdotes of Abu Abdal la Muhammed bin Ismael Al Jofi may be found in D'Herbelot Art. Bokhâri. He passed the latter part of his life in Khertenk, a quarter of Samarkand, whence his sirname.

[4] This work, written in Arabic by Burhan-ed-din Al Marghinâni has been translated into English by Captain Charles Hamilton, in 4 vols. 4to. Baber does not mention the famous Abu-Ali Sena (or Avicenna) a native of Bokhara.

[5] Three or four miles. [6] Rather more than a mile and a half. [7] One hundred and sixty miles.

[8] A species of grape named Sahib is produced at the present day at Aurungabad in the Dekhan, and is in great estimation.

[9] Sherifeddin says (Hist. de Timur Bec. vol. I. p. 91), that when the Getes besieged Samarkand, in

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kand, a stately palace, four stories high, which is famous by the name of Gok-serai. There are many other magnificent edifices. One of these is the grand mosque, which is situated near the Iron-gate, within the walls of the city, and is built of stone. A number of stone-cutters were brought from Hindûstân to work on it.[1] In the frontispiece over the portico of the mosque, is inscribed the verse of the Koran, *Wa az yerfâ Ibrâhîm al Kawâdeh*,[2] &c. in characters of such a size that they may be read nearly a kos off. It is a very grand building. To the east of Samarkand there are two gardens. The one, which is the more distant, is called *Bagh-e-Boldi* (or the Perfect Garden); the nearer, *Bagh-e-Dilkushâ* (or the Heart-delighting Garden). From the Bagh-e-Dilkushâ to the Firozeh gate[3] there is a Khiabân (or public avenue), planted on each side with pine-trees. In the garden of Dilkushâ, there has also been built a large Kioshk or palace, in which is a series of paintings, representing the wars of Taimur Beg in Hindûstân. There is another garden, on the skirts of the hill of Kohik, on the banks of the Ab-Siah (black-water) of Kanegûl, which they call *Ab-e-Rahmet*, (or the Water of Mercy), and this is denominated Naksh-e-Jehan (the Miniature of the World). When I saw it, it had fallen into decay, and nothing worthy of notice was left. On the south of Samarkand lies the Bagh-e-Chenâr (the Plane-Tree Garden), which is in the immediate vicinity of the city. Lower down than Samarkand are the Bagh-e-Shemâl (or Northern Garden), and the Bagh-e-Behisht (or Garden of Paradise). Muhammed Sultan Mirza, the son of Jehangîr Mirza, and grandson of Taimur Beg, founded a college just as you go out of the stone fort of Samarkand. The tomb of Taimur Beg, and the tombs of all such of the descendants of Taimur Beg as have reigned in Samarkand, are in that college.

Ulugh Beg's college, &c.

Among the edifices erected by Ulugh Beg Mirza are the college and convent, or Khankah,[4] which stand within the fortifications of Samarkand. The door of the con-

Timur's time, there was then no citadel. Yet Ebn Haukul, p. 253, mentions a citadel as existing in his time; and Petis de la Croix the elder mentions the Gheuk-serai in Gengis-Khan's time.—See Note p. 40.

[1] The account given by Sherifeddîn Ali Yezdi of the building of this mosque is curious.—See *Hist. de Timur Bec*, vol. III. p. 178-181. The stone-cutters, 200 in number, came from Azerbaejân, Fars, and India. There were 480 pillars of hewn stone, each seven cubits high. The Baghe-Shimâl, at Samarkand, was built by workmen from Syria and Bagdad, who seem to have excelled in delicate ornaments, in a species of Mosaic, and in the construction of fountains and jets-d'eau.—Ibid. vol. IV. p. 179, and vol. II. p. 409. The great similarity observable in all Musulman sacred architecture, leads us to suppose that it proceeded from one common origin, which was probably Damascus or Jerusalem, these being the first great cities which they occupied. The architecture of some favourite edifices there was probably their model. The same uniformity that is observable in Musulman mosques is found in Christian churches of the middle ages, and from a similar cause. The plans and chief workmen were probably principally from Rome. In the construction of the famous monastery of Mount Cassino, built by Desiderio, afterwards Pope Victor III., the columns and marbles of different colours were brought ready cut from Rome at a great expense. The best workmen came from Constantinople.—*L'Esprit des Croisades*, vol. II. p. 428. Some work on the architecture of the eastern nations is much required.

[2] These words, *Wa az yerfâ*, &c. are from the second chapter of the Koran:—"And Ibraham and Ismael raised the foundations of the house, saying, Lord! accept it from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth: Lord! make us also resigned unto thee, and show us thy holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art easy to be reconciled, and merciful."—*Sale's Koran*, vol. I. p. 24.

[3] Turquoise gate.

[4] The Mahometan religion has its ascetics, who are united in convents. They are found principally in Persia and Turkey.

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vent is of great magnitude, and, indeed, scarcely to be equalled in the world. In the vicinity of this college and convent there is an excellent set of baths, known by the name of the Mirza's baths. The floor is paved with stones of every sort in chequer-work.[1] There are no baths to equal them in all Khorasân or Samarkand.

On the south of this college is situated a mosque, which is called Mesjid-e-Makatâ (or the Carved Mosque), because its timbers are curiously carved[2] with ornaments and flowers of various kinds, and the whole of the walls and roof are adorned in the same manner. The direction of the Kibleh[3] of this mosque is very different from that of the college; and the probability is, that the Kibleh of the former was adjusted by astronomical observation.

Another remarkable edifice is the observatory, erected on the skirts of the hill of Kohik, which is provided with an astronomical apparatus, and is three stories in height. By means of this observatory, Ulugh Beg Mirza[4] composed the Zich-Korkâni (or Korkâni Astronomical Tables), which are followed at the present time, scarcely any other being used. Before they were published, the Ilkhâni Astronomical Tables were in general use, constructed by Khwâjeh Nasîr in the time of Holâkû, in an observatory built at Marâgha. Holâkû Khan was also denominated Ilkhâni. Not more than seven or eight observatories have been constructed in the world. Among these, one was erected by the Khalif Mâmûn, and in it the astronomical Tables entitled Zîch Mâmûni were drawn up. Another was built by Btalmiûs.[5] Another was the observatory erected in Hindustân, in the time of Raja Bikermâjet, a Hindû, in Ujein and Dhâr, in the kingdom of Malwah, now known as the kingdom of Mândû. The Hindûs still follow the astronomical tables which were then constructed. Since the building that observatory till the present time[6] is 1584 years. These tables are, however, more imperfect than any of the others.

At the foot of the hill of Kohik, on the west, there is a garden, named Bagh-e-meidân (the Garden of the Plain), in the middle of which is a splendid edifice, two stories high,

[1] This floor seems to have been ornamented with mosaic work.

[2] I am informed that there is an old mosque at Delhi, in the fort, which goes by the name of Shir Shah, which is said to have furnished the model of this at Samarkand. It is added, that it is easily seen to be ancient by the architecture. It is covered with Arabic inscriptions, and is still a very striking edifice.

[3] The *Kibleh* is the point to which the Musulmans turn in prayer. The black stone, or *kaaba*, in the temple of Mekka, is their Kibleh.

[4] The illustrious Ulugh Beg Mirza, who governed Samarkand nearly forty years, chiefly in his father's lifetime, devoted much of his leisure to study, and was particularly skilled in the mathematical sciences. The task of composing the astronomical tables which go under his name was first intrusted to Moulâna Selâh-ed-din Mûsa, better known by the name of the Kazi-zadeh Rûmi. On his death, it devolved on Moulâna Ghiâs-ed-din Jemshid; and he having died in the course of the work, they were completed by Ibn Alî Muhammed Koshji, generally called Alî Koshji. Graves pretends, that he heard from a Turk worthy of credit, that the radius of the quadrant used by Ulugh Beg in his observations, was equal to the height of St Sophia's. Ulugh Beg is said to have himself assisted in the composition of the Tables.

[5] Ptolemy, the Geographer.

[6] This remark would seem to fix the period when Baber composed this part of his Commentaries at A. H. 934, or A. D. 1527-8, that being the 1584th year of the era of Vikram-aditya, only three years before his death.

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named Chehil-Sitûn (the Forty Pillars). The pillars are all of stone. In the four turrets in the corners of this building, they have constructed four Guldestehs,[1] or minarets, the road up to which is by these four towers. In every part of the building are stone pillars curiously wrought; some twisted, others fluted, and some with other peculiarities. The four sides of the upper story consist of open galleries, supported by pillars all of stone; and in the centre is a grand hall or pavilion,[2] likewise of stone. The raised floor of the palace is all paved with stone. Towards the hill of Kohik there is a small garden, wherein is a great open hall, within which is a large throne of a single stone, about fourteen or fifteen gez[3] in length, seven or eight in breadth, and one[4] in height. This huge stone was brought from a great distance. There is a crack in it, which it is said to have received since it was brought to this place. In this garden, there is another state pavilion, the walls of which are overlaid with porcelain of China, whence it is called the Chinese House. It is said that a person was sent to Khitâ,[5] for the purpose of bringing it. Within the walls of Samarkand is another ancient building, called the Laklaka (or Echoing) Mosque; because, whenever any person stamps on the ground in the mosque, an echo (Laklaka) is returned. It is a strange thing, the secret of which is known to nobody.

In the time of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, many of the greater and lesser Begs formed gardens, some large, others smaller. Among these, the Chehar-Bagh[6] of Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân, in respect of climate, situation, and beauty, is equalled by few. It is situated lower down than the Bagh-é-meidân, on a small eminence that rises above the valley of Kulbeh, and commands a view of the whole vale, which stretches out below. In this Chehar-Bagh, there is a variety of different plots laid out one above another, all on a regular plan, and elms, cypresses, and white poplars, are planted in the different compartments. It is a very perfect place. Its chief defect is, that it has no great stream of running water.

Its bazars and manufactures.

Samarkand is a wonderfully elegant city. One of its distinguishing peculiarities is, that each trade has its own bazar; so that different trades are not mixed together in the same place. The established customs and regulations are good. The bakers' shops are excellent, and the cooks are skilful. The best paper in the world comes from Samarkand. The species of paper called *juaz* comes entirely from Kanegil, which is situated on the banks of the Abe-Siâh (Black Water), called also the Abe-Rahmet (or Water of Mercy). Another production of Samarkand is the Kermezi[7] (or crimson velvet), which is exported to all quarters.

The valleys in its vicinity:

Around Samarkand are five aulengs (or meadows). One of these is famous, under

[1] The Guldesteh is a minaret, or any high turret-like building; it is generally built with open galleries or corridors, and with a winding staircase to ascend to its summit.

[2] Châr-dereh.

[3] Twenty-eight or thirty feet long, fourteen or sixteen broad, and two high.

[4] The Persian has a gez a and a half, which is three feet.

[5] Northern China.

[6] *Chehar-Bagh*, or *Char-Bagh*, means Four-Gardens. It is generally a very large and elegant garden. It perhaps had this name from having been originally laid out in four principal plots, with two avenues crossing each other at right angles in the centre. It is said to have been usual to lay out the different plots or divisions in different styles. Now, however, the term is applied to any large and elegant garden.

[7] Hence the *cramoisy* of our old ballads.

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the name of Kanegil. It lies to the east of Samarkand, but a little inclining to the north. It may be about a shiraa kos[1] off. The Abe-Rahmet (or Water of Mercy) runs through the midst of it, and has volume enough to drive seven or eight mills. The banks of this stream are full of quagmires. Many allege that the original name of this meadow was *Aulengi Kâne-Abgir* (the Meadow of Quagmires); but in histories it is always denominated *Kane-Gil* (the Clay-Pits).[2] The Sultans of Samarkand were accustomed to guard this vale as a *Kurûgh*,[3] and were in the habit of taking up their residence for two or three weeks annually in this meadow. The Kanegil.

Higher up than this meadow, to the south-east, lies another, called the Yuret-Khan (or Khan's halting-place). It is to the east of Samarkand, about one shiraa kos. The Abe-Siâh (Black Water), after passing through it, proceeds on to Kanegil. The river winds round the Yuret-Khan in such a manner as to leave room within for an army to encamp. The roads leading from it are very narrow. Perceiving the excellence of this position, I encamped here for some time during the siege. The Yuret-Khan.

Another is the Kurûgh meadow, which lies between the Bagh-e-Dilkushâ and Samarkand. Another meadow is that of Kûle Moghâk, which lies to the west of Samarkand, but inclining to the north, at the distance of two shiraa kos. This is also a pleasant valley. On one side of it is a large reservoir or piece of water (Kûl), whence it is called the meadow of Kûl-e-Moghâk. During the siege of Samarkand, when I was encamped at Yuret-Khan, Sultan Ali Mirza took up his station on this plain of Kûl-e-Moghâk. The Kurûgh meadow. The Kûl-e-Moghâk (or Mughâk Pool).

Another is the meadow of Kulbeh, which is but small. On the north it has the village of Kulbeh and the river of Kohik; on the south, the Bagh-e-meidân and the Chehâr-Bagh of Dervîsh Muhammed Terkhân; on the east, the hill of Kohik. The Valley of Kulbeh.

Samarkand has many provinces and Tumâns. One of the largest of its provinces, and which comes near to Samarkand, is Bokhâra, lying to the west of Samarkand twenty-five farsangs.[4] Bokhâra is a fine city, and has seven Tumans or districts, each of them resembling a town. Its fruits are both abundant and of good quality, particularly its melons, which are exquisite; the melons of Bokhâra are not to be equalled in all Mâweralnaher, either for quantity or excellence. Though, at Akhsi, in the country of Ferghâna, there is one extremely sweet and delicate species of melon, which they call Mîr Taimûri, yet, in Bokhâra, there is a profusion of melons of every description, and all good of their kind. The pruin or plum of Bokhâra is also celebrated, and nowhere else is that fruit to be found in equal perfection. They peel off the rind of this fruit, and dry it,[5] after which it is carried as a most acceptable rarity to other countries. As a laxative, it is a medicine of approved excellence. The household fowl and goose are here of a good breed. In all Mâweralnaher there is no wine superior, in spirit and strength, to that of Bokhâra. When I drank wine at Samarkand, in the days when I had my drinking-bouts, I used the wine of Bokhâra. Its Tumâns and provinces. Bokhâra.

[1] More than a mile and a half.
[2] See Hist de Taimur Bec, vol. I. 96; vol. II. 133 and 421.
[3] See Note p. 42.
[4] About 100 miles.
[5] Perhaps the meaning of this only is, that they take out the stone.

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Kesh. Another province is Kesh, to the south of Samarkand, at the distance of nine farsangs.[1] Between the cities of Kesh and Samarkand lies a hill, called Amak Dayân, from which all the stones brought to the city are quarried. In the spring, the plains, the town of Kesh, the walls and terraces of the houses, are all green and cheerful, whence it is named *Sheher-Sebz* (the Green City). As Kesh was the place of Taimur Beg's nativity, he made incredible exertion to extend and render it his capital. He built a number of magnificent edifices, and, among others. a lofty Tâk, or arched hall, for holding his court. On the right and left of this great Tâk, he constructed two smaller Tâks (or arched halls), for the convenience of the Begs who attended the court. And, for the benefit of those who came to wait the result of their applications, smaller Tâks and saloons were constructed on all sides of the great hall of audience. There is not in the world any Tâk or arch that can be compared with the large one, which is said to exceed even the Tâk-e-Kesra.[2] In Kesh there is a college and mausoleum, in which are the tombs of Jehângîr Mirza and of several of his family. As, however, Kesh was found not to possess the same requisites for becoming a great city as Samarkand, Taimur Beg at last fixed on Samarkand as his capital.

Karshi. Another province is Karshi, which they also call Nesef and Nakhsheb. Karshi is a Moghul word, signifying a burial-ground. It probably received this name after the conquest of Chengis Khan. It is deficient in water, but is very pleasant in spring. Its apricots and melons are excellent. It is situated south of Samarkand, inclining towards the west, at the distance of eighteen farsangs.[3] There is a small bird resembling the Baghri Kara (black-liver[4]), which they call Kilkûirogh (horse-tails). They are innumerable in the district of Karshi, and, from the quantity of them there found, they get the name of Murghak-Karshi (the small fowl of Karshi).

Khozar. Another district is that of Khozar.

Karmîna. Karmîna is another; it lies between Samarkand and Bokhâra.

Karakûl. There is another district named Karakûl (the black lake), which lies lower down the river than any of the rest. It is seven farsangs[5] to the north-west of Bokhâra, and has some very fine Tumâns.

Soghd. Some of the richest Tumâns are those of Soghd, and the Tumâns connected with Soghd, which commence not far from Bokhâra, and proceed without interruption to their termination at Yar-ilâk. There is not one farsang the whole way that does not contain some populous village. It was in allusion to these Tumâns that Taimur Beg used to boast that he possessed a garden thirty farsangs[6] in length.

Shâdwâr. Another Tumân is that of Shâdwâr, which lies close upon the city and suburbs. It is a very fine Tumân. On one side of it is the hill which lies between Samarkand and Shehr-Sebz; and the greater part of its villages lie scattered on the skirts of that hill. On the other side it has the river Kohik. The temperature of the air is charming; the appearance of the country beautiful, water abundant, and provisions cheap.

[1] About 36 miles.
[2] The Tâk-e-Kesra, below Bagdâd on the Tigris, is 105 feet high, 84 feet span, and 150 feet deep.
[3] About 72 miles. [4] Probably the rock pigeon of India.
[5] About 28 miles, it should be south west. [6] A hundred and twenty miles.

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Those who have travelled in Misr and Shâm[1] acknowledge that nothing there is comparable to it. Though there are other Tumâns dependant on Samarkand, yet they are not equal to those which have been mentioned.

Succession of Princes in Samarkand.

Taimur Beg conferred the government of Samarkand on his son Jehângîr; and after the death of Jehângîr Mirza, he gave it to that prince's eldest son, Muhammed Sultan. Jehângîr-Shahrokh Mirza conferred the government of all the provinces of Mâweralnaher on his own eldest son Ulugh Beg Mirza, from whom it was taken by his son Abdal-latîf Mirza; who, for the sake of the enjoyments of this fleeting and transitory world, murdered his own father, an old man so illustrious for his knowledge. The date of the death of Ulugh Beg Mirza is contained in the following memorial verses:[2]

Ulugh Beg, the ocean of learning and science,
Who was the protector of this lower world,
Drank from Abâs the honey of martyrdom,
And the date of his death is (*Abâs kûsht*)—Abâs slew him.

Yet his son did not retain the diadem above five or six months; the following verses were applied to him:

Ill does sovereignty befit a parricide:
But should he gain it, let six months be the utmost limit of his reign.

The date of his death is also expressed in memorial verses:

Abdal-latîf, who rivalled the pomp of Khosrou and Jemshid,
Who was attended by crowds of courtiers like Feridûn and Zerdûsht,
Was slain by Baba Hussain, one Friday night, with an arrow,
And the date of the event is (*Bâbâ Hussain kûsht*)—Baba Hussain slew him.

After Abdal-latîf Mirza, Abdulla Mirza, the son of Ibrâhîm Sultan Mirza, and grandson of Shahrokh Mirza, and the son-in-law of Ulugh Beg Mirza, mounted the throne, and reigned one year and a half, or nearly two years. After him the government was seized by Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, who, in his own lifetime, conferred the government on his eldest son Sultan Ahmed Mirza. After the death of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, Sultan Ahmed Mirza continued to exercise the sovereignty. On the death of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, Sultan Mahmud Mirza ascended the throne. After Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, Baiesanghar Mirza was raised to the throne. During the sedition of the Terkhân Begs, Baiesanghar Mirza was seized, and his brother Sultan Ali Mirza placed on the throne for one or two days. Baiesanghar Mirza again recovered it, as has been related. I took it from Baiesanghar Mirza. The events that followed will be mentioned in the course of these Memoirs.

[1] Egypt and Syria.

[2] To commemorate any important event, or to fix the date in the memory, the Persians make much use of memorial verses, in which a certain number of letters have a numerical value, that added together give the required date. Thus Abâs-kûsht gives 853.

[3] The numerical letters united make 854.

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Distressed state of Samarkand.

When I mounted the throne of Samarkand, I showed the same favour and grace to the great lords of Samarkand that they had been accustomed to in times past, and I distinguished the Begs who had accompanied me by rewards proportioned to their situation and merits. I bestowed more eminent rewards on Sultan Ahmed Tambol than on any of my other nobles. Samarkand had been taken after a severe and fatiguing siege of seven months. On getting possession of it, the soldiers of the army acquired considerable booty. All the rest of the country, Samarkand excepted, had voluntarily joined me or Sultan Ali Mirza, and consequently these districts had not been given up to plunder. From a place which had been entirely ruined and sacked, how was it possible to levy anything by taxation? It had all been completely pillaged by the troops. Samarkand when taken was in such a distressed state, that it was absolutely necessary to furnish the inhabitants with seed-corn and supplies, to enable them to carry on the cultivation till the harvest. How was it possible to levy anything from a country that was in this exhausted condition? Under these circumstances the soldiers were exposed to considerable distress, and I on my part had nothing to give them. They therefore began to think of home, and to desert by ones and twos. The first man who went off was Khan-Kuli Biân-Kuli. Ibrahîm Beg-chik was another. All the Moghuls deserted; and, finally, Sultan Ahmed Tambol himself went off, and left me.

Baber's troops begin to desert.

In order to put a stop to this defection, I sent Khwâjeh Kazi to Uzun Hassan, who had a great attachment and veneration for the Khwâjeh, to prevail upon him to concur in adopting measures to punish some of the fugitives, and send back others to me. But the prime mover of this sedition, and the grand instigator of these desertions and defections, was, in reality, the perfidious Uzun Hassan himself. After the defection of Sultan Ahmed Tambol, all the fugitives openly and in direct terms professed their hostility.

Tambol asks Andejân and Akhsi for Jehangîr Mirza.

Though I had never received any kind of assistance or succour from Sultan Mahmud Khan, during the several years that I had led my army against Samarkand, yet, no sooner had I succeeded in conquering that country, than he indicated a desire to occupy Andejân. On the present occasion, when the greater part of my troops, and the whole of the Moghuls, had deserted me and gone to Akhsi and Andejân, Uzun Hassan and Tambol expressed a wish that those countries should be placed under Jehangîr Mirza. It was inexpedient that they should be given up to him, on many accounts. One of these was, that though I never had promised them to the Khan, yet he had demanded them; and if, after such demand, they were bestowed on Jehangîr Mirza, I must expect to come to an explanation with him. Another reason was, that at this season, when my men had deserted and gone back to their own countries, a request seemed equivalent to a command. Had the request been made before, I might have complied with a good grace; but who could bear a tone of authority? All the Moghuls who had accompanied me, as well as the army of Andejân, and some even of the Begs who were near my person, had gone off to Andejân. Only about a thousand men, including Begs, great and small, remained with me in Samarkand.

Excites a rebellion.

When they found that their request was not complied with, they collected all the

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people who had left me from disappointment, and united them to their party. These deserters, who dreaded the reward of their guilt, stood in such terror of me, that they deemed this revolt an interposition of God in their favour. Having marched from Akhsi against Andejân, they openly raised the standard of rebellion and hostility.

Marches against Andejân.

One Tûlun Khwâjeh, who was the bravest and most resolute of my skirmishers, had been honourably entertained by my father, Omer-sheikh Mirza, and I myself had continued to show him distinguished marks of my regard, and raised him to the rank of Beg. He was an extremely gallant soldier, an excellent partizan, and every way worthy of the favour shown him. As Tûlun Khwâjeh was the man of all the Moghuls on whom I had conferred the greatest benefits, and in whom I reposed the most perfect trust, when the Ulûs of Moghuls began to retire, I sent him to confer with them, and to remove from their minds any jealousies or disgusts which they might have conceived, that they might not be led to throw away their lives from any false apprehensions of my resentment; but the traitors had wrought upon them so effectually, that entreaties and promises and threats were tried in vain. The march of Tûlun Khwâjeh was by Miân-Doab, which is also called Rebâtiki-Aderchîni.[1] Uzun Hassan and Sultan Ahmed Tambol dispatched a body of light troops, who fell by surprise on Tûlun Khwâjeh, took him prisoner, carried him off, and put him to death.

Tûlun Khwâjeh slain.

Uzun Hassan and Tambol now carried Jehangîr Mirza along with them, and laid siege to Andejân. When I set out with the army, I had left Ali Dost Taghâi in command of Andejân, and Uzun Hassan in charge of Akhsi. Khwâjeh Kazi had also returned back to Andejân. Among those who had deserted from Samarkand, were a number of good soldiers. Khwâjeh Kazi, immediately on his arrival, with a view of preserving the fort, and induced by his affection and attachment to me, divided eighteen thousand of his own sheep among the troops who were in the town, and among the wives and families of such as were with me. During the siege, I received letters from my mothers,[2] as well as from Khwâjeh Kazi, mentioning that they were besieged, and so hotly pressed, that, if I did not hasten to their relief, things would come to a very bad termination: That I had taken Samarkand with the forces of Andejân, and, if I still continued master of Andejân, might once more (should God prosper me) regain possession of Samarkand. Letters of this import followed fast upon each other. At this time I had just somewhat recovered from a severe illness. My circumstances, however, prevented me from nursing myself during my amendment; and my anxiety and exertions brought on such a severe relapse, that for four days I was speechless, and the only nourishment I received was from having my tongue occasionally moistened with cotton. Those who were with me, high and low, Begs, cavaliers, and soldiers, despairing of my life, began each to shift for himself.

The rebels besiege Andejân.

Baber dangerously ill.

At this very crisis a servant of Uzun Hassan's came on an embassy with some seditious propositions. The Begs, very mistakenly, brought him where I was, and then

[1] Or, perhaps, rather Rebâtik-Urchin, the district of Rebatik (the Small Caravanserai). It lies to the east of Andejân. Urchin, in Ferghâna, &c. signifies province or district.

[2] That is, "my father's widows," or, perhaps, "my mother and grandmother."

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gave him leave to depart. In four or five days I got somewhat better, but still had a little difficulty of speech. A few days afterwards I received letters from my mother, my mother's mother Isandoulet Begum, and from my teacher and spiritual guide Khwâjeh Moulâna Kazi, inviting me with so much solicitude to come to their assistance, that I had not the heart to delay. In the month of Rejeb, on a Saturday, I marched out of Samarkand for Andejân. At this time I had reigned just one hundred days in Samarkand. Next Saturday I reached Khojend, and that same day intelligence arrived that, seven days before, on the very Saturday on which I had left Samarkand, Ali Dost Taghâi had surrendered the fortress of Andejân to the enemy.

March, 1498. Marches to the relief of Andejân. Hears of its surrender.

The truth was, that the servant of Uzun Hassan, who had been suffered to depart during my illness, arriving while the enemy were busy with the siege, and relating what he had witnessed, that the King had lost his speech, and received no nourishment except from having his tongue moistened with cotton steeped in a liquid, was made to confirm these circumstances on oath in the presence of Dost Ali Taghâi, who stood at the Khakan Gate.[1] Completely confounded at the news, he commenced a negotiation with the enemy, and having entered into terms of capitulation, surrendered the fort. There was no want of provisions, nor of fighting-men in the place. This wretched fellow's conduct, therefore, was the extreme of treachery and cowardice. He merely employed the circumstances that have been mentioned as a cover to his baseness.

Khwâjeh Kazi hanged.

After the surrender of Andejân, the enemy having received information of my arrival at Khojend, seized Khwâjeh Moulâna Kazi and martyred him, by hanging him in a shameful manner over the gate of the citadel. Khwâjeh Moulâna Kazi's real name was Abdalla, but he was better known by the other appellation. By the father's side he was descended of Sheikh Bûrhân-ed-dîn Kilij, and by the mother's side from Sultan Ilik Mâzi; and his family had for a long time maintained the situation of Muktida (prime religious guides), and of Sheikh-al-Islâm (or chief judge in ecclesiastical law), in the country of Ferghâna. Khwâjeh Kazi was the disciple of Khwâjeh Abîd-ulla, by whom he was educated. I have no doubt that Khwâjeh Kazi was a Wali (or saint). What better proof of it could be required than the single fact that, in a short time, no trace or memorial remained of any one of all those who were concerned in his murder. They were all completely extirpated. Khwâjeh Kazi was a wonderfully bold man, which is also no mean proof of sanctity. All mankind, however brave they be, have some little anxiety or trepidation about them. The Khwâjeh had not a particle of either.

After the Khwâjeh's death, they seized and plundered all those who were connected with him as his servants and domestics, his tribe and followers. They sent to me, to Khojend, my grandmother, my mother, and the families of several persons who were with me. For the sake of Andejân, I had lost Samarkand, and found that I had lost the one without preserving the other.

Baber reduced to great distress.

I now became a prey to melancholy and vexation; for since I had been a sovereign prince, I never before had been separated in this manner from my country and follow-

[1] Or Jâgân. It is written both ways. I rather imagine Jâgân to be the true reading.

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ers; and since the day that I had known myself, I had never experienced such grief and suffering. While I was at Khojend, some who envied Khalîfeh could not endure to see his influence in my court; and Muhammed Hussain Mirza and some others exerted themselves with such effect, that I was obliged to allow him to retire to Tâshkend.

Is obliged to dismiss Khalîfeh.

I had sent Kâsim Beg to Tâshkend to the Khan, to request him to march against Andejân. The Khan, who was my maternal uncle, accordingly, having collected an army, advanced by the Dale of Ahengerân,[1] and I having set out from Khojend, met him by the time he had encamped below Kundezlik and Amâni.[2] Having reduced Kundezlik and Amâni, he advanced towards Akhsi and encamped. The enemy too, on their part, having brought together what army they had, came to Akhsi. At this time the fortress of Pâp was held by some of my partizans in hopes of my arrival; but the enemy, gaining courage from a belief of the Khan's retreat, carried it by storm.

Sultan Mahmûd Khan marches to restore Baber.

Though the Khan had many valuable qualities and talents, yet he had no talents as a soldier or general. At the very moment when matters were brought to such a pass, that, if we had advanced a single march, the country might have been gained without fighting a battle, he listened to the artful proposals of the enemy, and dispatched Khwâjeh Abul Makâram with Tambol's elder brother, Beg Tilbeh, who at that time was the Khan's chamberlain, on an embassy, with proposals for an accommodation. The cabal, in order to extricate themselves, presented such a mixture of truth and falsehood in their representations, and seasoned their eloquence so well with gratifications and bribes to those who acted as negotiators, that the Khan was prevailed upon to break up and retreat the way he came. As the Begs, captains, and warriors, who were with me, had many of them their wives and families in Andejân; and as they now saw no hope of our regaining it, great and small, Beg and common man, to the number of seven or eight hundred men, separated from me entirely. Among the nobles who left me, were Ali Dervîsh Beg, Ali Mazîd Kochin, Muhammed Baber Beg, Sheikh Abdulla the chamberlain,[3] and Miram Lâghari. There adhered to me, choosing voluntarily a life of exile and difficulty, of all ranks, good and bad, somewhat more than two hundred, and less than three hundred men. Of the Begs were Kâsim Beg Kochîn, Weis Lâghari, Ibrâhim Sâru Minkaligh, Shiram Taghâi, and Sîdîm Karabeg. Of my other officers and courtiers there were Mîr Shah Kochîn, Syed Kâsim, the Chamberlain,[4] a Jelâir, Kasim Ajab, Muhammed Dost, Ali Dost Taghâi, Muhammed Ali Mubashar, Khoda-berdi Toghchi (the Standard-bearer), a Moghul, Yarek Taghai, Sultan Kûli, Pîr Weis, Sheikh Weis, Yar Ali, Belâl Kâsim, Master of the Horse,[5] Hyder Rikâbdar (the Equerry).

But is prevailed on to retreat.

Baber abandoned by his army.

I was now reduced to a very distressed condition, and wept a great deal. I returned to Khojend, whither they sent me my mother and my grandmother, with the wives and families of several of those who had continued with me. I spent that Ramzân in

Marches against Samarkand. May, 1498.

[1] Julgeh-e-Ahengerân, Blacksmiths' Dale.

[2] It has been already observed, that Kundezlik and Amani lay close to the hills, on the road between Tâshkend and Akhsi.

[3] Ishik Agha. [4] Ishik Agha. [5] Mir Akhur.

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Khojend, and afterwards, having sent a person to Sultan Mahmûd Khan to solicit assistance, proceeded against Samarkand. He dispatched his son, Sultan Muhammed Khanekeh, and Ahmed Beg, with four or five thousand men, against Samarkand; and came himself to Uratippa, where I had an interview with him, and then advanced towards Samarkand by way of Yar-ailâk. Sultan Muhammed and Ahmed Beg had reached Yar-ailâk before me by another road. I came by way of Burkeh-ailâk to Sengraz, which is the chief township and seat of the Darogha of Yar-ailâk; but before my arrival, Sultan Muhammed and Ahmed Beg, having been informed of the approach of Sheibâni Khan, and of his ravaging Shirâz and that vicinity, had retreated back in haste. I too was consequently compelled to retreat, and returned to Khojend.

But is forced to return to Khojend.

Repairs to Tâshkend.

Inspired as I was with an ambition for conquest and for extensive dominion, I would not, on account of one or two defeats, sit down and look idly around me. I now repaired to Tâshkend to the Khan, in order to gain some assistance in my views on Andejân. This journey also furnished me with a pretext for seeing Shah Begum[1] and my other relations, whom I had not seen for seven or eight years. A few days after my arrival, Syed Muhammed Mirza Doghlet, Ayûb Begchik, and Jan Hassan, were appointed to accompany me, with a reinforcement of seven or eight hundred men. With this auxiliary force I set out, and without tarrying in Khojend, advanced without loss of time, and leaving Kandbâdâm on the left, in the course of the night, reached and applied scaling-ladders to the fortress of Nasûkh, which is ten farsangs from Khojend and three[2] from Kandbâdâm, and carried the place by surprise. It was the season when the melons were ripe, and at Nasûkh there is a sort of melon termed *Ismâil Sheikhi*, the skin of which is yellow and puckered like shagreen leather; they are in great abundance. The seeds are about the size of those of an apple, and the pulp four fingers thick. It is a remarkably delicate and agreeable melon, and there is none equal to it in that quarter. Next morning the Moghul Begs represented to me that we had only a handful of men, and that no possible benefit could result from keeping possession of a single insulated castle. Indeed there was truth in what they said; so that, not finding it expedient to remain there and garrison the fort, I retired and went back to Khojend.

Gets a reinforcement of Moghuls.

Takes Nasûkh.

But abandons it.

Khosrou Shah and Baiesanghar Mirza take Hissar.

This same year Khosrou Shah, accompanied by Baiesanghar Mirza, marched with an army to Cheghâniân, and, with the most deceitful and treacherous intentions, sent an embassy to Sultan Masaûd Mirza, inviting him to join them in their enterprise against Samarkand; proposing that, if they conquered it, the one Mirza should fix the seat of his government in Samarkand, and the other in Hissâr. At this time very general discontents prevailed among the Begs, courtiers, cavaliers, and soldiers of Sultan Masaûd. The reason of their dissatisfaction was, that Sheikh Abdulla Birlâs, who had left Sultan Baiesanghar Mirza to join Sultan Masaûd Mirza, and who was the Mirza's father-in-law, had obtained great rank and confidence; and, though Hissâr is but a narrow and confined country, Sultan Masaûd Mirza had given him an allowance of a

[1] Shah Begum was one of Yunis Khan's widows.

[2] Forty miles from Khojend and twelve from Kandbâdâm.

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thousand tumans[1] in money, besides the whole country of Khutlân. Khutlân was the Jagîr[2] of the Begs and officers about Sultan Masaûd Mirza's person. Sheikh Abdulla Birlâs, however, got possession of the whole, and he and his sons gained a complete ascendency and unlimited direction of affairs at the court. Such as were dissatisfied, fled and joined Baiesanghar Mirza. Khosrou Shah and Baiesanghar Mirza having lulled Sultan Masaûd Mirza into a careless security by their deceitful professions, after a sudden march from Cheghâniân, appeared before Hissâr about the beat of the morning drum, invested and took it.

Sultan Masaûd takes refuge with Sultan Hussain Mirza.

At this time Sultan Masaûd Mirza was not within the fortress, but at a palace in the vicinity, which had been built by his father, called the Doulet Serâi. Finding it impossible to throw himself into the fort, he fled towards Khutlân, accompanied by Sheikh Abdulla Birlâs; but having separated from him on the road, he proceeded by the Pass of Ubâj[3] and took refuge with Sultan Hussain Mirza.

Khosrou Shah lays siege to Balkh.

As soon as Khosrou Shah had taken Hissâr, he placed Baiesanghar Mirza in it, and gave Khutlân to his younger brother Wali. A few days after he set out against Balkh. Having dispatched before him one of his principal retainers, named Nazar Behâder, with four thousand men, to occupy the environs of that place, he himself followed soon afterwards, accompanied by Baiesanghar Mirza, and commenced the siege. Ibrâhim Hussain Mirza commanded in Balkh, and had with him a considerable number of Sultan Hussain Mirza's Begs.

Wali sent against Shaberghan.

Khosrou Shah at the same time sent his younger brother Wali with a large detachment to lay siege to Shaberghân,[4] and to ravage and destroy the country around. Wali was not able to approach Shaberghân, but sent out his troops to plunder the Ils and Ulus (the wandering tribes and hordes) that occupied the desert of Zerdek, which they accordingly did, carrying off above one hundred thousand sheep, and nearly three thousand camels. Proceeding thence, he pillaged the district of Sanchârik, and having taken prisoners and carried off a number of the inhabitants who had fled for refuge to hills and there fortified themselves, he returned to Balkh and rejoined his elder brother.

[1] It is extremely difficult to fix the value of money in remote periods. The *Tumân*, in Della Valle's time, (A. D. 1617,) was 10 zecchins, (Voyages, vol. IV. p. 357.) Mandelsloe soon after values the zecchin at 8½ or 9 rupees; which would make the tumân of that day worth £9 or £10 sterling. In Chardin's time, the tumân was equal to 45 livres; and Tavernier makes it equal to 46 livres, 1 denier, 1-5th; or, according to his English translator, at the then par of 4s. 6d. for the French crown, £3, 9s. and a fraction. The livre, it will be remembered, like the tumân, has been sinking in value. Fryer (Travels, p. 222) makes the tumân £3 and a noble. It was lately worth an English guinea, and from incessant tampering with the coin, is now worth little more than 15 shillings. As the decline has been constant, it was probably, in Baber's time, worth more than the highest of these sums.

The *Shahrukhi* was a silver coin of the value of tenpence or elevenpence English, two and a half shahrukhis being equal to a rupee in Akber's time.

The *Tang*, or *Tenki*, was a small silver coin, of which, in Mandelsloe's time, 14, 15, or 16 went to a pagoda. It was of the value of about fivepence, and was formerly more. It has now declined to about a penny. It seems to have been the sixth part of a dirhem.

The *Dâm* was an Indian copper coin, the fortieth part of a rupee.

[2] A jagîr is a territorial grant held under a prince, generally for a limited period, often, however, in perpetuity.

[3] Ubâj is a famous pass over the Amu, above Kobâdiân.

[4] West of Balkh.

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While Khosrou Shah lay before Balkh, he one day sent Nazer Behâder, who has been mentioned, to destroy the water courses and spoil the waters in the environs of Balkh. Tengri Berdi Samanchi, an officer who had been brought forward by Sultan Hussain Mirza, issued from the fort with seventy or eighty men, and having fallen in with Nazer Behâder's party, met him face to face, beat him down from his horse, cut off his head, and returned back with it to the fort, having displayed singular bravery in the whole course of the affair.

Nazer Behâder slain.

Sultan Hussain Mirza marches against Zûlnûn Beg.

This same year Sultan Hussain Mirza levied an army and advanced to the fort of Bost[1] for the purpose of reducing to order Zûlnûn Arghûn and Shah Shujaa his son; who, having joined Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza, and given him a daughter of Zûlnûn's in marriage, were now in a state of rebellion and revolt. On that occasion, when the Sultan could not procure supplies of grain for the army from any quarter, and was on the point of being compelled to raise the siege, and of being reduced to the last extremity from famine, the governor[2] surrendered the fort, and the stores found in the granaries enabled the army to return to Khorasân.

Takes Bost.

Sultan Hussain Mirza's sons rebel.

When a king like Sultan Hussain Mirza, who was attended with such royal equipage, and displayed so much pomp and state, had led his army on several different occasions against Kundez, Hissâr, and Kandahâr, and had in every instance returned unsuccessful, his sons and Begs were spirited up to venture on seditions and rebellion. Sultan Hussain Mirza had dispatched Muhammed Wali Beg, with a number of Begs and the bulk of his army, for the purpose of chastising his son Muhammed Hussain Mirza, who was in revolt, and gaining ground at Asterâbâd, with instructions to advance upon him by rapid marches. He himself, meanwhile, remained encamped in the Auleng (or meadow) of Nîshin;[3] when Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza, and Shah Beg the son of Zûlnûn, having collected a body of troops, came on him by surprise. By a most fortunate accident, Sultan Masaûd Mirza, who had just lost Hissâr, came that very day to join Sultan Hussain Mirza; and, in the course of the same day, the army that had been detached against Asterâbâd, having returned back, also joined him. When the two armies therefore came to face each other, the enemy found themselves too weak to venture on a battle, and Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza and Shah Beg took to flight. Sultan Hussain Mirza received Sultan Masaûd Mirza in the most gracious manner, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and distinguished him by every mark of attention and kindness. Seduced, however, by the instigations of Bâki Cheghâniâni, the younger brother of Khosrou Shah, who some time before had entered into the service of Sultan Hussain Mirza, he did not continue in Khorasân, but went off, under some false pretext, without even taking leave of Sultan Hussain Mirza, and joined Khosrou Shah.

Sultan Masaûd Mirza leaves his court.

Khosrou Shah now sent for Baiesanghar Mirza from Hissâr. At this time Mirân-

[1] Sultan Hussain Mirza had advanced with his army to Zemîn Dâwer, but found himself forced to retreat into Khorasân. He previously, however, laid siege to Bost, in which were some of Zûlnûn's stores. The garrison, by holding out a few days, might have starved the besiegers; but the Governor, Abdal Rahmon Arghûn, surrendered after a feeble resistance. Kila Bost lies on the left bank of the Helmend, below Zemîn Dâwer, which lies higher up towards the hills, on the right bank of the Siâhbend river.

[2] Darogha.

[3] Near Herât.

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Shah Mirza, the son of Ulugh Beg Mirza,[1] who had rebelled against his father and taken shelter among the Hazâras, having done something which gave them offence, was obliged to leave them also, and now came to Khosrou Shah. Some evil-minded counsellors advised Khosrou Shah to put all the three princes to death, and to cause the Khutbeh[2] to be read in his own name. He did not fall into this plan, but yet, for the sake of this fleeting and faithless world, which never was, and never will be, true to any one, this thankless and ungrateful man seized Sultan Masaûd Mirza, a prince whom he himself had reared from infancy to manhood, and whose governor he had been, and blinded him by lancing his eyes. Some of the foster-brothers, clansmen, and playmates of Masaûd Mirza carried him off, with the intention of conducting him to Sultan Ali Mirza in Samarkand, and brought him to Kesh. Here, discovering a plan that had been formed for attacking them, they fled, crossed the river Amu by the passage of Chehâr-Jûi, and took refuge with Sultan Hussain Mirza. Every day until the day of judgment, may a hundred thousand curses light on the head of that man who is guilty of such black treachery, and on his who plans it: let every man who hears of this action of Khosrou Shah, pour out imprecations on him; for he who hears of such a deed and does not curse him, is himself worthy to be accursed.

His eyes put out by Khosrou Shah.

After this abominable transaction, having declared Baiesanghar Mirza King, he sent him off to Hissâr; and, at the same time, sent Mirân Shah Mirza towards Bâmiân, accompanied by Syed Kâmil, who was to lend him his assistance.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 904.[3]

Having failed in repeated expeditions against Samarkand and Andejân, I once more returned to Khojend. Khojend is but a small place; and it is difficult for one to support two hundred retainers in it. How, then, could a man, ambitious of empire, set himself down contentedly in so insignificant a place?

In order to forward my views against Samarkand, I now sent some persons to Muhammed Hussain Korkân Doghlet, who held Uratippa, to confer with him, and induce him to lend me for one winter Beshâgher, which is one of the villages of Yar-ailâk. It had formerly belonged to the reverend Khwâjeh, but, during the confusions, had become dependent on him; and my plan now was, to take up my residence there, and attempt whatever circumstances might suggest against Samarkand. Muhammed Hussain Doghlet gave his consent, and I left Khojend, on my way to Bashâgher.

Baber gets Beshâgher for one winter.

[1] This Ulugh Beg Mirza was not the illustrious sovereign of Samarkand, but the King of Kâbul, and a brother of Baber's father.

[2] The prayer for the prince.

[3] This year of the Hejira began 19th August 1498.

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Attempts to surprise Rebât-e-Khwâjeh.

When I reached Râmin,[1] I was seized with a fever; notwithstanding which, I mounted, and, having left that place, proceeded with great speed, by the mountain-route, against Rebât-e-Khwâjeh,[2] which is the seat of the Darôgha, or governor of the Tûman of Shâdwâr, in the hope that we might have been able to come upon it and apply our scaling-ladders unobserved, and so carry the place by surprise. I reached it at daybreak; but, finding the garrison on the alert, retreated, and reached Beshâgher, without halting anywhere. In spite of my fever, I had ridden fourteen farsangs,[3] though with great difficulty, and I suffered much from the exertion.

Reduces the forts of Yar-ailâk;

In a few days, I dispatched Ibrâhim Saru, Weis Laghari, and Shiram Taghâi, with some Begs of my party, and a body of my partizans and adherents, to proceed without loss of time, and reduce, either by negotiation or by force, all the fortresses of Yâr-ailâk. At this time, Syed Yusef Beg was in command of the district of Yâr-ailâk. He had remained behind in Samarkand when I abandoned it, and had been well treated by Sultan Ali Mirza.[4] Syed Yusef Beg had sent his brother and younger son for the purpose of occupying and managing Yâr-ailâk. Ahmed Yûsef, who at present has the government of Sialkot,[5] was in charge of the fortresses. My Begs and soldiers set out accordingly; and exerting themselves with uncommon activity during the whole winter, gained possession of the strong places, some by negotiation, some by storm, and others by artifice and stratagem. In consequence of the incursions of the Moghuls and Usbeks, there is not a village in the whole district of Yâr-ailâk which is not converted into a fortress. On the occasion in question, suspicions being entertained of Syed Yusef Beg, his younger brother, and son, on account of their known attachment to me, they were all sent away to Khorasân.

The winter passed in such efforts and attempts as these. In the spring, Sultan Ali Mirza sent Khwâjeh Yahîa to treat with me, while he himself marched with his army into the neighbourhood of Shirâz and Kâbad.[6] My soldiers, though above two hundred in number, did not amount to three hundred; and the enemy was in great force. I had hovered for a while about Andejân, but my star had not prospered. Samarkand, too, had slipped out of my hands. I was now compelled by necessity to make some sort of peace, and returned back from Beshâgher.

but is forced to abandon them.

Khojend is an inconsiderable place, from which a single Beg would have found it difficult to have supported himself. There, however, I had remained with my whole family, for a year and a half, or nearly two years. The Musulmans of the place, during all that time, had strained themselves to the utmost extent of their abilities to serve me. With what face, therefore, could I return to Khojend, and, indeed what benefit could result from it?—(Tûrki couplet.)

There was no secure place for me to go to,
And no place of safety for me to stay in.

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[1] Or Zâmin. [2] It lies west of Samarkand. [3] About 56 miles.

[4] When Baber abandoned Samarkand to march for Andejân, the former place was occupied by Sultan Ali Mirza from Bokhâra. Indeed that prince was Baber's ally, and had an army in the neighbourhood when Baber first entered the place.

[5] In the Penjâb. [6] Or Kaidu.

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In this state of irresolution and uncertainty, I went to the Ailâks, to the south of Uratippa, and spent some time in that quarter, perplexed and distracted with the hopeless state of my affairs. Wanders among the Ailâks.

One day, while I remained there, Khwâjeh Abul Makâram, who, like myself, was an exile and a wanderer, came to visit me. I took the opportunity of consulting him with respect to my situation and concerns,—whether it was advisable for me to remain where I was, or to go elsewhere,—what I should attempt, and what I should leave untried. He was so much affected with the state in which he found me, that he shed tears, and, after praying over me, took his departure. I myself was also extremely affected. Visited by Khwâjeh Makâram.

That very day, about afternoon prayers, a horseman was descried at the bottom of the valley. He proved to be a servant of Ali Dost Taghâi, named Yûljûk. He came with a message from his master, to inform me that he had undoubtedly offended deeply, but that he trusted to my clemency for forgiving his past offences; and that, if I would march to join him, he would deliver up Marghinân to me, and would do me such service and duty as would wipe away his past errors, and free him from his disgrace. Invited to Marghinân.

Instantly on hearing this news, without delay, I that very moment (it was then about sunset) set out post for Marghinân. From the place where I then was to Marghinân may be a distance of twenty-four or twenty-five farsangs.[1] That night till morning, and the next day till the time of noon-day prayers, I halted in no place whatsoever. About noon-day prayers, I halted at a village of Khojend, named Tûnek-âb; and, after having refreshed our horses, and fed and watered them, we again mounted at midnight, left Tûnek-âb, rode all that night till morning, and all next day till sunset, and, just before sunrise the following morning, we came within one farsang of Marghinân. Weis Beg and some others, after considering matters, now represented to me, that Ali Dost Taghâi was one who had stickled at no crimes; that there had been no repeated interchange of messengers between us—no terms or conditions agreed upon; with what confidence, therefore, could we put ourselves in his power? In truth, these reflections had reason on their side. I therefore halted a little, and held a consultation, when it was finally agreed, that, though our reflections were not without foundation, we had been too late of making them. We had now passed three days and three nights without rest; and we had come a distance of twenty-five farsangs without stopping; that neither man nor horse had any strength left; that there was no possibility of retreating, and, even if we could retreat, no place of safety to retire to; that, since we had come so far, we must proceed. Nothing happens but by the will of God. Reposing ourselves on His protection, we went forward.

About the time of the sûnnet[2] (or morning prayer), we reached the gate of the castle of Marghinân. Ali Dost Taghâi stood over the gateway, without throwing the

[1] About 96 or 100 miles.

[2] The *sûnnet* are voluntary devotion, in which the prophet indulged the true believers, to fill up the long interval between the first prayers at seher, or morning twilight, and the noon-day prayers. They are exclusive of the five stated times enjoined by the Divinity.

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gate open, and desired conditions. After I had assented to terms, and given him my promise, he caused the gates to be opened, and paid his respects to me, conducting me to a suitable house within the fort. The men who had accompanied me amounted, great and small, to two hundred and forty.

State of Andejân.

Uzun Hassan and Sultan Ahmed Tambol had, I found, conducted themselves very ill, and behaved with great tyranny to the people of the country. The whole inhabitants now anxiously wished for my restoration. Two or three days after my arrival in Marghinân, therefore, I dispatched Kâsim Beg, with a party of my Beshâgher men, a few others who had recently entered my service, and some of Mîr Dost Beg's people, in all rather above a hundred men, with instructions to proceed to the south of Andejân, to the people of the hill country, such as the Ashparis, the Tûrûkshârs, the Jagraks, and others in that quarter, and to attempt to prevail upon them, either by negotiation or force, to make their submission. I also sent Ibrâhim Saru, Weis Laghari, and Seidi Kara, with about a hundred men, towards Akhsi, with instructions to pass the river of Khojend, to use all means to gain possession of the forts, and to conciliate and win over the people of the hills.

Uzun Hassan and Tambol advance to Marghinân.

A few days after, Uzun Hassan and Sultan Ahmed Tambol, having taken Jehângîr Mirza along with them, and collected all the soldiers and Moghuls that they had, and taken from Andejân and Akhsi every man able to bear arms, advanced with the intention of laying siege to Marghinân, and halted at a village named Sapân, which lies about a kos[1] to the eastward of that town. After two or three days, having arrayed and accoutred their host, they came up to the suburbs of Marghinân. Although I had detached Kâsim Beg, Ibrâhim Saru, Weis Laghari, and other officers, on service to two different quarters, and only a very few troops remained with me, yet having armed and put in array such as I had, we marched out, and would not permit them to advance beyond the skirts of the suburbs. This day, Khalîl Chihreh Destar-pech distinguished himself greatly, and fought with singular valour. The enemy could effect nothing. Two succeeding attempts were equally frustrated, and they were unable to reach the fortress.

Kâsim Beg gains over the Ashparis, &c.

Kâsim Beg, who had proceeded to the hill country to the south of Andejân, completely brought over the Ashparis, the Tûrûkshârs, the Jagraks, and all the people of that country, both the peasants settled in the hills and plains, and the Aimaks.[2] The enemy's soldiers, too, began to desert by ones and twos, and came and joined me.

Ibrâhim Saru is put in possession of Pâp, Akhsi, &c.

Ibrâhim Saru, Weis Laghari, and the other chiefs who had passed the river towards Akhsi, possessed themselves of the fort of Pâp, and of one or two other forts. Uzun Hassan and Tambol were tyrannical and debauched, and the peasants and men of the country were disgusted with their proceedings. Hassan Degchi, one of the chief men of Akhsi, with his own followers and a body of the mob and rabble of the place, having armed themselves with sticks and clubs, attacked and drove the garrison of Akhsi out of the place, and forced them to take refuge in the citadel. They then invited

[1] Two miles, or a mile and a half.

[2] The Aimâks were the wandering tribes.

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Ibrâhim Sâru, Weis Laghari, Sîdi Kara, and the chiefs who were along with them, and gave them admittance into the fortified town of Akhsi.

Sultan Mahmûd Khan had dispatched to my assistance Bendeh Ali, Haider, his own foster-brother, with Haji Ghazi Monghat,[1] who had fled about this time from Sheibâk Khan, and come over to the Khan, together with the Begs of the Tuman of Barin.[2] They arrived at this very crisis, and joined the detachment.

Uzun Hassan was alarmed on receiving this intelligence. He dispatched a party of his most trusty adherents, and of his bravest partizans, to the relief of the citadel of Akhsi. They reached the bank of the river about morning twilight. When notice of this was communicated to my army and to that of the Moghuls, a party was directed to strip their horses of all their furniture, and to be ready to enter the river. The party which was going to relieve the citadel, having, in their confusion and alarm, neglected to pull the boat sufficiently up the stream, dropped down below the place from which they had embarked, and were unable to make the fort, so that the vessel was carried lower down. My troops and the Moghuls, who had stripped their horses, plunged on all sides into the river. The men in the boat, being panic-struck, were unable to defend themselves. Karloghaj Bakhshi having invited one of the sons of Moghul Beg to come to him, laid hold of his hand, and slew him with his sword. What purpose did such an act of treachery serve? Things were now all over; and this cruel deed was the occasion of the death of the greater part of those who were in the boat; for our people, who had rode into the water, dragged them on shore, and put them almost all to death. Of the confidential servants of Uzun Hassan, Karloghaj Bakhshi, Khalîl Dîwâneh, and Kazi Gholâm, were on board. Of these, Kazi Gholâm escaped, by pretending to be a slave. Another man of note who escaped was Syed Ali, who is now with me, and high in office. Another was Haider Kuli Kilkeh Kâshghari. Of seventy or eighty experienced and chosen warriors, not more than five or six escaped.

Uzun Hassan sends a detachment to the relief of the citadel of Akhsi;

which is cut to pieces.

On receiving information of these occurrences, the enemy, being unable to maintain themselves in the vicinity of Marghinân, moved off in great disorder towards Andejân. They had left in Andejân Nâsir Beg, who had married Uzun Hassan's sister, and who, if not next to Uzun Hassan in consequence, was, beyond contradiction, in possession of the third place. He was a man of sense and experience, and possessed of courage. Having learned the recent occurrences, and knowing on what an unstable basis the Cabal rested, he brought over the garrison of Andejân to my interest, and sent a person to invite me to the city. When the Cabal reached Andejan, and found that it had declared for me, and was held on my account, being unable to agree among themselves, and in the greatest confusion, Uzun Hassan retired towards the citadel of Akhsi to his family; Sultan Ahmed Tambol drew off to Ush to his own government, while Jehangîr Mirza was seized by a party of his adherents and followers, who carried him off from Uzun Hassan and fled with him to Tambol. They overtook Tambol before he had reached Ush, and accompanied him in his retreat.

The rebels retire from Marghinân.

Andejân declares for Baber.

As soon as I received advice that the garrison of Andejân had declared for me, I

[1] The Monghats are the modern Nogais.

[2] Or Narin.

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made no delay, but setting out at sunrise from Marghinân, reached Andejân when the day was on the decline. I saw and conversed with Nâsir Beg and his sons, Dost Beg and Miram Beg, treated them with every mark of kindness, and gave them reason to expect everything from my favour. And thus, by the grace of the Most High, in the month of Zilkadeh, and year nine hundred and four, I recovered my paternal kingdom, of which I had been deprived nearly two years.

Who again enters his capital.

June 1499.

Tambol expelled from Ush.

Sultan Ahmed Tambol, who had proceeded towards Ush, accompanied by Jehângir Mirza, no sooner arrived there, than the rabble and common people, arming themselves with sticks and clubs, made a furious attack upon him, drove them fairly out of the town, and sent persons to give me notice that they held the place on my account. Jehangir Mirza and Tambol, with a few partisans who still adhered to them, retired in great dismay to Uzkend.

Retires to Uzkend.

Uzun Hassan retires to the citadel of Akhsi,

Uzun Hassan, on seeing himself shut out of Andejân, retreated to Akhsi, and information reached me that he had entered the citadel. As he was the very head and ringleader of the rebellion, without staying more than four or five days in Andejân, I marched against Akhsi. No sooner had I arrived there, than, as he had nothing else left for it, he offered to capitulate, asked quarter, and surrendered the fort. After a few days' stay at Akhsi, which I employed in putting the affairs and government of that city and of Kâsân into a proper state of order and arrangement, I dismissed the Moghul Begs who had come to my assistance on this enterprise, and returned to Andejân, carrying with me Uzun Hassan, his family and dependents. Kâsim Ayûb, who was of the inferior class of Begs, being raised to a higher rank, was left in the temporary charge of Akhsi.

but surrenders to Baber.

and goes to Hissar.

As I had agreed that Uzun Hassan should suffer no injury either in life or property, I allowed him to depart by way[1] of Karatigin on his road to Hissâr. He proceeded towards Hissâr with a small retinue, while all the rest of his followers separated from him and remained behind. These were the very men who, during the late disturbances, had pillaged and plundered my adherents and Khwâjeh Kazi's men. Several of my Begs united in their representations, telling me, "This is the very band which has been the cause of all these confusions, and the origin of all the devastations that have afflicted us; these are the men who have plundered so many of the faithful and true believers who adhered to us. What fidelity have they shown to their own chiefs that they should now be faithful to us? What harm would there be if they were seized, or an order given for plundering them? Especially as they are riding our own horses, wearing our garments, and killing and eating our own sheep before our eyes. What patience can possibly endure all this? If from compassion you do not plunder them, or give orders for a general pillage, at least let us, who have adhered to you in all your dangers and difficulties, be permitted to resume whatever part of our property we find in the possession of these men. If they get off on these terms, they ought to be very thankful." In fine, I agreed to the plan, and an order was issued that such as had accompanied me in my campaigns, might resume possession of whatever part of their property they recognized. Although the order seemed reasonable and just in itself,

His adherents plundered.

[1] That is across the Asfera Hills.

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yet it had been issued with too much precipitation; and, when there was a rival like Jehangîr Mirza at my elbow, it was a senseless thing to exasperate so many men who had arms in their hands. In war and in affairs of state, though there are many things that appear just and reasonable at first sight, yet no matter ought to be finally fixed without being well weighed, and considered in a hundred different lights. From my issuing this single order without sufficient foresight, what commotions and mutinies arose! This inconsiderate order of mine was in reality the ultimate cause of my being a second time expelled from Andejân.

The Moghuls being filled with alarm, mutinied and marched away from Rebâtik Urchînî, which they also call Miân Doab, towards Uzkend, and sent a person to Tambol to offer him their services. There were with my mother one thousand five hundred or nearly two thousand Moghuls, and about the same number may have come from Hissâr along with Khamzeh Sultan, Mehdi Sultan, and Muhammed Doghlet. The Horde of Moghuls have uniformly been the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation; down to the present time they have five times rebelled against me. Nor have they mutinied only against me, which might have proceeded from some incompatibility of temper, but they are perpetually guilty of the same offence against their own Khans. The Moghuls mutiny and revolt from Baber.

The news of this defection was brought me by Sultan Kûli Chinâk, whose father, Khodâ-berdi Boghak, I had greatly distinguished among the Moghuls. His father had died some time before, and he himself now served along with them. He did me good service by separating himself from his own clan and kin, and bringing me this information; but though, on this occasion, he was useful to me, he was, finally, as will be mentioned, guilty of such villainy as would have wiped away a hundred services like that in question; and the main cause of his future villainy was also his being a Moghul.

As soon as I received this information, I assembled the Begs and held a consultation. They were of opinion that it was a trifling occurrence, and that there was no necessity for the King himself to take the field; that Kâsim Beg, with a few of the Begs and a detachment of the army, might proceed on the service. This was accordingly resolved on. They imagined that it was an easy matter, but were woefully mistaken. That same day Kâsim Beg marched out with his Begs and army, but before they had come to their ground, and while still on their march, Tambol himself arrived and joined the Moghuls. Early next morning, the moment they had passed the river Ailamish at the ford of Yasi-kijet, the two armies met face to face and had a desperate action; Kâsim Beg himself meeting Sultan Muhammed Arghûn, struck him two or three blows one after another with his sword, but did not slay him. Several of my cavaliers made very gallant charges, but they were finally defeated. Kâsim Beg, Ali Dost Taghâi, Ibrâhim Sâru, Weis Laghari, and Sîdi Kara, with three or four others of my Begs and officers, escaped. Most of the other Begs and officers fell into the hands of the enemy. Among these were Ali Dervîsh Beg, Mîram Laghari, Tokah Beg, Taghai Beg, Muhammed Dost, Ali Dost, Mîr Shah Kochin, and Mîram Dîwân. In this battle two cavaliers had a gallant combat. On my side was Samad, one of Ibrâhim Sâru's younger brothers, and on the other side was Shah-sawâr, one of the Moghuls of Tambol defeats his army.

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Hissâr. They met hand to hand, and Shah-sawâr urged his blow with such force, that he drove his sabre right through Samad's helmet, and fixed it pretty deep in his skull. In spite of this wound, Samad returned the blow with such fury, that his sword shore clean off a piece of Shah-sawâr's skull as big as the palm of the hand. As Shah-sawâr had no helmet on, the wound in his head was properly bound up and he recovered; but there being nobody to attend to Samad's wound, he died of it in three or four days.

This defeat came most unseasonably, just at the moment when I had escaped from a scene of petty warfare and disasters, and had again recovered my country. Kamber Ali Moghul, who was one of my great stays, had returned to his own government immediately after I had taken Andejân, and was not at hand. Tambol, following up his success, brought Jehangîr along with him, and, accompanied by all his forces, advanced within a farsang of Andejân to a plain in face of the rising ground of Aîsh, where he encamped. He once or twice put his army in order of battle, and advanced from Chil-Dokhterân to the skirts of Aîsh. My troops, too, moved out and formed on the outside of the suburbs and garden grounds. His advance was checked, and he retreated from the skirts of the hill to another position. It was during this same advance towards the city that he put to death Mîram Laghari and Tokah, two of the Begs who had fallen into his hands. After lying nearly a month before the city and effecting nothing, he returned towards Ush. I had given Ush to Ibrâhim Sâru, whose men were in the place. They held it on my account.

Tambol advances to Andejân.

But is obliged to retire.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 905.[1]

Baber assembles his army.

I NOW dispatched commissaries and officers to collect the whole force of my territories, horse and foot, with all possible speed; and, by means of special messengers, I summoned Kamber Ali, and such of the troops as had gone to their own homes, to return without loss of time. I also dispatched commissaries and officers to procure tûras,[2] scaling-ladders, shovels, axes, and all kinds of necessaries and stores for the use of the army. I appointed a place where the men, both horse and foot, who came from the different districts to the army, were to assemble. My servants and soldiers, who

[1] This year begins on the 8th August 1499.

[2] The tûra is often mentioned in the course of these Memoirs, and always on occasion of the siege of some fort, except at the great battle fought with Sultan Ibrahîm above Delhi. I have been able to get no particular account of it. Petis de la Croix describes it as being a large buckler, and probably several of these being joined, formed a defence like the Roman *testudo*, under cover of which the besiegers advanced to undermine the wall, or to mount their scaling-ladders. At the siege of Karshi, "les ennemis pour mieux fuir jetterent leurs grands boucliers nommés Toura, et en se couvrant la tête de leurs petits ecus, ils se retirerent dans des retranchémens qu'ils avoient faits par precaution."—*Hist. de Timur Bec*, vol. I. p. 121.

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had gone off in different directions, on business or service, were recalled; and, putting my confidence in God, on the 18th of Moharrem, I marched out and encamped at the Char-bagh of Hâfez Beg. After halting a day or two at the Char-bagh in order to get ready such of the arms and stores as had remained incomplete, I marched towards Ush to meet the enemy, having my army divided into right and left wings, centre and advance, with cavalry and infantry all drawn out in regular array. 25th Aug. 1499.

When we arrived near Ush, I was informed that the army, finding that they could not maintain themselves in Ush, had retired towards Rabât-e-Serheng Urchini, which lies north of that city. That evening I halted at Latkend, and, the next morning, as I was passing Ush, learned that the enemy had directed their march on Andejân. We on our part approached Uzkend,[1] and detached forward plundering parties to ravage the country and suburbs. The enemy, arriving at Andejân during the night, instantly entered the ditch; but while they were planting their scaling-ladders against the ramparts, were discovered by the people within, so that the enterprize failed and they were compelled to retreat. My plundering parties advanced and committed devastations in the suburbs of Uzkend, but came back without acquiring any considerable booty. And advances towards Uzkend. Tambol attempts to surprize Andejân.

In one of the forts of Ush, named Mâdu, which is distinguished for its superior strength, Tambol had left his younger brother Khalîl with a garrison of two hundred, or two hundred and fifty men. Against this fortress I now marched, and attacked it with great vigour. The castle of Mâdu is excessively strong. On the north side, where there is a river, it is very steep and precipitous. If an arrow be discharged from the river, it may perhaps reach the castle-wall. Its supply of water is from a conduit on this side. From the bottom of the castle a sort of covered way, having ramparts on each side, reaches down to the river. All round the hillock there is a moat. As the river is near at hand, they had brought from its bed, stones about the size of those used for battering cannon, and carried them up into the fort. Such a number of huge stones[2] as were launched from the fort of Mâdu, in all the storms that I have witnessed, I never saw thrown from any other castle. Abdal Kadûs Kohbur, the elder brother of Kitteh Beg, having climbed up to the foot of the castle-wall, was hit by a large stone discharged from above, which sent him spinning down, heels over head, from that prodigious height, right forward, without touching anywhere till he lighted, tumbling and rolling, at the bottom of the glacis.[3] Yet he received no injury, and immediately mounted his horse and returned back to the camp. At the conduit which had the double wall, Yâr Ali Balâl was severely wounded in the head with a stone. The wound was afterwards cut open and dressed. Many of our people suf- Baber besieges Mâdu,

[1] The name of this, both in the Tûrki and in Mr Metcalfe's copy, is written *Urkend* and *Uzkend* variably. In my Persian copy it is Azerkend.

[2] Everything relative to artillery and battering engines, or machines used in sieges, is very indistinctly alluded to in these Memoirs. The Turki *kasan* and Persian *dig* are cannon. It is well known that the Ottomans and other eastern nations, as well as the nations of Europe on the first invention of cannon, were fond of having them of a very large size, for the purpose of discharging immense stones. They trusted more to the effects of a few discharges than to any regular fire.

[3] The Khâkrez or glacis in Asia, is generally immediately at the foot of the wall, and not separated from it by the ditch.

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fered from these stones. The morning after the attack, before breakfast time,[1] we had gained possession of the water-course. The action continued till evening, but, after losing their water, they could no longer hold out; and, next morning, they asked for quarter and surrendered the place. Khalîl, the younger brother of Tambol, who was in command, with seventy, eighty, or a hundred of the most active young men, were kept as prisoners, and sent to Andejân to be put in close custody. This was a fortunate occurrence for such of my Begs, officers, and soldiers, as had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

and takes it.

The two armies face each other near Ab-khan.

After taking Mâdu, I proceeded to Unchûtobah,[2] one of the villages of Ush. On the other hand, Tambol, after retreating from Andejân, encamped at a place called Ab-khan, one of the dependencies of Ribât-e-Serheng Urchini, so that there was only the distance of about one farsang between the two armies. At this time Kamber Ali, from ill health, was obliged to retire to Ush. For a month or forty days we remained in this posture. There was no general action during that time, but every day there were skirmishes between my foragers and theirs. During this period I paid great attention to support a strict look-out by night, and dug a trench all round the camp; where there was no ditch, we placed branches of trees. I made all our soldiers march out and present themselves, accoutred and ready for action, by the side of the ditch; but, notwithstanding all this care, every three or four nights there was an alarm in the camp, and a call to arms. One day Sidi Beg Taghai having gone out to meet and cover the return of the foragers, the enemy came upon him in much superior force, and in the midst of the action that ensued, suddenly made him prisoner.

Khosrou Shah murders Baiesanghar Mirza.

August 17, 1499.

This year Khosrou Shah, having invited Baiesanghar Mirza to join him, under pretence of proceeding to attack Balkh, carried him to Kundez, from which place they set out on their march against Balkh. When they had reached Ubaj,[3] Khosrou Shah, the miserable and infidel-like wretch, betrayed by the ambition of usurping the sovereign power—(how is it possible for sovereignty to appertain to such a worthless and contemptible creature, who had neither birth, nor family, nor talents, nor reputation, nor wisdom, nor courage, nor justice, nor right?) yet this reptile seized upon Baiesanghar Mirza and his Begs, strangled him with a bow-string, and thus, on the tenth day of Moharrem, murdered this most accomplished and sweet-tempered prince, who was adorned with whatever endowments rank and birth could bestow. He also put to death a number of his Begs and confidential servants.

His birth and extraction. 1477.

Baiesanghar Mirza was born in Hissâr in the year 882, and was the second son of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, being younger than Sultan Masaûd Mirza, and elder than Sultan Ali Mirza, Sultan Hussain Mirza, and Sultan Weis Mirza, better known by the name of Khan Mirza. His mother was Pasheh Begum.

His person and features.

He had large eyes, a round face, and was about the middle size; he had a Turkoman visage, and was an extremely elegant young man.

His disposition and talents.

He was a lover of justice, humane, of a pleasant disposition, and a perfectly accomplished prince. His tutor was Syed Muhammed, a Shîah, whence Baiesanghar himself

[1] *Chasht-gah*, about 10 o'clock.—*Leyden.*

[2] Unjutobeh. T.

[3] A well-known pass over the Amu, near Kobâdiân.

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was tainted with the notions of that sect. It is said, however, that latterly, while at Samarkand, he retracted the errors of that system, and became purely orthodox. He was excessively addicted to wine; but, during the times that he did not drink, was regular in the performance of his prayers. He was sufficiently generous and liberal. He wrote a fine Nastâlik hand, and had considerable skill in painting. He was also a poet, and assumed the poetical name of Aâdeli. The poems were not so numerous as to be formed into a Diwân. The following verses are his:[1]—(Persian.)

> Like an unsubstantial shadow I fall here and there,
> And if not supported by the face of a wall, drop flat on the ground.

In Samarkand the Odes (Ghazels) of Baiesanghar Mirza are so popular, that there is not a house in which a copy of them may not be found.

His wars. He fought two battles, one of them with Sultan Mahmûd Khan, when he first mounted the throne of Samarkand. Sultan Mahmûd Khan, at the instigation of Sultan Jûneid Birlâs and some others, had advanced with an army for the purpose of conquering Samarkand, and marched by way of Ak-kûtil[2] as far as Ribât-e-Soghd and Kanbâi. Baiesanghar Mirza marched from Samarkand to meet him, engaged him at Kanbâi, gave him a severe defeat, and ordered the heads of three or four thousand Moghuls to be struck off. Haider Gokultosh, who was the Khan's prime adviser, fell in this battle. His second battle was with Sultan Ali Mirza at Bokhâra, in which he was defeated.

His dominions. His dominions consisted at first only of Bokhâra, which was given him by his father Sultan Mahmûd Mirza. On his father's death the Begs held a consultation, and agreed on making him king of Samarkand also. He continued in possession of Bokhâra as well as Samarkand for some time; but he lost the former after the insurrection of the Terkhâns. When I took Samarkand, he retired to Khosrou-Shah; and when Khosrou Shah took Hissâr, he gave it to Baiesanghar.

His family. He left no offspring. When he first went to Khosrou Shah, he married the daughter of his paternal uncle, Sultan Khalîl Mirza. He had no other wife or concubine.

He never exercised the powers of an independent prince, even so far as to promote any one of the men of consequence about him to the rank of a Beg of the higher class. All his Begs were those of his father and paternal uncle.

Baber's army reinforced. After the death of Baiesanghar, Sultan Ahmed Karâwel, the father of Kûch Beg, with his brothers and relations, and their families and dependants, came through the country of Karatigîn,[3] and joined me, after giving me notice of their intentions. Kamber Ali, who had been sick in Ush, having recovered from his disorder, now also returned. Hailing as a good omen this unlooked-for arrival of Sultan Ahmed Karâwel and his party to my assistance, I next morning drew out my army in array, and moved against the enemy; who, not finding themselves strong enough to maintain their position at Ab-khan, marched off from their ground. A number of tents and carpets, Tambol retreats in disorder,

[1] Baber quotes the first verses of a well-known ode.
[2] The White-Pass.—*Leyden.* A Pass in the Ak-tagh mountains.
[3] Karatigîn lies in the hills north of Hissâr and Khutlân, and south of Ferghâna.

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and a quantity of baggage, fell into the hands of my soldiers. We advanced and occupied the same ground which the enemy had left. That same evening Tambol, taking Jehangîr with him, passed on my left and entered Khûban,[1] a village on my flank, about three farsangs off, towards Andejân.

and occupies Khuban.

Baber offers Tambol battle,

Early next morning, having drawn up my army in regular battle array, with right and left wing, centre and advance, and covered the horses with their housings of mail, accoutred my men in their armour, formed them into lines, and sent forward the infantry that carried the turas, we proceeded towards the enemy. Ali Dost Taghâi and his followers formed my right. On the left wing were stationed Ibrâhim Sâru, Weis Laghari, Sîdi Kara, Muhammed Ali Mobasher, Kuchik Beg[2] the elder brother of Khwâjeh Kilân, and a number of others connected with Sultan Ahmed Karâwel and Kûch Beg, with their followers. Kâsim Beg was with me in the centre. Kamber Ali, who had the advanced guard,[3] with several of my adherents and young nobility, had reached Saakeh, a village to the south-east of Khûban, and about a kos[4] from it, when the enemy marçhed out of the village of Khûban in battle array. Upon this we hastened our march as much as was compatible with prudence and the preservation of our order of battle. The turas and infantry had, however, fallen somewhat behind when we engaged. By the divine favour their services were not required in the battle; for, at the instant of closing, the right wing of the enemy and my left having engaged hand to hand, Kuchik Beg, the elder brother of Khwâjeh Kilân, smote so lustily, that the enemy, unable to maintain their ground, took to flight: and the flankers[5] and right wing of my army had not an opportunity of coming into action. We took a number of prisoners, whose heads I ordered to be struck off. My Begs, such as Kâsim Beg and Ali Dost Beg, but particularly Ali Dost, restrained the pursuit, being apprehensive of some danger from following the fugitives too far, by which means the greater part of them escaped. I halted at the village of Khubân. This was my first battle, and Almighty God of his bounty and favour vouchsafed me the victory. I accepted it as a favourable omen. The day after we halted in this place, my maternal grandmother Shah Sultan Begum, came from Andejân for the purpose of begging off Jehangîr Mirza if she had found him a prisoner. As the winter was at hand, and no grain or forage remained in the fields, I did not deem it advisable to advance against Uzkend, but returned to Andejân.

and defeats him.

After some days I held a council, in which it was determined that my wintering in Andejân would in no degree tend to the injury of the enemy; that it was rather to be feared that it would increase their force, by leaving the fields open to their ravages and enterprize; that it was necessary to hut my troops in winter quarters, that my men might not be distressed for grain or provisions; and that we might straiten the enemy by keeping them in some measure blocked up. In pursuance of this plan, having proceeded to Rebâtik-Urchini, which is named Suârasî[6] from being between two rivers,

Huts his army for the winter.

[1] Junan.—*Turki.* [2] i. e. The little Beg. [3] Irâwel.

[4] A mile and a half or two miles.

[5] The Herawel are properly small guards and pickets pushed on in advance, and along the flanks.

[6] The Tûrki calls this *Suârasi*, the Persian *Miâneh Doâb*, names which have the same meaning. The former is probably the country name.

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I decamped from Andejân, and moved into the neighbourhood of Armiân and Nûshâb, with the intention of constructing winter cantonments in that vicinity, which we accordingly did. Around these villages there is excellent sporting ground, and good cover for game. Near the river Ilâmish, in the jungle, there are great plenty of mountain-goats, stags,[1] and wild hogs. In the smaller jungle, which is scattered and in clumps, there are abundance of excellent jungle-fowl and hares. The foxes possess more fleetness than those of any other place. While I remained in these winter quarters I rode a-hunting every two or three days. After scouring the larger forests, where we roused and hunted the mountain-goat and deer,[2] we hawked in the smaller jungle for the jungle-fowl,[3] and also shot them with forked arrows.[4] The jungle-fowl are here very fat. While we remained in these winter quarters we had the flesh of jungle-fowl in great abundance.

During my stay in these cantonments, Khodaberdi the standard-bearer, whom I had lately honoured with the rank of Beg, two or three times fell on Tambol's foragers, routed them and cut off a number of their heads, which he brought back to the camp. The young men of the territory of Andejân and Ush also went out incessantly to plunder the enemy's country, drove away their herds of horses, killed their men, and reduced them to great distress. Had I remained the whole winter in these cantonments, there is every reason to believe, that, by the return of spring, the enemy would have been reduced to the last extremity without fighting a battle; but at the moment when I had brought them to this state of distress and embarrassment, Kamber Ali asked leave to go to his government; and, whatever pains I took to impress these views on his mind, and though I forbade him to leave me, the brutal fellow persisted in his resolutions. He was a wonderfully fickle and perverse man. Compelled by necessity, I finally gave him permission to return to his country. His first government was Khojend; and recently when I took Andejân I had given him Asfera and Kandbâdâm; so that, of all my Begs, Kamber Ali had the greatest number of retainers and the greatest extent of country; no other equalled him in either of these respects. We remained forty or fifty days in these winter-quarters. Being obliged to give leave to a number of men to go off, in the same way as I had done to Kamber Ali, in the end I myself found it expedient to return to Andejân.

Kamber Ali returns to his government.

Baber dismisses his troops.

While I staid in the winter cantonments, some of Tambol's people were going back and forward without intermission to and from the Khan at Tâshkend. Ahmed Beg, who was the Governor[5] of Sultan Muhammed Sultan, the son of Sultan Mahmûd Khan, and who, of all his Begs, had been distinguished by the most conspicuous marks of his favour, was paternal uncle of the full blood to Tambol. Beg Tîlbeh, who was the Khan's Chamberlain,[6] was the elder brother of Tambol. By coming and going about the Khan, they wrought upon him to send a body of men to Tambol's assistance. Beg Tîlbeh, from his infancy, had been in Moghûlistân, and had grown up to manhood among the Moghuls, but had never come into our countries, nor taken service with any of our Princes, having always remained in the employment of the Khans.

Sultan Mahmûd Khan reinforces Tambol.

[1] Gawezin. [2] Gawezin. [3] Mûrgh-deshti.
[4] Giz. [5] Beg Atke. [6] Ishek Agha.

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On the present occasion, before this reinforcement was sent, he left his wife and family in Tâshkend, and went and joined his younger brother Tambol.

Kâsim Ajeb taken prisoner.

At this time an awkward incident occurred to Kâsim Ajeb, whom I had left in the temporary command of Akhsi. Having gone out with a few men in pursuit of a marauding party, he had followed them rather rashly, and crossed the river of Khojend at Bikhrâtâ in the pursuit, when he fell in with a large body of Tambol's men, and was taken prisoner.

Tambol advances to Suârasi.

When Tambol learned the disbanding of my army, and had conferred with his elder brother Beg Tîlbeh, who had reached him with advices from the Khan, and given him certain assurances of the coming of reinforcements, he marched from Uzkend to the district termed Suârasi[1] between the two rivers. At the same time I received certain

Sultan Muhammed Khanekeh besieges Kâsân.

intelligence from Kâsân, that the Khan had sent off his son Sultan Muhammed Khanekeh, who was generally called Sultanim, accompanied by Ahmed Beg, and five or six thousand men, who had passed by the route of Archeh-kend, and come and laid siege to Kâsân. Without constraining myself by waiting for such of my troops as

Baber compels him to raise the siege.

were at a distance, taking with me only such of my men as were ready at hand, without delay, in the depth of winter, placing my reliance in Almighty God, I marched from Andejân by way of Bend-sâlâr to attack Sultanim and Ahmed Beg. That night we halted nowhere, and next morning we arrived at Akhsi. The cold during the night was extremely intense,[2] insomuch that several of my people were frost-bitten in the hands and feet, and the ears of some of them were contracted and withered like an apple. We did not tarry at Akhsi, but having placed Yârik Taghâi in charge of that place in the room of Kâsim Ajeb, I passed on for Kâsân. When I arrived within one kos of Kâsân, I received intelligence that Ahmed Beg and Sultânim, on being informed of my approach, had broken up in confusion, and retreated in great haste.

Tambol arrives in the neighbourhood;

The moment that Tambol knew of my march, he had set out with all speed to the assistance of his elder brother, and now came up. It was about the time between afternoon and evening prayers, when the blackness occasioned by the approach of Tambol's army became visible in the direction of Noukend.[3] Confounded and disconcerted

but escapes to Arkhiân.

at the sudden and unnecessary retreat of his elder brother, as well as by my expeditious arrival, he instantly drew up. I said, "It is God himself that has conducted them hither, and brought them so far to fatigue their horses! Let us come on, and by the favour of God, not one of those who have fallen into our hands shall escape out of them." Weis Laghari and some others, however, represented that the day was now far spent; that if we let them alone that day it was out of their power to escape during the night, and that we could afterwards confront them wherever they were found. This advice was followed, and they were not attacked. And thus when, by a piece of rare good fortune, the enemy had come, as if to put themselves in our power, we suffered them to get away without the slightest injury. There is a saying,

(*Tûrki.*)—He that does not seize what comes into his grasp,
Must indulge his regret even to old age, and repine.

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[1] Mian-e-doab.

[2] The caravans from Tobolsk to Bokhâra generally cross the Sirr below Tâshkend on the ice.

[3] Noukend seems to lie north of the Sirr, between Uzkend and Kâsân.

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(*Persian.*)—Occasion must be leaped on when it offers;
The doings of the indolent, out of season, are utterly worthless.

Regarding the interval granted them till morning as most precious, they rested nowhere all night, but rode on till they gained the fortress of Arkhiân. When morning came we went against the enemy, but they were not to be found. We pursued them, and as we did not judge it advisable to lay close siege to Arkhiân, encamped a kos from it in a village of Nemengân.[1] We continued thirty or forty days in this station, while Tambol remained in the fortress of Arkhiân. Small parties sometimes advanced from my army, and were met by parties from the fort, when skirmishes ensued in the ground between us. One night they made a sally to surprise us, but stopped on the outside of the camp, and retired, after discharging a few arrows. We drew a trench around the camp, and fenced it with branches of trees, so that they could do us no injury. Baber pursues him.

While we remained in this encampment, Kamber Ali, who had taken umbrage, was two or three times on the point of returning to his own government; he once actually mounted, and had set out, but several Begs being sent after him, with a great deal of difficulty prevailed on him to come back. Kamber Ali discontented.

About the same time Syed Yusef Machemi sent a person to Sultan Ahmed Tambol to inform him of his wish to enter his service, and finally joined him. Among the districts along the bottom of the hills of Andejân, there are two called Oîghûr and Machem. Syed Yusef was the Kilân[2] or Head-man of Machem. He had lately become known to me, by sight, among my courtiers, had taken it into his head to shake off the Kilanter, and affected the airs of a Beg, though nobody had ever made him a Beg. He was a wonderfully sly, treacherous, unsettled sort of a creature. From the period when I took Andejân until the present occasion, he had two or three times joined me against Tambol, and two or three times gone over and joined Tambol against me. This, however, was the last time that he ever rebelled. He had with him a number of Ils, Uluses, and Aîmâks.[3] "They must be prevented from uniting with Tambol," we exclaimed, "and we must catch him on the road." So saying, we took to horse. On the third day we reached the vicinity of Beshkhârân, but Tambol had arrived and entered the fort. Of the Begs who accompanied me on this expedition, Ali Dervîsh Beg, Koch Beg, and their brothers, advanced close up to the gates of Beshkhârân and had some gallant skirmishes with the enemy. Koch Beg and his brothers particularly distinguished themselves. Some of them fought with great intrepidity and success. Defection of Syed Machemi. Baber marches to Beshkhârân.

I halted on an eminence at the distance of one kos from Beshkhârân. Tambol, bringing Jehangîr along with him, came and encamped, resting on the fort of Beshkhârân. In the course of three or four days, several Begs, who were by no means friendly to my interests, such as Ali Dost and Kamber Ali the skinner, with their dependants and

[1] Ghazneh Temengan.—*Tûrki.* A marginal note on the Tûrki manuscript says, that it is the name of a Tumân (or district). Leyden explains it, *the bound of arrow-mark.* I have ventured to read Nemengân, which is now the name of the whole of Ferghâna north of the Sirr. My Persian MS. having no mark over the first letter of the word, may be read in either way.

[2] The *Kilân,* or rather *Kilânter,* is a sort of Mayor of the towns of Persia.

[3] These were the wanderingtribes of the country.

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adherents, began to talk of peace and an accommodation. Those who were really attached to me were kept entirely in the dark as to the intended treaty, and we were altogether averse to it. But, as the two personages who have been named, were the Begs of chief authority, it was to be apprehended that, if we did not listen to their wishes, and refused to make peace, more serious consequences might follow. It was necessary therefore to comply, and a peace was concluded on the following terms: That the country lying on the Akhsi side of the river of Khojend should belong to Jehangîr Mirza; that on the Andejân side to me: that Uzkend, too, should be given up to me, when they had withdrawn their wives and families from it: that after we had settled our territories, Iand Jehangîr Mirza should unite and proceed in concert against Samarkand; and that, as soon as I had conquered and gained complete possession of Samarkand, I should resign Andejân to Jehangîr Mirza. The day after these conditions were agreed on, it being towards the end of Rajeb,[1] Jehangîr Mîrza and Tambol came and paid me their respects. We ratified everything that had been arranged; Jehangîr Mirza having taken leave, proceeded to Akhsi, while I returned to Andejân. On my arrival there, I ordered Khalîl, the younger brother of Tambol, and a number of other prisoners, to be brought out, and having given them dresses of honour, dismissed them. The enemy on their part released such of my Begs and officers as had been taken prisoners, as Taghâi Beg, Muhammed Dost, Mîr Shah Kochîn, Sîdî Beg, Kasim Ajeb, Pîr Weis and Mîram Dîwân, and sent them to me.

A peace concluded. The terms.

After our return to Andejân, the manners and deportment of Ali Dost Beg underwent a complete change. He began to conduct himself with great hostility towards those who had adhered to me in all my dangers and difficulties. He first of all dismissed Khalîfeh. He then imprisoned and plundered Ibrâhîm Sâru and Weis Laghari without fault or pretext; and dismissed them, after stripping them of their governments. He next fell upon Kâsim Beg, and got quit of him. He published a proclamation, that Khalîfeh and Ibrâhim Sâru were stanch friends of Khwâjeh Kazi, and had intended to murder him in revenge for the Kazi's blood. His son Muhammed Dost began to assume the state of a sovereign. His style of intercourse, his entertainments, his levee, his furniture, were all those of a king. The father and son ventured on such doings, relying on the support of Tambol. Nor did I retain sufficient authority or power to be able to check them in their outrageous proceedings; for, while I had close at hand an enemy so powerful as Tambol, who was always eager to afford them his aid, and to bear them out in any act, however violent, they might safely do whatever their hearts desired. My situation was singularly delicate, and I was forced to be silent. Many were the indignities which I suffered at that time, both from the father and son.

Tyrannical proceedings of Ali Dost Beg.

Aîsha Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, to whom I had been betrothed in the lifetime of my father and uncle, having arrived in Khojend, I now married her, in the month of Shâban. In the first period of my being a married man, though I had no small affection for her, yet, from modesty and bashfulness, I went to her only once in ten, fifteen, or twenty days. My affection afterwards declined, and

Baber marries Aisha Sultan Begum.

[1] The end of February, 1500.

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my shyness increased; insomuch, that my mother the Khanem, used to fall upon me and scold me with great fury, sending me off like a criminal to visit her once in a month or forty days.

His attachment to Baberi.

At this time there happened to be a lad belonging to the camp-bazar, named Baberi. There was an odd sort of coincidence in our names:—

(*Turki verse.*)—I became wonderfully fond of him;
Nay, to speak the truth, mad and distracted after him.

Before this I never had conceived a passion for any one; and indeed had never been so circumstanced as either to hear or witness any words spoken expressive of love or amorous passion.[1] In this situation I composed a few verses in Persian, of which the following is a couplet:—

Never was lover so wretched, so enamoured, so dishonoured as I;
And may fair never be found so pitiless, so disdainful as thou!

Sometimes it happened that Baberi came to visit me; when, from shame and modesty, I found myself unable to look him direct in the face. How then is it to be supposed that I could amuse him with conversation or a disclosure of my passion? From intoxication and confusion of mind I was unable to thank him for his visit; it is not therefore to be imagined that I had power to reproach him with his departure. I had not even self-command enough to receive him with the common forms of politeness. One day while this affection and attachment lasted, I was by chance passing through a narrow lane with only a few attendants, when, of a sudden, I met Baberi face to face. Such was the impression produced on me by this rencounter, that I almost fell to pieces. I had not the power to meet his eyes, or to articulate a single word. With great confusion and shame I passed on and left him, remembering the verses of Muhammed Salikh:—

I am abashed whenever I see my love;
My companions look to me, and I look another way.

The verses were wonderfully suited to my situation. From the violence of my passion and the effervescence of youth and madness, I used to stroll bare-headed and barefoot through lane and street, garden and orchard, neglecting the attentions due to friend and stranger; and the respect due to myself and others:—

[1] The whole of this is very curious. Baber, following the ideas of his age and country, talks of this as his first love, considering his marriage, as marriages in Asia are considered, merely as a contract of convenience, with which affection has nothing to do. This is inevitable, from the state of seclusion in which women are kept, and from the tender age at which the children of respectable families are always betrothed to each other. The levity with which he speaks of his passion for Baberi is no less characteristic. The prevalence of the vice in question, in Mahommedan countries, results from the degraded situation of women in society. We must not look for refined moral excellence in man, while woman is a slave, or occupies an inferior place in the scale of social life. We may regret that Baber did not rise higher above the moral level of his country; but it is useful to see how even the most powerful minds may be influenced by education. With these remarks, I take leave of this passage in Baber's life, to which I shall not again recur.

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(*Turki verse.*)—During the fit of passion, I was mad and deranged; nor did I know
That such is his state who is enamoured of a fairy face.

Sometimes, like a distracted man, I roamed alone over the mountains and deserts; sometimes I went wandering about from street to street in search of mansions and gardens. I could neither sit nor go; I could neither stand nor walk.

(*Turki verse.*)—I had neither strength to go nor power to stay;
To such a state did you reduce me, O my heart!

Rupture between Sultan Ali Mirza and the Terkhâns.

This same year a quarrel broke out between Sultan Ali Mirza[1] and Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, originating in the high state and overbearing influence attained by the Terkhâns. They had taken complete possession of the whole of Bokhâra, and did not give any one a single dang[2] from its revenues. Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân had in like manner gained unbounded influence in Samarkand, and conferred all the districts belonging to it on his own sons, his followers and adherents: and, excepting a small provision settled on him from the revenue of the city, not a *fils*[3] from any other quarter reached Sultan Ali Mirza. The Sultan had now grown up to man's estate, and it was not to be expected that he could continue to submit to such treatment. In conjunction with some of his most attached servants, he formed a design against Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, who, having got notice of the plot, left the city with his domestics and servants, his adherents and retainers, along with such of the Begs as were intimately connected with him, such as Sultan Hussain Arghûn, Pîr Ahmed, Khwajeh Hussain, the younger brother of Uzûn Hassan, Kâra Birlâs, Sâlikh Muhammed, and several other Begs and Cavaliers.

Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân flies from Samarkand.

Khan Mirza marches against Samarkand;

At this period, Sultan Mahmûd Khan dispatched Khan Mirza,[4] accompanied by Muhammed Hussain Doghlet, Ahmed Beg, and a number of his Moghuls, against Samarkand. Hâfez Beg Duldai, with his son, Tâhir Beg, were the governors of Khan Mirza. Hassan Nabîreh, Hindû Beg, and a great many cavaliers, from attachment to Hâfiz Beg and Tâhir Beg, deserted from Sultan Ali Mirza and joined Mirza Khan. Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân sent messengers to invite Khan Mirza and the Moghul army; and himself, advancing to the territory of Shâdwâr, had a conference with Mirza Khan and the Moghul Begs. The Moghul Begs, however, agreed so ill with Muhammed Beg and the others, that they even formed the design of seizing upon him; but he and his Begs having discovered the plot, made their escape from the Moghul army by stratagem. After the defection of this force, the Moghuls found themselves unable to maintain their ground alone. Sultan Ali Mirza, accompanied by a small force which he had with him at the time, pushed on by rapid marches from Samarkand, and overtook and fell upon Khan Mirza and the Moghul army, as they reached

[1] Sultan Ali Mirza, it will be remembered, was still King of Bokhâra and of Samarkand, which he had entered when it was abandoned by Baber.

[2] A small silver coin, the sixth part of a dirhem; at the present day, of the value of about a penny.

[3] A small copper coin.

[4] Khan Mirza was Weis Mirza, the youngest son of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza. On his father's death, his mother had him conveyed to Tâshkend to her brother's court.

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their ground at Yâr-ailâk. The Moghuls were unable to sustain the attack, and fled in confusion. Thus, towards the close of his life, Sultan Ali Mirza performed one tolerably fair achievement. but is defeated by Sultan Ali Mirza.

Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, and the rest of his party, seeing that they had now nothing to expect from Sultan Ali Mirza, or the Mirzas his brothers, dispatched Abdal Wahab, (a Moghul, who had formerly been in my service, and who, at the siege of Andejân, had gallantly exerted himself, and freely hazarded his life to support Khwâjeh Kazi,) for the purpose of inviting me to their assistance. I was at that time in the sad condition which has been mentioned. I was fully resolved to attempt Samarkand, and, in making peace, this had been the view held out to me. I now, therefore, immediately sent the Moghul to Akhsi to Jehangîr Mirza, post, with relays of horses, while I myself set out against Samarkand with such troops as were along with me. It was the month of Zilkadeh when I marched on the expedition. On the fourth day, I reached Kaba, and halted. About the time of afternoon prayers, I received intelligence that Khalîl, Sultan Ahmed Tambol's younger brother, had surprised the fortress of Ush. Baber invited to Samarkand. June 1500. Hears of the loss of Ush.

The affair happened in this way:—At the peace, the prisoners, the chief of whom was Khalîl, the younger brother of Tambol, had been set at liberty, as has been mentioned. Tambol had sent Khalîl, in order to remove his family and effects from Uzkend. Having entered Uzkend under pretence of carrying away the family, day after day he promised to carry them off; but, under one pretext or another, never left the place. When I had set out on my expedition, availing himself of the opportunity, and perceiving Ush to be destitute of troops, he made an attack in the night, and took it by surprise.

When this news reached me, I judged it inexpedient, on several accounts, either to halt or turn back against him; I therefore continued to advance on Samarkand. One of the reasons which influenced me was, that all my soldiers of note had gone off different ways, each to his own home, to make ready their accoutrements and arms, and, relying on the peace, we had never suspected any craft or treachery from our enemy. Another was, that the intrigues and cabals of Kamber Ali and Ali Dost, two of my Begs of the first eminence, now began to be very evident, so that all confidence in them was at an end, as I have already given to understand. A farther motive was, that as the party of the nobles of Samarkand, at the head of whom was Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, had sent to invite me, it would have been most absurd, on account of a small place like Andejân, to lose time, and perhaps such a noble capital as Samarkand. From Kaba we advanced to Marghinân, which I had bestowed on Sultan Ahmed Beg, the father of Koch Beg. He was himself prevented by his situation and connexions from accompanying me, and remained in Marghinân; but his son, Koch Beg, with one or two of his brothers, went along with me. We proceeded by way of Aspera, and halted on reaching Mehen, a village belonging to that district. By a fortunate coincidence, Kâsim Beg, with his troops, Ali Dost, with his men, Syed Kâsim, and a very considerable number of good soldiers, that very night arrived in Mehen, as if they had come post by assignation, and all joined me. Leaving Mehen, and passing Continues his march.

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by the route of the plain Jasan,[1] we reached Uratippa, crossing the bridge of Chapan.[2] Kamber Ali, confiding in Tambol, had gone from his own government of Khojend to Akhsi, in order to consult with him regarding the arrangements of the army; no sooner had he reached that place, than he was taken into custody, and Tambol advanced to seize his districts; verifying the Tûrki proverb:—

Kamber Ali seized by Tambol.

> To trust a friend will show you raw;
> Your friend will stuff your hide with straw.

Effects his escape.

While they were conducting him from one place to another, however, he effected his escape by the way, and, barefooted and bareheaded, after encountering a multitude of hardships, came and joined me while I was at Uratippa.

At Uratippa I received intelligence that Sheibâni Khan had defeated Bâki Terkhân, at the fort of Dabûsi, and was advancing against Bokhâra. From Uratippa, by the route of Ilâgh-burkeh, I reached Sengraz,[3] the commandant[4] of which surrendered the place. As Kamber Ali had joined me in a ruined state, and completely plundered, I left him behind in Sengraz, and advanced forward. When we had reached Yuret-Khan, the Begs of Samarkand, at the head of whom was Muhammed Mazîd Khan, came to meet me, and tendered me their duty. I consulted with them about the taking of Samarkand. They assured me that Khwâjeh Yahîa was attached to me; and that if he could be prevailed upon heartily to co-operate, Samarkand might be taken with the greatest facility, without combat or struggle. I therefore several times sent persons to confer with Khwâjeh Yahîa. The Khwâjeh did not send me any message, but silently used every exertion to facilitate my entrance into Samarkand; at the same time, he did not say a word to make me despair of success.

Baber reaches Yuret-Khan.

Marching from Yuret-Khan, I advanced to the Derghâm. From the banks of the Derghâm I sent Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali, my librarian, to Khwâjeh Yahîa. He brought me back instructions to advance, and that the city should be given up to me. Mounting just at nightfall, we left the Derghâm, and rode towards the city. But Sultan Mahmûd Dûldai, the father of Sultan Muhammed Dûldai, having deserted from me at Yuret-Khan, and gone over to the enemy, had informed them of our proceedings; so that, our motions being discovered, the design did not succeed. I therefore returned back to the banks of the Derghâm.

Many of his Begs return to his service.

While I remained encamped there, Ibrâhim Sâru Mûnkalîgh, who had received many favours from me, but whom Ali Dost had plundered and driven from my service while we were at Yar-ailâk, returned, accompanied by Muhammed Yûsef, the son of Syed Yûsef Beg, and again entered into my service. The greater part of my Begs and most attached servants, whom Ali Dost Beg, from jealousy, had treated ill, banishing some of them, plundering others, and ruining the rest by heavy contributions, all returned to me at this period, one after another. The power of Ali Dost was now

[1] Hasan—*Leyden.* Khasian—*Persian.*
[2] Chapan—*Leyden.* Chelian—*Persian.* Khuban—*Mr Metcalfe's MS.*
[3] The capital of Yar-ailâk. [4] Darogha.

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gone. He had placed his entire reliance on Tambol, and had harassed and persecuted me and all my friends. I had conceived a rooted dislike to the man. Partly from shame and partly from apprehension, he could no longer remain with me, and asked leave to retire, which I granted with great pleasure. Ali Dost and Muhammed Dost, on leaving me, went and joined Tambol, by whom they were received and treated with much distinction; and I afterwards had many proofs of the mutinous and incendiary temper of both father and son. A year or two after, Ali Dost was seized with a cancerous sore in the hands, of which he died. Muhammed Dost went among the Uzbeks, where he did not succeed badly; but there, also, having been guilty of some piece of treachery to those whose salt he eat, he was obliged to flee, and came to the hilly districts of Andejân, where he spirited up some disturbances; but falling at last into the hands of the Uzbeks, they put out his eyes, and thus was verified the saying, "the salt has seized his eyes."[1]

Ali Dost and his son allowed to retire.

Their future history.

After they had taken leave, I dispatched Ghûri Birlâs with a party of horse towards Bokhâra, in quest of intelligence. He brought me back information that Sheibâni Khan had taken Bokhâra, and was marching on Samarkand. Not thinking my stay in that neighbourhood advisable, I proceeded towards Kesh,[2] in which place were the families of many of the Begs of Samarkand. A week or two after my arrival there, information was brought that Sultan Ali Mirza had delivered up Samarkand to Sheibâni Khan.

Sheibâni Khan takes Bokhâra,

and Samarkand.

The circumstance of this event are as follows:—The mother of Sultan Ali Mirza, named Zûhreh Begi Agha, was led by her stupidity and folly to send a messenger privately to Sheibâni Khan, proposing that, if he would marry her, her son should surrender Samarkand into his hands, on condition that, when Sheibâni recovered his own paternal dominions, he should restore Samarkand to Sultan Ali Mirza. Abû Yûsef Arghûn was let into the secret of this plan; nay, that traitor may be fairly regarded as the original projector of it.

Particulars of this event.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 906.[3]

Sheibani Khan advancing as had been arranged with the princess, halted at the Bagh-e-Meidan.[4] About noon, Sultan Ali Mirza, without acquainting any of his Begs, officers, cavaliers, or servants, with his intention, and without holding any consultation, left the town by the Char-raheh gate, accompanied only by a few insignificant individuals of his personal attendants, and went to Sheibâni Khan at the Bagh-e-Mei-

Sheibâni Khan arrives before Samarkand.

Sultan Ali Mirza goes out and meets him.

[1] In the East, it is looked upon as the greatest crime to betray one in whose family or service a man has lived, or even with whom he has eaten. Hence the epithet *nemek-herâm*, or *treacherous to his salt*, is one of the severest of reproaches.

[2] South of Samarkand, beyond the hills.

[3] This year commenced on 28th July 1500.

[4] Garden of the plain.

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dan. Sheibâni did not give him a very flattering reception; and, as soon as the ceremonies of meeting were over, made him sit down lower than himself. Khwâjeh Yahîa, on learning that the Mirza had gone out, was filled with alarm; but, seeing no remedy left, also went out of the town, and waited on Sheibâni Khan, who received him without rising, and said some severe things to him. On his rising to go away, however, Sheibâni Khan behaved more courteously, and rose from his seat. Jân Ali, the son of Khwâjeh Ali Bai, who was in Rabât-Khwâjeh, as soon as he heard that the Mirza had gone out, likewise went and presented himself to Sheibâni Khan; so that the wretched and weak woman, for the sake of getting herself a husband, gave the family and honour of her son to the winds. Nor did Sheibâni Khan mind her a bit, or value her even so much as his other handmaids, concubines, or women. Sultan Ali Mirza was confounded at the condition in which he now found himself, and deeply regretted the step which he had taken. Several young cavaliers about him, perceiving this, formed a plan for escaping with him; but he would not consent. As the hour of fate was at hand, he could not shun it. He had quarters assigned him near Taimur Sultan. Three or four days afterwards, they put him to death in the meadow of Kulbeh. From his over-anxiety to preserve this transitory and mortal life, he left a name of infamy behind him; and, from following the suggestions of a woman, struck himself out of the list of those who have earned for themselves a glorious name. It is impossible to write any more of the transactions of such a personage, and impossible to listen any farther to the recital of such base and dastardly proceedings.

Universal submission.

Sultan Ali Mirza put to death.

After the murder of Sultan Ali Mirza, the Khan sent Jân Ali after his prince; and as he entertained suspicions of Khwâjeh Yahîa, banished him, and sent him off for Khorasân, with his two sons, Khwâjeh Muhammed Zakerîa and Khwâjeh Bâki. They were followed by a party of Uzbeks, who martyred the Khwâjeh and both his young sons, in the neighbourhood of Khwâjeh Kardzin. Sheibâni Khan denied all participation in the Khwâjeh's death, alleging that it was the act of Kamber Bî and Kepek Bî.[1] This is only making the matter worse, according to the saying, "the excuse is worse that the fault;" for when Begs presume to perpetrate such deeds without being authorised by their Khan or King, what confidence can be reposed in such a government?

Murder of Khwâjeh Yahîa and his sons.

No sooner had the Uzbeks taken Samarkand, than we moved away from Kesh towards Hissar.[2] Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, and some of the other Begs of Samarkand, accompanied me, along with their wives, children, and families. On halting at the Valley[3] of the district of Cheghâniân, Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, and the Samarkand nobles, separating from me, went and took service with Khosrou Shah, while I, without town or territory, without any spot to which I could go, or in which I could remain, in spite of the miseries which Khosrou Shah had inflicted on my house and family, saw myself compelled to pass through the midst of his territories. I once had

Baber leaves Kesh.

Passes through Khosrou Shah's territories.

[1] The Uzbeks, down to the present time, distinguish the richer and more substantial men of property by the title of *Bi*, which corresponds very much with *master*. The Uzbeks were composed of the four tribes of Vigurs, Naimans, Durmans, and Kankerats.—See *Astley's Voyages*, vol. IV. p. 483.

[2] They probably proceeded through the hills of the Derbend or the Kaluga Pass.

[3] Auleng, a valley, meadow, or pasture-ground.

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a fancy that I might go by way of the country of Karatigîn[1] to join my younger maternal uncle Ilcheh Khan, but I did not. We resolved to go up by the Kamrûd and to cross over the mountain of Sir-e-Tâk.[2] By the time we reached the confines of Nowendak, a servant of Khosrou Shah came to me, and, in his master's name, presented me with nine horses, and nine pieces of cloth.[3] When I reached the gorge of Kamrûd, Shir Ali Chehreh deserted from me and joined Wali, the younger brother of Khosrou Shah. The next morning Koch Beg separated from me and went to Hissar. Having entered the Valley of Kamrûd, we went up the river. In these roads, which are extremely dangerous, often overhanging precipices, and in the steep and narrow hill passes and straits which we were obliged to ascend, numbers of our horses and camels failed, and were unable to proceed. After four or five days march, we reached the mountain pass of Sir-e-Tâk. It is a pass, and such a pass! Never did I see one so narrow and steep; never were paths so narrow and precipitous traversed by me. We travelled on with incredible fatigue and difficulty, amid dangerous narrows and tremendous gulphs. Having, after a hundred sufferings and losses, at length surmounted these murderous, steep, and narrow defiles, we came down on the confines of Kân. Among the mountains of Kân there is a large lake, which may be about a kos[4] in circumference, and is very beautiful.

Surmounts the Pass of Sir-e-Tâk.

Reaches Kân.

Here I received information that Ibrâhim Terkhân had thrown himself into the fortress of Shirâz, which he had put in a state of defence, and that Kamber Ali and Abûl Kâsim Kohbûr, who had been in the fort of Khwâjeh Dîdâr, when the Uzbeks took Samarkand, not believing themselves able to hold out in the place, had repaired to Yâr-ailâk, the fortresses of which district they had occupied and put in a state of defence, and established themselves there.

Ibrâhim Terkhân occupies Yar-ailâk.

Leaving Kân on the right, we marched towards Keshtûd.[5] The Malek of Kân was renowned for his hospitality, generosity, politeness, and humanity. When Sultan Hussain Mirza came against Hissâr, Sultan Masaûd Mirza fled to his younger brother Baiesanghar Mirza at Samarkand, by this road. The Malek of Kân presented him with seventy or eighty horses as a peshkesh, and did him many other services of the like nature. To me he presented a single worthless horse, but did not come himself to greet me: Yet so it was, that those who were famed for generosity, proved niggards when they had to do with me; and those who were so celebrated for their hospitality, quite forgot it when I was concerned. Khosrou Shah too, was one who possessed a high reputation for liberality and generosity, and the services which he rendered to Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza have already been mentioned. He certainly received Bâki

Baber is ill received by the Malek of Kân.

[1] In that case he would probably have passed the hills into the Kashgar territory, and then proceeded to the east of the Ala-tagh mountains, which separated Kashghar and the country of the Moghuls from Ush, Kâsân, &c. The Persian copies read *Karatigîn and Alâi*.

[2] The valley of Kamrud leads up from the low country of Hissâr to Sir-e-Tâk, which seems to be on the summit of the Kara-tagh mountains. On getting across these mountains, Baber came on the country near the source of the Kohik, and on one skirt of Yar-ailâk.

[3] The Moghuls and Tûrks have a superstitious reverence for the number nine, and presents are generally made by nine or thrice nine pieces of each kind.

[4] About a mile and a half.

[5] Mr Metcalfe's MS. has Keshbûd, the Persian Kesûd and Kebûd.

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Terkhân and the other Begs with unbounded kindness and liberality. I twice passed through his country. Let it not be told to my peers that the humanity and politeness which he showed to my lowest servants, were not vouchsafed to me; nay that he did not even treat me with so much respect as he did them :—

Turki.—O, my soul! who has ever experienced good treatment from worldlings?
Hope not that those in whom there is no good, can show it to others?

Advances to Keshtûd.

Immediately on leaving Kân, it occurred to me that Keshtûd must certainly be in the possession of the Uzbeks, I made a rapid push towards it, but found the place ruined and desolate, not a man being there. Leaving it behind, I advanced, and halted on the banks of the Kohik. I passed this river by a bridge towards its bend at Yâri, and dispatched Kâsim Beg and some other Begs for the purpose of surprising the fortress of Rabât-Khwâjeh. Passing Yâri and the hill of Shankar-Khaneh,[1] we arrived

Reaches Yar-ailâk.

in Yar-ailâk. The Begs who were sent against Rabât-Khwâjeh, at the instant of applying their scaling-ladders, perceiving that the garrison had taken the alarm, and that the attempt had failed, mounted their horses and abandoned the enterprize. Kamber Ali, who was in Sangrâz,[2] came and waited on me. Abûl Kâsim Kohbur and Ibrâhim Terkhân sent some of their confidential servants to pay me their respects, and assure me of their attachment.

From the villages of Yar-ailâk we came to Asfendek. At that time Sheibâni Khan was in the vicinity of Khwâjeh-Dîdâr, accompanied by three or four thousand Uzbeks, and about as many more soldiers who had been collected from various quarters. He had bestowed the Daroghaship of Samarkand on Khan Vafa Mirza, who occupied the place with five or six hundred men. Khamzeh Sultan and Mehdi Sultan, with their adherents and followers, were encamped near Samarkand in the Kurûgh-Budineh. My men, good and bad, amounted only to two hundred and forty. Having consulted with

Resolves to attempt Samarkand.

the whole of my Begs and officers, we finally were agreed in opinion, that as Sheibâni Khan had taken Samarkand so recently, the men of the place had probably formed no attachment to him, nor he to them; that if anything was ever to be done, this was the crisis; that could we succeed in scaling the fort by surprise, and making ourselves master of it, the inhabitants of Samarkand would certainly declare in our favour; they had nothing else for it; that if they did not assist me, at least they would not fight for the Uzbeks. At all events, after the city was once taken, whatever God's will might be, be it done. Having come to these conclusions, we mounted and left Yar-ailâk after noon-tide prayers, and rode rapidly the greater part of the night. By midnight we

Fails in one attempt.

reached Yuret Khan. That night, learning that the garrison were on the alert, we did not venture to approach the place, but returned from Yuret-Khan: and as the morning dawned, we passed the river Kohik a little below Rabât-Khwâjeh, and regained Yar-ailâk.

One day I happened to be in the castle of Asfendek with some of my inferior nobles

[1] Hawk-house.

[2] I know not whether the name of this place, which occurs several times, is Sangrâz or Sangzâr, it being written both ways.

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and officers, such as Dost Nâsir, Neviân Gokultâsh, Kâsim Gokultâsh, Khan Kuli Kerîmdâd, Sheikh Dervîsh, Khosrou Gokultâsh, and Mîram Nâsir, who were sitting and conversing around me. The conversation turned at random on a variety of subjects. I happened to say, "Come! let us hit on a lucky guess, and may God accomplish it! When shall we take Samarkand?" Some said, "We shall take it in the spring," (it was then the harvest;) some said in a month, some in forty days, some in twenty days. Neviân Gokultâsh said, "We shall take it within a fortnight;" and Almighty God verified his words, for we did take it within the fortnight.

Baber's dream.

About this time I had a remarkable dream. I thought that the reverend Khwâjeh Abîd-ûlla had come to visit me. I went out to receive him, and the Khwâjeh came in and sat down. It appeared to me that a table was spread for him, but perhaps not with sufficient attention to neatness, on which account the holy man seemed to be somewhat displeased. Mûlla Bâba observing this, made me a sign. I answered him likewise by signs, that the fault was not mine, but the person's who had spread the table-cloth. The Khwâjeh perceived what passed, and was satisfied with my excuse. When he rose to depart I attended him out. In the hall of the house, however, he seemed to seize me by the right or left arm, and lifted me up so high that one of my feet was raised from the ground, while he said to me in Tûrki, *Sheikh Maslehet Berdi*, "Your religious instructor has counselled you."[1] A few days after this I took Samarkand.

Makes another attempt,

One or two days after seeing this dream, I went from the fort of Asfendek to that of Wasmand. Although I had once already set out to surprise Samarkand, and, after reaching the very suburbs, had been obliged to return, from finding the garrison on the alert; nevertheless, placing my confidence in the Almighty, I once more set out from Wasmand on the same enterprize, after mid-day prayers, and pushed on for Samarkand with the greatest expedition. Khwâjeh Abdal Makâram was along with me. At midnight we reached the bridge of the Moghak[2] at the Khiawân[3] (or public pleasure-ground), whence I detached forward seventy or eighty of my best men, with instructions to fix their scaling-ladders on the wall opposite to the Lovers' Cave,[4] to mount by them and enter the fort; after which they were to proceed immediately against the party who were stationed at the Firôzeh-gate, to take possession of it, and then to apprize me of their success by a messenger. They accordingly went, scaled the walls opposite to the Lovers' Cave, and entered the place without giving the least alarm. Thence they proceeded to the Firôzeh-gate, where they found Fâzil Terkhân, who was not of the Terkhân Begs, but a Terkhân merchant of Tûrkestân, that had served under Sheibâni Khan in Tûrkestân, and had been promoted by him. They instantly fell upon Fâzil Terkhân and put him and a number of his retainers to the sword, broke the lock of the gate with axes, and threw it open. At that very moment I came up to the gate and instantly entered. Abul Kâsim Kohbur did not himself come on this enterprize, but he sent his younger brother Ahmed Kâsim with thirty or forty of his followers.

and enters Samarkand by surprise.

[1] Or rather perhaps, Sheikh Maslehet gives it.

[2] Or Pul-e-Moghâk may be a village near Kûl-e-Moghâk. Moghâk literally means a ditch or hollow.

[3] The Khiawân or Khiabân, as already mentioned, is a park shaded by avenues of trees, under which the town's people went out to divert themselves.

[4] Moghar-e-Ashikân.

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There was no person with me on the part of Ibrâhim Terkhân; but, after I had entered the city, and while I was sitting in the Khanekâh[1] (or convent), Ahmed Terkhân, his younger brother, arrived with a party of his retainers. The citizens in general were fast asleep, but the shopkeepers, peeping out of their shops, and discovering what had happened, offered up prayers of thanksgiving. In a short time the rest of the citizens were apprized of the event, when they manifested great joy, and most hearty congratulations passed on both sides between them and my followers. They pursued the Uzbeks in every street and corner with sticks and stones, hunting them down and killing them like mad dogs: they put to death about four or five hundred Uzbeks in this manner. The Governor of the city, Jân Vafâ, was in Khwâjeh Yahîa's house, but contrived to make his escape, and rejoined Sheibâni Khan.

And expels the Uzbeks.

Received with joy by the inhabitants.

On entering the gate, I had instantly proceeded towards the college and Khanekah, and, on reaching the latter, I took my seat under the grand Tâk (or arched hall). Till morning the tumult and war-shouts were heard on every side. Some of the chief people and shopkeepers, on learning what had passed, came with much joy to bid me welcome, bringing me such offerings of food ready dressed as they had at hand, and breathed out prayers for my success.

When it was morning, information was brought that the Uzbeks were in possession of the Iron Gate, and were maintaining themselves in it. I immediately mounted my horse, and galloped to the place, accompanied only by fifteen or twenty men; but the rabble of the town, who were prowling about in every lane and corner, had driven the Uzbeks from the Iron Gate before I could come up.

Sheibâni Khan, on learning what was passing, set out hurriedly, and about sunrise appeared before the Iron Gate, with a hundred or a hundred and fifty horse. It was a noble opportunity; but I had a mere handful of men with me, as has been mentioned. Sheibâni Khan, soon discovering that he could effect nothing, did not stop, but turned back and retired.

Encamps without the town.

I now left the town, and encamped at the Bostan-serai.[2] The men of rank and consequence, and all such as were in office in the city, now came out and waited on me, offering me their congratulations. For nearly a hundred and forty years, Samarkand had been the capital of my family. A foreign robber, one knew not whence he came, had seized the kingdom, which dropped from our hands. Almighty God now restored it to me, and gave me back my plundered and pillaged country. Sultan Hussain Mirza had also surprised Heri, much in the same way in which I had now taken Samarkand. But to persons of judgment and discrimination it is evident, and it is clear to every man of candour, that there was a very great difference between the two occurrences. The first distinction is, that Sultan Hussain Mirza was a mighty and powerful sovereign, of great experience, and in the maturity of his years and understanding. The second is, that his opponent, Yâdgâr Muhammed Mirza, was an inexperienced lad of seventeen or eighteen years of age. A third distinction is, that Mîr Ali, the master of horse, who was perfectly acquainted with the whole conduct and

Compares the surprise of Samarkand with that of Heri.

[1] The Khanekâh was a convent, with which was connected a caravansera for travellers, an endowment for charitable purposes, and sometimes an establishment for lectures. The extent of the buildings made it convenient for head-quarters.

[2] The Garden Palace.

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proceedings of the enemy, was in his interest, and sent messengers to give him notice of them, and to bring him in an unguarded hour on his foe. A fourth difference is, that his opponent was not in a fortress, but at the Raven Garden,[1] and when Sultan Hussain Mirza took the place, Yâdgâr Muhammed Mirza, with his attendants, had drunk so deeply of wine, that the only three persons on watch at Yâdgâr Muhammed Mirza's door were all drunk, as well as himself. The fifth distinction is, that he came and took it at the very first attempt, while the enemy were in the state of unsuspecting negligence that has been described. On the other hand, when I took Samarkand, I was only nineteen, and had neither seen much action nor been improved by great experience. In the next place, I had opposed to me an enemy like Sheibâni Khan, a man full of talents, of deep experience, and in the meridian of life. In the third place, no person came from Samarkand to give me any information; for though the townspeople were well inclined to me, yet, from dread of Sheibâni Khan, none of them dared to think of such a step. In the fourth place, my enemies were in a fortified place, and I had both to take the place and to route the enemy. Fifthly, I had once before come for the purpose of surprising Samarkand, and thereby put the enemy on their guard; yet, on a second attempt, by the favour of God, I succeeded and gained the city. In these observations, I have no wish to detract from any man's merit; the facts were exactly as has been mentioned. Nor, in what I have said, is it my wish to exalt the merits of my own enterprise beyond the truth; I have merely detailed the circumstances precisely as they stood.

Some poets amused themselves in making memorial verses expressive of the date of the transaction. I still recollect a couplet of one of them:—

> Tell me, then, my soul! what is its date?
> Know, that it is "*The Victory of Baber Behader.*"[2]

Shâdwâr, Soghd, &c. declare for Baber.

After the conquest of Samarkand, Shâdwâr, Soghd, and the people who were in the forts in the Tumâns, began to come over to me one after another. The Uzbeks abandoned, from terror, some of the forts which they held, and made their escape. In others, the inhabitants attacked the Uzbeks, drove them out, and declared for me. Many seized on their Daroghas,[3] and put their towns in a state of defence on my account. At this time, Sheibâni Khan's wife and family, with his heavy baggage, as well as that of the other Uzbeks, arrived from Tûrkestân. Sheibâni Khan had remained till now in the vicinity of Khwâjeh-Dîdâr and Ali-âbâd; but, perceiving such a disposition in the garrisons to surrender the forts, and in the inhabitants to come over spontaneously to my side, he marched off from his encampment towards Bokhâra. By the divine favour, before the end of three or four months, most of the fortified places of Soghd and Miânkâr[4] had come under my allegiance. Bâki Terkhân, too, seized a favourable opportunity, and entered the fort of Karshi. Khozâr and Karshi[5] were both lost to the Uzbeks. Karakûl was also taken by Abul Hassan Mirza's men, who came from Merv. My affairs succeeded everywhere prosperously.

Sheibâni Khan retreats to Bokhâra.

[1] Bagh-e-Zâghân.
[2] *Fateh Baber Behâder.* The numeral letters yield 905, not 906.
[3] Chief magistrates.
[4] Miânkar, or Miânkâl, is the country on both sides of the Kohik, near Dabûsi.
[5] Khozâr and Karshi lie S. W. from Sheher-Sebz; Karakûl S. W. from Bokhâra.

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Baber's family arrive in Samarkand.

After my departure from Andejân, my mother and grandmother,[1] with my family and household, had set out after me, and with great difficulty, and after enduring many hardships, had reached Uratippa. I now sent and brought them to Samarkand. About this time I had a daughter by Aisha Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the first wife whom I had married. She received the name of Fakher-al-Nissa (the Ornament of Women). This was my first child, and at this time I was just nineteen. In a month or forty days she went to share the mercy of God.

He sends to the neighbouring princes to solicit assistance.

No sooner had I got possession of Samarkand, than I repeatedly dispatched ambassadors and messengers, one after another, to all the Khans and Sultans, Amirs and chiefs, on every hand round about, to request their aid and assistance. These messengers I kept going back and forward without intermission. Some of the neighbouring princes, although men of experience, gave me an unceremonious refusal. Others, who had been guilty of insults and injuries to my family, remained inactive out of apprehension; while the few that did send me assistance, did not afford me such as the occasion demanded, as will be particularly mentioned in its place.

Corresponds with Ali Shîr Beg.

At the time when I took Samarkand this second time, Ali Shîr Beg[2] was still alive. I had a letter from him, which I answered. On the back of the letter which I addressed to him, I wrote a couplet that I had composed in the Tûrki language; but before his reply could arrive, the commotions and troubles had begun.

Mûlla Binâi in Samarkand.

Sheibâni Khan, after taking Samarkand, had received Mûlla Binâi into his service, since which time the Mûlla had attended him. A few days after I took the place, the Mûlla came to Samarkand. Kâsim Beg having suspicions of him, ordered him to retire to Sheher-Sebz; but soon after, as he was a man of great knowledge, and as the charges against him were not established, I invited him to return to the capital. He was constantly composing kasîdehs and ghazels.[3] He addressed to me a ghazel adapted to a musical air, in the Nawa measure; and about the same time composed and sent me the following quatrain:—

I neither possess *grain* to eat,
Nor *the perversion of grain*[4] to put on;
Without food nor raiment,
How can one display his learning and genius?

About this period, I sometimes amused myself with composing a couplet or two, but did not venture on the perfect ghazel, or ode. I composed and sent him a rubâi (or quatrain), in the Tûrki language:—

[1] Walidha may mean my mothers, my father's widows.

[2] A more particular account of this eminent man, who was the greatest patron of literature and the arts of the age in which he lived, is afterwards given in the account of Herât.

[3] A species of odes.

[4] The merit of these verses depends upon an untranslateable play of words in the original. The Persians and Hindustanis are accustomed to divert themselves by ringing changes on their words. *Ghaleh, maleh, roti, boti,* &c. The perverted word the Persians call the *mokhmel* of the proper term. The *mokhmel,* or perversion of *ghaleh,* grain, is *maleh,* which happens to signify a sort of reddish-coloured cotton, of which cloth is manufactured. The poet, therefore, by saying that he has not *ghaleh* (grain), nor its *mokhmel, maleh* (cotton), gives to understand that he has neither food nor clothing.

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Your affairs *shall* all succeed to your heart's content;
Presents and a settled allowance *shall be* ordered for your reward.
I comprehend your allusion to the grain and its perversion;
Your person shall fill the cloth, and the grain *shall* fill your house.

Mûlla Bînâi composed and sent me a rubâi, in which he assumed the rhyme of my quatrain for the redîf[1] of his own, and gave it another rhyme:—

My Mizra, who *shall be* sovereign by sea and land,
Shall be distinguished in the world for his genius;
If my reward was such for a single unmeaning word,[2]
What would it have been had I spoken with understanding!

At this time Khwâjeh Aba-al-Barka, surnamed Feraki, came from Sheher-Sebz. He said, "You should have kept the same rhyme;" and recited the following rubâi:—

This tyranny which the sphere exercises *shall be* inquired into;
This generous Sultan *shall* redress her misdeeds;
O cup-bearer! if hitherto thou hast not brimmed my cup,
At this turn (or reign) *shall* it *be* filled to the brim.

Baber's affairs prosperous.

This winter my affairs were in the most prosperous state, while those of Sheibâni Khan were at a low ebb. At this very period, however, one or two rather unfortunate incidents occurred. The party from Merv, that had taken possession of Karakûl, proved unable to maintain it, so that it fell again into the hands of the Uzbeks. Ahmed Terkhân, the younger brother of Ibrâhim Terkhân, held the fortress of Dabûsi. Sheibâni Khan came and invested it; and, before I could collect my army and march to its relief, took it by storm, and made an indiscriminate massacre of the garrison. At the taking of Samarkand, I had with me in all only two hundred and forty men. In the course of five or six months, by the favour of God, they had so much increased, that I could venture to engage so powerful a chief as Sheibâni Khan in a pitched battle at Sir-e-pûl, as shall be mentioned. Of all the princes in my vicinity, from whom I had asked assistance, none afforded me any except the Khan, who sent Ayûb Begchik and Kashkeh Mahmûd, with about four or five hundred men. From Jehângîr Mirza, Tambol's younger brother brought a hundred men to my assistance. From Sultan Hussain Mirza, a prince of power and talent, a monarch of experience, and than whom none was better acquainted with the temper and views of Sheibâni Khan, not a man appeared; nor did I receive a single man from Badîa-ez-Zeman Mirza. Khosrou Shah, from terror, did not send any; for, as my family had suffered much from his unprincipled conduct, as has been mentioned, he entertained great apprehensions of me.

He receives no reinforcements from his neighbours.

Baber marches against Sheibâni Khan.

In the month of Shawal[3] I marched out of the city to meet Sheibâni Khan, and fixed my head-quarters in the Bagh-e-nou,[4] where I halted five or six days for the purpose

[1] The *káfia* is the rhyme; the *redîf* consists of a few syllables, like a running chorus, that close the line. The redif here is the Türki word *bulghûsidur*, *shall be*, which served as the rhyme to Baber's verses. In the subsequent verses of Khwâjeh Aba-al-Barka, the original rhyme is resumed. It is to be observed, that the third line of a quatrain requires no rhyme.

[2] In most instances, the *mokhmel* of a word has no sense whatever.

[3] Shawal 906 begins 20th April 1501.

[4] New Garden.

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of collecting the troops, and getting ready all the necessaries of war. Setting out from the Bagh-e-nou, I proceeded, by successive marches, to Sir-e-pûl,[1] after passing which I halted and encamped, strongly fortifying our camp with a palisade and ditch. Sheibâni Khan moved forward from the opposite direction to meet us, and encamped near the town of Khwâjeh-Kârdzin. There was about a farsang between his camp and mine.

They meet near Kardzin.

Skirmishes ensue.

We remained four or five days in this position, and every day parties of my men fell in with the enemy, and skirmished with them. One day, a larger body of the enemy than usual advanced, and there was a very sharp fight, without any marked advantage on either side. Of my troops, one who had a standard, behaved ill, ran off, and got into the trench. There were persons who pretended to say that the standard was Sidi Kara Beg's; and, in truth, Sidi Kara, though most valiant in speech, by no means made the same figure with his sword. One night Sheibâni Khan attempted to surprise us, but we were so well defended by our ditch and chevaux-de-frise, that he could effect nothing. After raising the war-shout on the edge of our ditch, and giving us a few discharges of arrows, they drew off.

Baber resolves to engage.

I now turned my whole attention and solicitude to the approaching battle. Kamber Ali assisted me. Bâki Terkhân, with a thousand or two thousand men, had arrived in Kesh, and would have joined me in two days. Syed Muhammed Doghlet, the Mir's son,[2] too, was advancing with a thousand or fifteen hundred men, who had been sent to my assistance by the Khan my maternal uncle; they had reached Dabûl, only four farsangs[3] from my camp, and would have joined me next morning. Such was our situation, when I precipitated matters, and hurried on the battle:

> He who with impatient haste lays his hand on his sword,
> Will afterwards gnaw that hand with his teeth from regret.

The cause of my eagerness to engage, was, that the stars called the Sahzyûldûz (or eight stars) were on that day exactly between the two armies; and if I had suffered that day to elapse, they would have continued favourable to the enemy for the space of thirteen or fourteen days. These observances were all nonsense, and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse.

Arrangements for battle.

In the morning, having made the troops array themselves in their armour, and caparison and cover their horses with cloth of mail, we marched out and moved towards the enemy, having drawn out the army in order of battle, with right and left wing, centre and advance. On the right wing were posted Ibrâhim Sâru, Ibrâhim Jâni, Abûl Kâsim Kohbûr, with several other Begs. On the left wing were stationed Ibrâhim Terkhân, Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, with the other Begs of Samarkand, Sultan Hussain Arghûn, Kara Birlâs Pîr Ahmed, and Khwâjeh Hussain. In the centre, were Kâsim Beg, and some of my inferior nobility and attached adherents. In the advance, were Kamber Ali Silakh (the skinner), Bandeh Ali, Khwâjeh Ali, Mîr Shah Kôchin, Syed Kâsim the chamberlain, Khaldar the younger brother of Bandeh Ali, Kuch[4] Beg, Haider Kâsim the son of Kâsim Beg, with a number of my best armed men and most faithful partizans. We marched right forward to the enemy, and they, on their part,

[1] Bridgend. [2] Mirzad. [3] Sixteen miles. [4] Or Koch.

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appeared ready drawn up to receive us. On their right wing were Mahmûd Sultan, Jâni Beg Sultan, and Taimur Sultan; and on their left Khamzeh Sultan, and Mehdi Sultan, with a number of other Sultans. When the lines of the two opposite armies approached each other, the extremity of their right wing turned my left flank, and wheeled upon my rear. I changed my position to meet them. By this movement the advance,[1] which contained most of my experienced and veteran warriors and officers, was thrown to the right; and scarcely any of them were left with me. In spite of this, however, we charged and beat off the troops that came on to attack us in front, driving them back on their centre; and things even came to such a pass, that several of his oldest and most experienced officers represented to Sheibâni Khan, that it was necessary immediately to retreat, and that all was over. He, however, remained firm, and kept his ground. The enemy's right having, meanwhile, routed my left, now attacked me in the rear. As my advance had been thrown to the right on the change of our position, my front[2] was left defenceless. The enemy now began to charge us both in front and rear, pouring in showers of arrows. The Moghul troops which had come to my assistance, did not attempt to fight, but, instead of fighting, betook themselves to dismounting and plundering my own people. Nor is this a solitary instance, such is the uniform practice of these wretches the Moghuls; if they defeat the enemy they instantly seize the booty; if they are defeated, they plunder and dismount their own allies, and, betide what may, carry off the spoil. The enemy who were in front, made several furious attacks on me, but were worsted and driven back; they, however, rallied again and charged; the division of the enemy that had gained our rear coming up at the same time, and discharging showers of arrows on our troops. Being thus surrounded and attacked both before and behind, my men were driven from their ground. In battle, the great reliance of the Uzbeks is on the Tulghmeh (or turning the enemy's flank). They never engage without using the Tulghmeh. Another of their practices is to advance and charge in front and rear, discharging their arrows at full gallop, pell-mell, chiefs and common soldiers, and, if repulsed, they in like manner retire full gallop. Only ten or fifteen persons were now left with me. The river Kohik was near at hand, the extremity of my right wing having rested upon it. We made the best of our way to it, and no sooner gained its banks than we plunged in, armed at all points both horse and man. For more than half of the ford we had a firm footing, but after that we sank beyond our depths, and were forced, for upward of a bowshot, to swim our horses, loaded as they were with their riders in armour, and their own trappings. Yet they plunged through it. On getting out of the water on the other side, we cut off our horses' heavy furniture and threw it away. When we had reached the north side of the river, we were separated from the enemy. Of all others, the wretches of Moghuls were the most active in unhorsing and stripping the stragglers. Ibrâhim Terkhân, and a great number of excellent soldiers, were unhorsed, stripped, and put to death by them.

Baber's left wing turned.

Baber routed.

Crosses the Kohik.

If the Moghul race were a race of angels, it is a bad race;
And were the name Moghul written in gold, it would be odious.

[1] Irawel.

[2] That is, the centre.

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Take care not to pluck one ear of corn from a Moghul's harvest;
The Moghul seed is such that whatever is sowed with it is execrable.

Reaches Samarkand. Advancing up the north side of the river Kohik, I re-crossed it in the vicinity of Kulbeh. Between the time of afternoon and evening prayers, I reached the Sheikh-zadeh's gate, and entered the citadel.

Baber's loss in the battle. Many Begs of the highest rank, many admirable soldiers, and many men of every description perished in this fight. Ibrâhim Terkhân, Ibrâhim Saru, and Ibrâhim Jâni, were among the slain. It is rather an extraordinary coincidence that three men of such rank and distinction, and all of the name of Ibrâhim, should have fallen in the same battle. Abul Kâsim Kohbûr, the eldest son of Haider Kâsim Beg, Khoda-berdi the standard-bearer, Khalîl, the younger brother of Sultan Ahmed Tâmbol, who has been frequently mentioned, all perished in this action. The greater part of the rest dispersed and fled in every direction. Of these, Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân fled towards Kundez and Hissâr, to Khosrou Shah. Kamber Ali the skinner, the Moghul, whom among all my Begs I had distinguished by the highest marks of favour, in despite of all these benefits, at this season of need did not stand by me; but having first removed his family from Samarkand, afterwards went himself and joined Khosrou Shah. Several others of my officers and men, such as Kerîmdâd, Khodadâd the Turkoman, Khanekeh Gokultâsh, and Mûlla Babâi Beshâgheri, fled towards Uratippa. Mûlla Babâi was not at that time in my service, but was entertained as a guest. Others, again, acted like Shîrîm Taghâi, who returned to me indeed in Samarkand along with his men, and joined me in a consultation, in which it was resolved to defend the place to the last drop of our blood, and to exert ourselves to the utmost to put it in a state of defence; yet did he, though my mother and sisters remained in the fortress, send off his family with his effects and people to Uratippa, he himself alone staying behind with a small party, unencumbered, and ready to move off in any direction. Nor is this the only instance in which he so acted; for in every case of difficulty or danger, he uniformly displayed the same want of steadiness and attachment.

He is deserted by many of his nobles.

Resolves to defend Samarkand. Next day I called together Khwâjeh Abul Makâram, Kâsim Beg, and the rest of the Begs and officers, with such of my adherents and cavaliers as were best qualified to offer advice, and held a general consultation. We came to a resolution to put the place in the best possible state of defence, and to maintain ourselves in it for life or for death. I and Kâsim Beg, with my most trusty and faithful adherents, formed a body of reserve. I had a public tent[1] pitched for me on the Arched Portal of Ulugh Beg's College, in the midst of the city, in which I established my head-quarters. I distributed the other Begs and cavaliers at the different gates, and around the works, on the ramparts and defences.

Sheibâni Khan appears before Samarkand. After two or three days Sheibâni Khan approached, and took a station at some distance from the city. The idle and worthless rabble, assembling from every district and street of Samarkand, came in large bodies to the gate of the College, shouting aloud, "Glory to the Prophet!" and clamorously marched out for battle. Sheibâni Khan, who, at the moment, had mounted, and was preparing to make an assault, did

[1] The *chader sefid* was a sort of public tent at head-quarters.

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not venture to approach the place. Some days passed in this manner. The ignorant mob, who had never experienced the wound of arrow or sabre, nor witnessed the press of onset, or the tumult of battle, plucked up courage from these incidents, and ventured to advance to a very considerable distance from the works. When the old and experienced veterans remonstrated with them on such improvident and useless advances, they were only answered with reproach and abuse.

Drives the towns-people into the place.

One day Sheibâni Khan made an attack near the Iron gate. The rabble, who had become very courageous, had advanced most valiantly a great way from the city, according to their custom. I made a party of horse follow them, to cover their retreat. A body of Gokultâshes, with some inferior nobility, and a few of my domestic troops, such as Nûiân Gokultâsh, Kûl Nazer Taghâi, and Mâzîd, with some others, marched out towards the Camel's-neck.[1] From the other side two or three Uzbeks galloped up to charge them, and assaulted Kûl Nazer, sabre in hand. The whole of the Uzbeks dismounting, fought on foot, swept back the city-rabble, and drove them in through the Iron gate. Kuch Beg and Mîr Shah Kochin remained behind, and took post close by Khwâjeh Khizer's mosque. After the field was pretty well cleared of those who fought on foot, the cavalry of the enemy moved up towards the mosque of Khwâjeh Khizer, in order to attack them. Upon this Kuch Beg, sallying forth on the Uzbeks who first came up, attacked them sabre in hand, and made a gallant and distinguished figure, in the sight of all the inhabitants, who stood looking on. The fugitives, occupied solely with their flight, had ceased to shoot arrows, or to think of fighting for their ground. I shot from the top of the gateway with a cross-bow, and those who were along with me also kept up a discharge. This shower of arrows from above prevented the enemy from advancing up to Khwâjeh Khizer's mosque, and they were forced to retire from the field.

Besieges the city.

During the continuance of the siege, the rounds of the rampart were regularly gone, once every night, sometimes by Kâsim Beg, and sometimes by other Begs and captains. From the Firozeh gate to the Sheikh-Zâdeh gate, we were able to go along the ramparts on horseback; everywhere else we were obliged to go on foot. Setting out in the beginning of the night, it was morning before we had completed our rounds.

Attempts to enter it by escalade,

One day Sheibâni Khan made an attack between the Iron gate and that of the Sheikh-Zâdeh. As I was with the reverse, I immediately led them to the quarter that was attacked, without attending to the Washing-green gate or the Needlemakers' gate.[2] That same day, from the top of the Sheikh-Zâdeh's gateway, I struck a palish white-coloured horse an excellent shot with my cross-bow: it fell dead the moment the arrow touched it: but in the meanwhile they had made such a vigorous attack, near the Camel's-Neck, that they effected a lodgment close under the rampart. Being hotly engaged in repelling the enemy where I was, I had entertained no apprehensions of danger on the other side, where they had prepared and brought with them twenty-five or twenty-six scaling-ladders, each of them so broad, that two and three

[1] *Shuter-gerden*, a subterraneous watercourse issuing in a flowing well.
[2] *Derwâzeh-e-Gâzeristân, va Derwazeh-e-Sozingeran.*

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men could mount a-breast. He had placed in ambush opposite to the city-wall, seven or eight hundred chosen men with these ladders, between the Iron-smiths' and Needle-makers' gates, while he himself moved to the other side, and made a false attack. Our attention was entirely drawn off to this attack; and the men in ambush no sooner saw the works opposite to them empty of defenders, by the watch having left them, than they rose from the place where they had lain in ambush, advanced with extreme speed, and applied their scaling-ladders all at once between the two gates that have been mentioned, exactly opposite to Muhammed Mazid Terkhân's house. The quarters of Kuch Beg, Muhammed Kûli Kochin, and of the party of warriors who had the duty of guarding this post, were then in Muhammed Mazid Terkhân's house. Kara Birlâs was stationed at the Needlemakers' gate; the station of the Washing-green gate was allotted to Shîrim Taghâi and his brothers, with Kûtlak Khwâjeh Gokultâsh. As there was fighting on the other side, the persons in charge of these works were not apprehensive of any danger at their posts, and the men on these stations had dispersed on their own business to their houses or to the markets. The Begs who were on guard had only two or three of their servants and attendants about them.—Nevertheless Kuch Beg, Muhammed Kûli Kochin, Shah Sûfi, and another brave cavalier, boldly assailed them, and displayed signal heroism. Some of the enemy had already mounted the wall, and several others were in the act of scaling it, when the four persons who have been mentioned arrived on the spot, fell upon them sword in hand, with the greatest bravery, and dealing out furious blows around them, drove the assailants back over the wall, and put them to flight. Kuch Beg distinguished himself above all the rest; and this was an exploit for ever to be cited to his honour. He twice during this siege performed excellent service by his valour. Kara Birlâs too, who was almost alone in the works at the Needlemakers' gate, made a good stand. Kûtluk Khwâjeh Gokultâsh and Kûl Nazer Mirza, who were in their stations at the Washerman's gate, made a stout resistance with a few men, and attacking them in the rear, made a desperate charge. The attempt was completely defeated.

but is repulsed.

On another occasion Kâsim Beg sallied out, with a small body of men, by the Needlemakers' gate, and having beat the Uzbeks back as far as Khwâjeh Kafshar, he dismounted several of them, and returned, bringing back their heads.

Distress of Samarkand.

It was now the season of the ripening of the grain, and nobody had brought in any new corn. As the siege had drawn out to great length, the inhabitants were reduced to extreme distress, and things came to such a pass, that the poor and meaner sort were forced to feed on dogs' and asses' flesh. Grain for the horses becoming scarce, they were obliged to be fed on the leaves of trees; and it was ascertained from experience, that the leaves of the mulberry and blackwood[1] answered best. Many used the shavings and rispings of wood, which they soaked in water, and gave to their horses. For three or four months Sheibâni Khan did not approach the fortress, but blockaded it at some distance on all sides, changing his ground from time to time.

One night when everybody was gone to rest, towards midnight, he approached the Firôzeh gate, beating his large kettle drums, and raising the shout for an assault. I

[1] Kara-ighâj.

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was then in the College, and was in considerable uneasiness and terror. After this they returned every night beating their kettle drums, and shouting, and making an alarm. Although I had sent ambassadors and messengers to all the princes and chiefs round about, no help came from any of them. Indeed, when I was in the height of my power, and had yet suffered neither discomfiture nor loss, I had received none, and had therefore no reason to expect it now, that I was reduced to such a state of distress. To draw out the siege in hopes of any succour from them, was evidently needless. The ancients have said, that in order to maintain a fortress, a head, two hands, and two feet are necessary. The head is a captain, the two hands are two friendly forces that must advance from opposite sides; the two feet are water and stores of provision within the fort. I looked for aid and assistance from the princes my neighbours; but each of them had his attention fixed on some other object. For example, Sultan Hûssain Mirza was undoubtedly a brave and experienced monarch, yet neither did he give me assistance, nor even send an ambassador to encourage me; although during the siege he sent Kemâl-ed-dîn Hûssain Gazargahi on an embassy to Sheibâni Khan.

Tambol marches against Sultan Mahmud Khan.

Tambol having advanced from Andejân as far as Bishkent, Ahmed Beg and a party of men brought out the Khan to take the field against him. They met in the vicinity of Leklekan and Charbâgh-e-Turâk, but separated and retired without any action, and without even confronting each other. Sultan Mahmûd Khan was not a fighting man, and was totally ignorant of the art of war. When he went to oppose Tambol on this occasion, he showed pretty plain indications of want of heart, both in his words and actions. Ahmed Beg, who was a plain rough man, but sincere in his master's service and brave, said in his harsh way, "What kind of a fellow is this Tambol, that he occasions you so much consternation and alarm? If your eyes are afraid, why, bind them up, and then let us engage him."

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 907.[1]

Distress of Samarkand.

THE blockade drawing out to a great length, provisions and supplies coming in from no quarter, and no succours or reinforcements appearing on any hand, the soldiers and inhabitants at length began to lose all hope, went off by ones and twos, escaped from the city and deserted. Sheibâni Khan, who knew the distress of the inhabitants, came and encamped at the Lovers' Cave. I also moved my head-quarters and came to Kûe Payân (Low Street) to Malek Muhammed Mirza's house. At this crisis, Uzun Hassan, the son of Khwâjeh Hussain, who had been the chief ringleader in the rebellion of Jehangîr Mirza, by which I had formerly been obliged to leave Samarkand; and who had afterwards been the prime mover of much rebellion and sedi-

[1] This year of the Hejira commenced July 17, 1501.

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tion, as has been related, entered the town with ten or fifteen followers. The famine and distress of the town's-people and soldiers had now reached the greatest excess. Even men who were about my person, and others high in my confidence, began to let themselves down over the walls and make their escape. Of the chiefs, Weis Sheikh and Weis Bâberi deserted and fled. I now despaired of assistance or relief from any quarter. There was no side to which I could look with hope. Our provisions and stores, which from the first had been scanty, were now totally exhausted, and no new supplies could enter the city. In these circumstances, Sheibâni Khan proposed terms. Had I had the slightest hopes of relief, or had any stores remained within the place, never would I have listened to him. Compelled, however, by necessity, a sort of capitulation was agreed upon, and about midnight I left the place by Sheikh-Zâdeh's gate, accompanied by my mother the Khanum. Two other ladies escaped with us, the one of them Bechega Khalîfeh, the other Mingelik Gokultâsh: my eldest sister Khanzâdeh Begum was intercepted, and fell into the hands of Sheibâni Khan, as we left the place on this occasion. Having entangled ourselves among the great branches of the canals of the Soghd, during the darkness of the night, we lost our way, and after encountering many difficulties, we passed Khwâjeh Dîdâr about dawn. By the time of early morning prayers, we arrived at the hillock of Karbogh, and passing it on the north below the village of Kherdek, we made for Ilân-ûtî. On the road, I had a race with Kamber Ali and Kâsim Beg. My horse got the lead. As I turned round on my seat to see how far I had left them behind, my saddle-girth being slack, the saddle turned round, and I came to the ground right on my head. Although I immediately sprang up and mounted, yet I did not recover the full possession of my faculties till the evening, and the world, and all that occurred at the time, passed before my eyes and apprehension like a dream, or a phantasy, and disappeared. The time of afternoon prayers was past ere we reached Ilân-ûtî, where we alighted, and, having killed a horse, cut him up, and dressed slices of his flesh; we stayed a little time to rest our horses, then mounting again, before day-break we alighted at the village of Khalileh. From Khalileh we proceeded to Dizak.[1] At that time Tâher Dûldai, the son of Hâfez Muhammed Beg Dûldai, was governor of Dizak. Here we found nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour well baked, sweet melons, and excellent grapes in great abundance; thus passing from the extreme of famine to plenty, and from an estate of danger and calamity to peace and ease:—

Baber leaves the city.

reaches Dizak.

(*Tûrki.*)—From famine and distress we have escaped to repose;
We have gained fresh life, and a fresh world.

(*Persian.*)—The fear of death was removed from the heart;
The torments of hunger were removed away.

In my whole life, I never enjoyed myself so much, nor at any period of it felt so sensibly the pleasures of peace and plenty. Enjoyment after suffering, abundance after want, come with increased relish, and afford more exquisite delight. I have four or five times, in the course of my life, passed in a similar manner from distress to

[1] Dizak or Jizzikh.

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ease, and from a state of suffering to enjoyment: but this was the first time that I had ever been delivered from the injuries of my enemy, and the pressure of hunger, and passed from them to the ease of security, and the pleasures of plenty. Having rested and enjoyed ourselves two or three days in Dizak, we proceeded on to Uratippa.

Visits Beshâgher.

Beshâgher is a little out of the road, yet as I had formerly passed some time there, I turned aside and visited it again. In the fortress of Beshâgher I unexpectedly fell in with an Atun (or governess), who had long been in the service of the Khanum, my mother, but whom, on the present occasion, for want of horses, we had been compelled to leave behind in Samarkand. On accosting her, we found that she had travelled all the way from Samarkand on foot. My mother's younger sister, Khub-Nigâr Khanum,[1] had departed from this transitory life; information of the event was communicated to my mother and me at Uratippa. My father's mother had also paid the debt of mortality at Andejân, and the news was communicated here. My mother,[2] since the death of my maternal grandfather,[3] had never seen her mothers,[4] nor her younger brother and sisters, Shah Begum, Sultan Mahmûd Khan, Sultan Nigâr-Khanum,[5] and Doulet Sultan Khanum,[6] and had been separated from them thirteen or fourteen years. She now set out for Tâshkend, for the purpose of seeing them. After consulting with Muhammed Hussain Mirza, it was arranged that I should take up my winter-quarters in the village of Dehkat, which belongs to Uratippa. I therefore went thither with my baggage, which I deposited there, and in the course of a few days afterwards, I too went to Tâshkend to see Shah Begum, my maternal uncle, and my other friends and relations. I waited on Shah Begum and my uncle accordingly, and remained with them for some days. My mother's eldest sister of the full-blood, Miher-Nigâr Khanum,[7] also arrived from Samarkand. My mother the Khanum fell sick, became desperately ill, and was reduced to the point of death. The reverend Khwâjehka Khwâjeh had left Samarkand, and now arrived at Ferket. I went to Ferket and paid the Khwâjeh a visit. I had entertained hopes that the Khan my uncle, from affection and regard, might give me some country or district; and he did give me Uratippa, but Mahmûd Hussain Mirza refused to deliver it up. Whether he did this of himself, or acted on a hint from higher authority, I cannot tell; however that be, in a few days I returned to Dehkat.

Goes to Tâshkend.

Returns to Dehkat.

Description of Dehkat.

Dehkat is one of the hill-districts of Uratippa. It lies on the skirts of a very high mountain, immediately on passing which, you come on the country of Masîkha. The inhabitants, though Sarts,[8] have large flocks of sheep, and herds of mares, like the Tûrks. The sheep belonging to Dehkat may amount to forty thousand. We took up our lodgings in the peasants' houses. I lived at the house of one of the head men of the place. He was an aged man, seventy or eighty years old. His mother was still alive, and had attained an extreme old age, being at this time a hundred and eleven

[1] The wife of Sultan Muhammed Hussain Korkân Doghlet, who held Uratippa at this time.
[2] Kutluk Nigâr Khanum. [3] Yunis Khan. [4] That is, Yunis Khan's other wives.
[5] The widow of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, and daughter of Shah Begum.
[6] Shah Begum's youngest daughter. [7] The widow of Sultan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand.
[8] Or Tâjiks, husbandmen or villagers, who speak the Persian tongue. They are the remains of those who inhabited that country before the later Tartar invasions.

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years old. One of this lady's relations had accompanied the army of Taimur Beg, when it invaded Hindûstân. The circumstances remained fresh in her memory, and she often told us stories on that subject. In the district of Dehkat alone, there still were of this lady's children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren, to the number of ninety-six persons; and including those deceased, the whole amounted to two hundred. One of her great-grandchildren was at this time a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, with a fine black beard. While I remained in Dehkat, I was accustomed to walk on foot all about the hills in the neighbourhood. I generally went out barefoot, and, from this habit of walking barefoot, I soon found that our feet became so hardened that we did not mind rock or stone in the least. In one of these walks, between afternoon and evening prayers, we met a man who was going with a cow in a narrow road. I asked him the way. He answered, Keep your eye fixed on the cow; and do not lose sight of her till you come to the issue of the road, when you will know your ground. Khwâjeh Asedûlla, who was with me, enjoyed the joke, observing, What would become of us wise men were the cow to lose her way?

This winter many of my soldiers, principally because we could not go out in plundering parties, asked leave to go to Andejân. Kâsim Beg strongly advised me that, as these men were going that way, I should send some article of my dress as a present to Jehangîr Mirza. I accordingly sent him a cap of ermine. Kâsim Beg then added, "What great harm would there be in sending some present to Tambol?" Though I did not altogether approve of this, yet, induced by the pressing instances of Kâsim Beg, I sent Tambol a large sword, which had been made in Samarkand for Neviân Gokultâsh,[1] from whom I took it. This was the very sword that afterwards came down on my own head, as shall be mentioned in the events of the ensuing year.

Baber's grandmother joins him.

A few days after, my grandmother Isan-Doulet Begum,[2] who had remained behind in Samarkand when I left it, arrived with the family and heavy baggage, and a few lean and hungry followers.

Sheibâni Khan passes the Sirr, and ravages the Khan's territories.

This same winter Sheibâni Khan, having passed the river of Khojend on the ice, ravaged the territory of Shâhrokhîa and Beshkent. As soon as I heard the intelligence, without regarding the smallness of my numbers, I mounted and set out for the districts below Khojend, opposite to Hesht-ek. It was wonderfully cold, and the wind of Hâderwîsh had here lost none of its violence, and blew keen. So excessive was the cold, that in the course of two or three days we lost two or three persons from its severity. I required to bathe on account of my religious purifications, and went down for that purpose to a rivulet, which was frozen on the banks, but not in the middle, from the rapidity of the current. I plunged myself into the water, and dived sixteen times. The extreme chillness of the water quite penetrated me. Next morning I passed the river of Khojend on the ice, opposite to Khâslâr, and the day after arrived at Beshkent; but Sheibâni Khan had gone off, after plundering the environs of Shahrokhîa. At this time Abdal Minân, the son of Mûlla Haider, held Shahrokhîa. A son younger than Abdal Minân, one Momin, a worthless and dissipated young man, had

Baber also passes the river to meet him.

[1] Neviân Gokultâsh was at that time with Baber.

[2] She was Baber's maternal grandmother, and a widow of Yunis Khan.

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come to me while I was in Samarkand, and I had shown him every kindness. I do not know what bad turn Neviân Gokultâsh had done him at that time; however, the young catamite treasured up a deadly enmity against him.

Death of Neviân Gokultâsh.

When I received certain accounts that the plundering party of the Uzbeks was retired, I dispatched a messenger with the intelligence to the Khan, and leaving Beshkent, tarried three or four days in the village of Ahengerân. Momin, the son of Mûlla Haider, on the plea of their previous acquaintance in Samarkand, invited Nevian Gokultâsh, Ahmed Kâsim, and some others, to an entertainment; and, when I left Beshkent, this party staid behind. The entertainment was given on the top of a precipice. I went on to the village of Sâm-Seirek, which is one of the dependencies of Ahengerân, and there halted. Next morning, I was informed that Neviân Gokultâsh had fallen over the precipice while intoxicated, and was killed. I dispatched Hak Nazir, the maternal uncle of Neviân Gokultâsh, with a detachment, who went, examined the place from which he had fallen, and, after interring him in Beshkent, returned back to me. They found Neviân's corpse at the distance of a bowshot from the spot where the entertainment had been given, at the bottom of a steep precipice. Many suspected that Momin, cherishing in his heart the grudge against Nevian, which he had contracted at Samarkand, was the cause of his death. The truth no man can know. His death affected me deeply. There are few persons for whose loss I have felt so much. I wept incessantly for a week or ten days. I discovered the date of his death in *Fout Shud Nevian*[1] (Neviân is dead). A few days afterwards, I set out from this place, and returned to Dehkat.

Baber's grief.

He goes to Masîkha.

It was now spring, and intelligence was brought that Sheibâni Khan was advancing against Uratippa. As Dehkat was in the low country, I passed by Abbûrden and Amâni, and came to the hill-country of Masîkha. Abbûrden is a village which lies at the foot of Masîkha. Beneath Abbûrden is a spring, and close by the spring is a tomb. From this spring, towards the upland, the country belongs to Masîkha, but downwards from the spring it depends on Yelghar. On a stone which is on the brink of this spring, on one of its sides, I caused the following verses[2] to be inscribed:—

I have heard that the exalted Jemshid
Inscribed on a stone beside a fountain,
"Many a man like us has rested by this fountain,
And disappeared in the twinkling of an eye.
Should we conquer the whole world by our manhood and strength,
Yet could we not carry it with us to the grave."

In this hill-country, the practice of cutting verses and other inscriptions on the rocks is extremely common.

While I was in Masîkha, I had a visit from Mûlla Hajari, the poet, who came from Hissâr. At this time I composed the following Matla:—[3]

(*Tûrki.*)—Whatever skill the painter employs in pourtraying your features, you exceed his art;
They call you Soul; but of a truth you are more admirable than the soul.

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[1] These words give 907.

[2] From the Boslan of Sadi.—*Leyden.*

[3] These are the first lines of one of Baber's poems. The same observation will apply to most of the other couplets which he quotes. They are used for reference to those who are acquainted with the poems themselves.

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Sheibâni Khan advanced into the neighbourhood of Uratippa, and retired after committing some devastations. While he was in the territory of Uratippa, without regarding the fewness of my men, or their bad equipment, leaving my household and baggage in Masîkha, I marched rapidly over the hills, passing Abbûrden and Amâni, and came into the vicinity of Dehkat, about the time when the night mingles with the morning, resolved to lose no opportunity, and to be in the way of seizing every chance that might present itself. Sheibâni Khan, however, had retired hastily, so that I measured back my way over the hills, and returned to Masîkha.

Baber resolves to go to Tâshkend.

I now began to reflect, that to ramble in this way from hill to hill, without house and without home, without country and without resting-place, could serve no good purpose, and that it was better to go to Tâshkend to the Khan. Kâsim Beg was very averse to this journey. He had put to death three or four Moghuls at Karabûlâk, as an example and punishment for marauding, as has been mentioned, and on that account he had considerable apprehensions of going among their countrymen. Whatever remonstrances we could use were of no avail. He separated from me, and moved off towards Hissâr, with his elder and younger brothers, their adherents and dependants; while I proceeded by the pass of Abbûrden, and advanced towards Tâshkend, to join the Khan.

Conspiracy in Tambol's army.

At this same time, Tambol, having collected an army, advanced to the Dale of Ahengerân. In the very heart of his army a conspiracy was formed against him by Muhammed Doghlet, known by the name of Muhammed Hissâri, in concert with his younger brother, Sultan Hussain Doghlet, and Kamber Ali, the skinner. On Tambol's discovering the plot, being unable longer to remain in his camp, they fled, and came to the Khan.

10th Zilhejeh. 16th June, 1502.

I passed the Id-e-korbân in Shahrokhîa, but, without tarrying there, I went to Tâshkend to the Khan.

Baber's verses.

I had composed the following rubâi in a well-known measure, and was dubious about the correctness of its rhymes, as, at that time, I had not studied with much attention the style and phraseology of poetry. The Khan had pretensions to taste, and, moreover, wrote verses; though his odes, to be sure, were rather deficient both in manner and substance. I presented my rubâi, however, to the Khan, and expressed to him my apprehensions, but did not get such an explicit or satisfactory answer as to remove my doubts. Indeed, it was pretty clear that he had no great skill in poetic diction. The following is the rubâi or quatrain in question:—

(*Túrki.*)—No one remembers him who is in adversity;
A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness;
My heart is far from joy in this exile;
However brave, an exile has no pleasures.

I afterwards learned, however, that, in the Tûrki language, *te* and *dal*, as well as *ghain*, *kaf* and *caf*, by a poetical licence, are frequently interchanged[1] for each other, for the sake of the rhyme.

Tambol advances to Uratippa.

A short time afterwards, Tambol advanced against Uratippa. As soon as this in-

[1] That is, that the *te* is changed for *dal*, and that *ghain*, *kaf*, and *caf*, are used for each other. This refers to the rhyme in the original.

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formation arrived, the Khan led out his army from Tâshkend, and between Beshkent and Sâm-seirek, having drawn it up in regular array, with right and left wings, he formed the Ivîm (or circle). The Moghuls blew horns according to their custom. The Khan having alighted, they brought nine horsetail standards,[1] and placed them by him. One Moghul stood by, holding in his hand an ox's shank-bone, to which he tied a long white cotton cloth. Another having fastened three long slips of white cloth beneath the horsetail of the standard, passed them under the banner-staff of the ensigns. One corner of one of the cloths the Khan took, and, putting it beneath his feet, stood upon it. I stood on one corner of another of the long slips, which was in like manner tied under one of the horsetail standards; while Sultan Muhammed Khanikeh[2] took the third, and, placing the cloth under his feet, in like manner stood on a corner of it. Then the Moghul that had tied on these cloths, taking the ox-shank in his hand, made a speech in the Moghul tongue, looking often to the standards, and pointing and making signs towards them. The Khan and all the men around took *hûmîz*[3] in their hands, and sprinkled it towards the standards. All the trumpets and drums struck up at once, and the whole soldiers who were drawn up raised the war-shout. These ceremonies they repeated three times. After that, they leaped on horseback, raised the battle-shout, and put their horses to the speed. Among the Moghuls, the Institutions[4] established by Chengîs Khan have continued to be strictly observed down to the present time. Every man has his appointed station; those appointed to the right wing, the left wing, or the centre, have their allotted places, which are handed down to them from father to son. Those of most trust and consequence are stationed on the extremities or flanks of the two wings. Among those who compose the right wing there is a dispute between the tribes[5] of the Chirâs and Begchik, which of them should occupy the extremity of the line. At this time, the chief of the tribe[6] of Chirâs was Kishkeh Mahmûd, a very brave young man. The chief of the tribe of Begchik, which is noted among the Tumâns, was Ayûb Yakûb. They had a dispute which of them was to occupy the flank, which came to such lengths, that swords were drawn. Finally, an apparently friendly compromise was made, that the one of them should stand highest at great hunting-matches,[7] and that the other should occupy the flank when the army was in battle array.

Ceremonies of a Moghul review.

Next morning, the army forming the large hunting circle, they hunted in the vicinity of Sâm-seirek, and, advancing forward, at length halted at the Chehâr-Bagh of Burâk. The first ghazel[8] that I ever composed was finished that day at this station. The ghazel was the following:—

[1] These standards are made of the kitâs, which is properly the tail of the mountain-cow, or ox, placed above a triangular flag or pennant. The mountain-ox has a tail like the horse, with long shaggy hair on its back and belly. The tail is sometimes hung on the neck of a riding-horse for ornament, and as a mark of rank. The animal is very powerful, and the natives of the hill-countries often pass mountain torrents holding by the tail.

[2] The son of Sultan Mahmûd Khan.

[3] A spirit made from mare's milk.

[4] Tûzûk.

[5] *Urugh*, subdivisions of greater tribes.

[6] *Tumân*.

[7] These hunting-matches were often conducted with great pomp. The hunting circle sometimes inclosed many miles. Accounts of them may be found in Petis de la Croix's Life of Genghis-can, and in the life of Taimur Beg.

[8] The ghazel is a kind of ode.

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I have found no faithful friend in the world but my soul;
Except my own heart I have no trusty confidant.

The ghazel consists of six couplets, and all the ghazels that I afterwards wrote were composed in the same measure as this.

From hence, march by march, we proceeded till we reached the banks of the river of Khojend. One day, having passed the river, and ridden out on a pleasure party, I got ready a dinner, and made the whole officers and young people of the army merry. That same day, the golden clasp of my girdle was stolen. Next morning, Khânkûli Biânkûli and Sultan Mahmûd Weis deserted, and went over to Tambol. The general suspicion was, that they were the guilty persons, though it was not established. Ahmed Kâsim Kohbûr also asked leave and went to Uratippa, but he never came back, and he too went and joined Tambol.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 908.[1]

THIS expedition of the Khan's was rather an useless sort of expedition. He took no fort, he beat no enemy, he went and came back again.

Baber's distress.

While I remained at Tâshkend at this time, I endured great distress and misery. I had no country, nor hopes of a country. Most of my servants had left me from absolute want; the few who still remained with me, were unable to accompany me on my journeys from sheer poverty. When I went to my uncle the Khan's Divân, I was attended sometimes by one person, sometimes by two; but I was fortunate in one respect, that this did not happen among strangers, but with my own kinsmen. After having paid my compliments to the Khan my uncle, I went in to wait on Shah Begum,[2] bare-headed and bare-foot, with as much freedom as a person would do at home in his own house.

He resolves to go to China.

At length, however, I was worn out with this unsettled state, and with having no house nor home, and became tired of living. I said to myself, rather than pass my life in such wretchedness and misery, it were better to take my way and retire into some corner where I might live unknown and undistinguished; and rather than exhibit myself in this distress and debasement, far better were it to flee away from the sight of man, as far as my feet can carry me. I thought of going to Khitâ,[3] and resolved to shape my course in that direction; as from my infancy I had always had a strong desire to visit Khitâ, but had never been able to accomplish my wish, from my being a King, and from my duty to my relations and connexions. Now my kingship was gone, my mother was safe with her mother and younger brother; in short, every ob-

[1] This year commences 7th July 1502.
[2] The widow of Yunis Khan, and the mother of Sultan Mahmûd Khan.
[3] Northern China.

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stacle to my journey was removed, and all my difficulties were at an end. By means of Khwâjeh Abul Makâram, I made some ideas be suggested, that when an enemy so formidable as Sheibâni Khan had started up, from whom Tûrks and Moghuls had equal cause of apprehension, it was but prudent to watch with jealousy his progress at this moment, before he had completely subjected the Ulûses,[1] and while he was not yet grown too powerful to be restrained; as it is said,

> Extinguish to-day the flame while yet you can;
> For when it blazes forth, it will consume the world.
> Let not your foe apply his arrow to the bowstring,
> When you can thrill him with your shaft.

Besides that it was twenty-four or twenty-five years since the Khan had seen my younger uncle, and I had never seen him at all; that it would be well if I went and visited my younger uncle, and acted as mediator, using my endeavours to procure an interview between them. My purpose was to escape from my relations under these pretexts; and I had now fully made up my mind to visit Moghûlistân and Terfân, after which the reins were in my own hand. I, however, acquainted no person with my plan, nor could I impart it to any one, not only because my mother could not have supported the mention of such a proposition; but also because I had about me a number of persons who had attached themselves to me with very different hopes, and supported by them had shared with me my wanderings and distresses. It was unpleasant to communicate such a project to them. Khwâjeh Abul Makâram started the subject to Shah Begum and my uncle the Khan, and gained their acquiescence; but it afterwards came into their head, that I had asked permission to go in consequence of the poor reception they had given me; and this suspicion made them delay some time before granting me liberty to depart. At this very crisis, a messenger came from the Khan, my younger maternal uncle, bringing certain information that he was himself coming. My plan, therefore, was totally disconcerted. A second messenger followed immediately after, with news that he was close at hand. Shah Begum, with the younger Khan's younger sisters, Sultan Nigâr Khânum, Doulet Sultan Khânum, myself, Sultan Muhammed Khanekeh, and Mirza Khan, all of us set out to meet my uncle.

Sultan Ahmed Khan visits his elder brother.

Between Tâshkend and Seiram there is a village named Yeghma, as well as some other small villages, where are the tombs of Ibrâhim Ata and Ishak Ata. We advanced as far as these villages, and not knowing precisely the time that the younger Khan would arrive, I had ridden out carelessly to see the country, when all at once I found myself face to face with him. I immediately alighted and advanced to meet him; at the moment I dismounted the Khan knew me, and was greatly disturbed; for he had intended to alight somewhere, and having seated himself, to receive and embrace me with great form and decorum: but I came too quick upon him, and dismounted so rapidly, that there was no time for ceremony; as, the moment I sprang from my horse, I kneeled down and then embraced. He was a good deal agitated and disconcerted.

Is met by Baber.

[1] The wandering Tartar tribes.

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At length he ordered Sultan Saîd Khan and Baba Khan Sultan to alight, kneel, and embrace me. Of the Khan's children, these two Sultans alone accompanied him, and might be of the age of thirteen or fourteen years. After embracing these two Sultans I mounted, and we proceeded to join Shah Begum. The Little Khan my uncle soon after met, and embraced Shah Begum and the other Khanums, after which they sat down, and continued talking about past occurrences and old stories till after midnight.

On the morrow, my uncle the younger Khan, according to the custom of the Moghuls, presented me with a dress complete from head to foot, and one of his own horses ready saddled. The dress consisted of a Moghul cap, embroidered with gold thread; a long frock of satin of Khitâ,[1] ornamented with flowered needle-work; a cuirass of Khitâ of the old fashion, with a whetstone and a purse-pocket; from this purse-pocket were suspended three or four things like the trinkets which women wear at their necks, such as an *Abîrdân*, (or box for holding perfumed earth,) and its little bag. On the left hand in like manner three or four things dangled. From this place we returned towards Tâshkend. My uncle the elder Khan came three or four farsangs[2] out from Tâshkend, and having erected an awning, seated himself under it. The younger Khan advanced straight up, and on coming near him in front, turned to the left of the elder Khan, fetching a circle round him, till he again presented himself in front, when he alighted; and when he came to the distance at which the *kornish*[3] is performed, he knelt nine times,[4] and then came up and embraced him. The elder Khan, immediately on the younger Khan's coming near, stood up and embraced him; they stood a long time clasping each other in their arms. The younger Khan, while retiring, again knelt[4] nine times, and when he presented his *peshkesh* (or tributory offering), he again knelt many times; after which he went and sat down. All the younger Khan's men had dressed themselves out after the Moghul fashion. They had Moghul caps, frocks of Khitâ satin, embroidered with flowers after the same fashion, quivers and saddles of green shagreen, and Moghul horses dressed up and adorned in a singular style.

Interview of the two Khans.

The younger Khan came with but few followers; they might be more than one thousand, and less than two. He was a man of singular manners. He was a stout, courageous man, and powerful with the sabre, and of all his weapons he relied most on it. He used to say that the *sheshper* (or mace with six divisions), the rugged mace, the javelin, the battle-axe, or broad axe, if they hit, could only be relied on for a single blow. His trusty keen sword he never allowed to be away from him; it was always either at his waist, or in his hand. As he had been educated, and had grown up, in a remote and out of the way country, he had something of rudeness in his manner, and

[1] That is China satin, &c.

[2] Twelve or sixteen miles.

[3] The kornish is a Moghul ceremony used in saluting the Supreme Prince, which has been introduced into India. Originally, the person who performed it kneeled nine times, and touched the earth with his brow each time. The ceremony, as enjoined by Akbar, differs extremely from this. "His Majesty has enjoined the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead, and the head to be bent forwards. This kind of salutation is called koornish, *i. e.* the head being placed in the hand of supplication, becomes an offering to the holy assembly."—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. I. p. 162. As now practised, it is merely bowing, and at the same time sliding the hands down the thighs, till they reach the knees. It is understood to be offering the neck to the sword. People sometimes only slide one hand down, laying the other on their dagger.

[4] Or perhaps rather bowed.

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of harshness in his speech. When I returned back with my uncle the younger Khan, tricked out in all the Moghul finery that has been mentioned, Khwâjeh Abdal Makâram, who was along with the elder Khan, did not know me, and asked what Sultan that was, and it was not till I spoke that he recognized me.

The two Khans advance against Akhsi.

Having come to Tâshkend, they speedily marched against Sultan Ahmed Tambol. They advanced by way of Bânî.[1] On reaching the dale of Ahengerân, the little Khan and myself were sent[2] on in advance. After having crossed the hill-pass of Dâyân, the two Khans met again in the neighbourhood of Zirkân and Karnân. In the vicinity of Karnân they one day had the *vim*[3] or muster of the army, and found it amount to about thirty thousand horse. Reports reached us from the country in our front, that Tambol had also collected his forces and advanced to Akhsi. The Khans, after consultation, determined to give me a detachment of the army, with which I should pass the river of Khojend, advance towards Ush and Uzkend, and take him in rear. This being arranged, they sent with me Ayûb Begchik with his tumân (or tribe), Jân Hassan Bârîn with his Bârîns, as well as Muhammed Hissâri Doghlet, Sultan Hussain Doghlet, and Sultan Ahmed Mirza Doghlet, but the Tûman of the Doghlets did not accompany them; Kamber Ali Sârîk-bâsh[4] Mirza,[5] the Steward, was made the Darogha or Commander of the Army. Having separated from the Khans at Karnân, I passed the river of Khojend at Sakân on rafts, and proceeding by the Rebât[6] of Khukân, and having reduced Kaba, advanced upon Ush by a rapid march by the route of Rabât-e-Alâ-balûk. At sunrise I came upon the fort of Ush while the garrison were off their guard, being totally ignorant of our approach; seeing no remedy, they were forced to surrender. The inhabitants of the country, who were warmly attached to me, had longed much for my arrival: but, partly from dread of Tambol, partly from the distance at which I had been, had no means of doing anything; no sooner, however, had I arrived in Ush, than all the Ils and Ulûses[7] poured in from the east and south of Andejân, from the hills and plains. The inhabitants of Uzkend, a fortress of great strength, which had formerly been the capital of Ferghâna, and lay on the frontier, declared for me, and sent a person to tender their allegiance. A few days after, the people of Marghinân having attacked and driven out their Governor, joined my party. The whole population on the Andejân side of the river of Khojend, with all the fortified places, except Andejân itself, declared for me. All this time, although so many forts were falling into my hands, and though such a spirit of insurrection and revolt had overrun the country, Tambol, without being in the least disconcerted, lay with his cavalry and infantry facing the Khans, between Akhsi and Karnân, where he encamped and fortified his position with a trench guarded by a chevaux-de-frise. A number of skirmishes and affairs took place, but without any visible advantage on either side.

Baber detached against Ush and Uzkend.

Takes Ush,

Uzkend and Marghinân.

Tambol maintains his post.

[1] The Persian has Kundezlik and Amani.

[2] The author of the Rozet-es-Sefâ, says, that the two Khans left Tâshkend on the 15th Moharrem, (21st July 1502,) to restore Baber and expel Ahmed Tambol.

[3] This is the same as the Ivim that has been mentioned. I know not which is the right name.

[4] Sârik-bâsh, yellow-head.—*Leyden.* [5] Ambarchi.

[6] The *Rebât* is a large enclosed Caravansera, built for the reception of travellers and their cattle.

[7] These, it will be recollected, were the wandering tribes.

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Baber attempts to surprise Andejân.

Most of the clans and tribes, with the fortresses and country all around Andejân, had now submitted to me, and the men of Andejân were no less eager to declare in my favour, but could not find a safe opportunity. It came into my head to advance one night to the vicinity of Andejân, to send in a man to confer with the Khwâjehs and chief inhabitants of the place, and, if they fell in with my views, to concert with them about introducing me, some way or other, into the fortress. With this plan, I one evening set out from Ush, and having about midnight arrived within a kos of Andejân, opposite to Jild-Khizan,[1] sent forward Kamber Ali Beg, and several other Begs, with instructions to introduce secretly into the place some person who might confer with the Khwâjeh and leading men. I and my party remained on horseback where they had left us, awaiting the return of the Begs. It might be about the end of the third watch of the night,[2] some of us were nodding, others fast asleep, when all at once saddle-drums struck up, accompanied with martial shout and hubbub. My men being off their guard, and oppressed with drowsiness, without knowing how many or few the enemy might be, were seized with a panic, and took to flight, no one trying to keep near another. I had not even time to rally them, but advanced towards the enemy, accompanied by Mîr Shah Kochîn, Bâbâ Shîrzâd, and Dost Nâsir. Except us four, all the rest ran off to a man. We had advanced but a little way, when the enemy, after discharging a flight of arrows, raised the war-shout, and charged towards us. One cavalier, mounted on a white-faced horse, came near me. I let fly an arrow, which hit the horse, and he instantly fell dead. They pulled up their bridles a little. My three companions said, "The night is dark, and it is impossible to ascertain the number and force of the enemy; the whole troops which we had with us have fled. We are only four men, and with so small a number, what injury can we hope to do the enemy? Let us follow our party, rally them, and lead them back into action." Having galloped up and overtaken our men, we horsewhipped some of them; but all our exertions were ineffectual to make them stand. Again we four turned, and gave the pursuers a discharge of arrows. They halted a little; but when, after one or two discharges, they perceived that we were only four in number, they again set off in pursuit of our men, to strike them down and dismount them. In this way, we three or four times covered and protected our people, and, as they would not be rallied, I repeatedly turned along with my three companions, when we kept the enemy in check, and brought them up with our arrows. They kept pursuing us for the space of two or three kos, till they came over against the hillock of Khirabûk and Shibamûm. On reaching the hillock, Muhammed Ali Mobasher met us. I said, "These people are few in number; come, let us charge them." When we turned and put our horses to speed to charge them, they stood still. The scattered fugitives now began to collect and come in from different quarters; but there were many good soldiers who did not recover from their alarm, but went on straight to Ush. The business had happened in the following manner:—Some Moghuls of Ayûb Begchik's division had gone out prowling round Andejân on a pillaging party. On hearing the noise made by my detachment, they came secretly upon us, when a mistake occurred regarding the watchword.

Nocturnal rencontre.

[1] The Persian translation has *Chil-dokhteran*.

[2] Three o'clock in the morning.

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The watchword is of two kinds. One of these is the word of the tribe: for example, some take *Dûrdaneh*, others *Tûkbai*, others *Lûlû*, as their distinguishing watchword. The other is the watchword given out to the whole army in time of war, and consists of two words; so that, in time of action, if two parties meet, and one person gives the first word, one of the other party answers by the other word, as preconcerted, by which means, they can distinguish their own men from the enemy, and friends from foes. On the night of this occurrence, the word was *Tâshkend*, and the countersign *Seirâm*, or if *Seirâm* was given as the word, the answer was to be *Tâshkend*. When they fell in with us, Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali was on my advance; and when the Moghuls came on, calling out "Tâshkend! Tâshkend!" Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali, who was a Tâjîk, in his confusion blundered out, "Tâshkend! Tâshkend!" in reply. The Moghuls, taking him for an enemy, set up the war-shout, beat their horse-drums, and let fly their arrows. In this manner, from a false alarm, we were dispersed and scattered; the plan which I had conceived failed, and I returned back to Ush, after a fruitless journey.

Baber marches against Andejân.

After five or six days, Tambol and his adherents became disheartened and depressed on learning that the people of the hills, with the low country and forts, had returned to their obedience; and his men and soldiers began to desert and flee to the hills and deserts. Some of those who left his army reported, that Tambol's affairs were on the verge of ruin, and that, in three or four days, he would be compelled to break up from absolute necessity. Immediately on receiving this intelligence, I mounted and marched against Andejân. Sultan Muhammed Gulbeg, the younger brother of Tambol, was in the fortress of Andejân. Advancing by way of Tûtluk,[1] I sent on a foraging party from Jâkân,[2] on the south of Andejân, about the time of mid-day prayers. I myself followed in the rear of the foragers, till I reached the skirts of the heights of Aîsh, on the Jâkân side, when we received information from our advanced guards that Sultan Muhammed Gulbeg, with all his force, had advanced out beyond the suburbs and gardens, and was now on the skirts of the heights of Aîsh. The foragers had not yet collected, but, without waiting for them, I advanced without delay against the enemy. Gulbeg's force exceeded five hundred in number; though my men were much more numerous, yet a great proportion of them were on the foraging party, and were now scattered. When I met him, perhaps I might have with me about the same number with himself. Without minding array or order, we advanced on the enemy at full gallop. When we came to the charge, they could not stand us, but fled without exchanging a blow. My people followed them close up to the Jâkân Gate, dismounting and making prisoners all the way.

Skirmish at the suburbs.

Having routed the enemy, we reached the outskirts of the suburbs at Khwâjeh Kitteh, about the time of evening prayers. It was my wish to have ridden right up to the gates, and made a push to enter them. But the old and experienced Begs of rank, such as Nasîr Beg, the father of Dost Beg, Kamber Ali Beg, and other aged veterans, represented to me, that it was now late, and that to approach the fortress in the dark was not a wise measure; that it was better to retire a little and alight; that

[1] The mulberry grove.

[2] Or Khâkân, or Jâgân.

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in the morning they would have nothing left for it but to surrender the fortress. Having acquiesced in the opinion of these experienced officers, we retired from the suburbs. Had we advanced up to the gates of the fortress, there is not a shadow of doubt that the place would have fallen into our hands.

Passes the Jâkân.

It was about the hour of bed-time prayers when we passed the river Jâkân, and encamped close by the village of Rabât-e-Zourek. Although we had received intelligence of the breaking up of Tambol, and his retreat towards Andejân, yet my inexperience made me guilty of a gross oversight; for, instead of occupying the ground along the banks of the river Jâkân, which was naturally strong, and encamping there, we passed the river and halted beside the village of Rabât-e-Zourek, in a level plain, where we went to sleep in negligent security, without advanced guard and without videttes. Just before the dawn, while our men were still enjoying themselves in sleep, Kamber Ali Beg galloped up, exclaiming, "The enemy are upon us—rouse up!" Having spoken these words, without halting a moment, he passed on. I had gone to sleep, as was my custom even in times of security, without taking off my *jâmâ*, or frock, and instantly arose, girt on my sabre and quiver, and mounted my horse. My standard-bearer seized the standard, but without having time to tie on the horse-tail and colours; but, taking the banner-staff in his hand just as it was, leaped on horseback, and we proceeded towards the quarter in which the enemy were advancing. When I first mounted, there were ten or fifteen men with me. By the time I had advanced a bowshot, we fell in with the enemy's skirmishers. At this moment there might be about ten men with me. Riding quick up to them, and giving a discharge of our arrows, we came upon the most advanced of them, attacked and drove them back, and continued to advance, pursuing them for the distance of another bowshot, when we fell in with the main body of the enemy. Sultan Ahmed Tambol was standing, with about a hundred men. Tambol was speaking with another person in front of the line, and in the act of saying, "Smite them! Smite them!" but his men were sideling in a hesitating way, as if saying, "Shall we flee? Let us flee!" but yet standing still. At this instant there were left with me only three persons: one of these was Dost Nâsir, another Mirza Kûli Gokultâsh, and Kerîmdad Khodâidâd, the Turkoman, the third. One arrow, which was then on the notch, I discharged on the helmet of Tambol, and again applied my hand to my quiver, and brought out a green-tipped barbed arrow,[1] which my uncle, the Khan, had given me. Unwilling to throw it away, I returned it to the quiver, and thus lost as much time as would have allowed of shooting two arrows. I then placed another arrow on the string, and advanced, while the other three lagged a little behind me. Two persons came on right to meet me; one of them was Tambol, who preceded the other. There was a highway between us. He mounting on one side of it as I mounted on the other, we encountered on it in such a manner, that my right hand was towards my enemy, and Tambol's right hand towards me. Except the mail for his horse, Tambol had all his armour and accoutrements complete. I had only my sabre and bow and arrows. I drew up to my ear, and sent right for him the arrow which I had in my hand. At that very moment, an ar-

Surprised by Tambol.

Advances on Tambol.

Wounded.

[1] Or perhaps a green finger-guard—*goshehgîr sir sebz*.—Pers.

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row of the kind called Sheibah struck me on the right thigh, and pierced through and through. I had a steel cap on my head. Tambol, rushing on, smote me such a blow on it with his sword as to stun me; though not a thread of the cap was penetrated, yet my head was severely wounded. I had neglected to clean my sword, so that it was rusty, and I lost time in drawing it. I was alone and single in the midst of a multitude of enemies. It was no season for standing still; so I turned my bridle round, receiving another sabre stroke on the arrows in my quiver. I had gone back seven or eight paces, when three foot soldiers came up and joined us. Tambol now attacked Dost Nâsir sword in hand. They followed us about a bowshot. Arigh-Jakân-shah is a large and deep stream, which is not fordable everywhere; but God directed us aright, so that we came exactly upon one of the fords of the river. Immediately on crossing the river, the horse of Dost Nâsir fell from weakness. We halted to remount him, and, passing among the hillocks that are between Khirabûk and Feraghîneh, and going from one hillock to another, we proceeded by bye-roads towards Ush. When we were leaving these hillocks, Mazîd Taghâi met and joined us. He had been wounded by an arrow in the right leg, below the knee; though it had not pierced through and through, yet he reached Ush with much difficulty. The enemy slew many of my best men. Nâsir Beg, Muhammed Ali Mobasher, Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali, Khosrû Gokultâsh, and Niamân Chihreh, fell on that day. A great many cavaliers and soldiers also fell at the same time.

Escapes to Ush.

The Khans having followed close after Tambol, took post in the vicinity of Andejân. The elder Khan had his quarters on the edge of the Kûrûk (or Park) in the garden of my grandmother Isan-doulet Begum, which is known by the name of Kûshtagermân.[1] The younger Khan had his quarters near the *Langer* or convent of Baba Tawakel. After two days I came from Ush, and waited on the elder Khan at Kûshtagermân. On this first visit he made over to the younger Khan all the places which I had gained possession of, giving me for an excuse, that as an enemy so formidable as Sheibâk Khan had taken the city of Samarkand, and was daily increasing in power, it had become necessary to summon the younger Khan from a great distance; that he had no possessions in this quarter; that it was therefore expedient to give him the country south of the river of Khojend, including Andejân, that he might have a convenient station and place in which to fix himself. The districts to the north of the river of Khojend, along with Akhsi, were promised to me; and after settling this country, they were to proceed against Samarkand, which was to be conferred on me; when the whole of Ferghâna was to be ceded to the younger Khan. It is probable that all this talk was merely to over-reach me; and that in case of success they would have forgot their promises. However, there was no help for it. Willing or not, I was obliged to appear contented with this arrangement. On leaving the elder Khan, I mounted and went to visit the younger Khan. On the road, Kamber Ali, who was known by the name of the Skinner, came up alongside of me, and said, "Do you observe? they are taking away from you the countries which you possess. Depend upon it, you will never gain anything at their hands. Now that you have Ush, and Mar-

Joins the Khans near Andejân.

The southern districts of Ferghâna given to the younger Khan.

Kamber Ali's advice.

[1] Bird's Mill.—*Leyden.*

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ghinân, Uzkend, and the country of the Ils and Ulûses, set out at once for Ush, fortify all your castles, dispatch some person to Sultan Ahmed Tambol, to conclude a peace, join in attacking and driving out the Moghuls, and then make a division of the country between yourself and younger brother." I answered, "It is more satisfactory to me, as the Khans are my own family and kinsmen, to be a vassal of theirs, than a Sovereign along with Tambol." Perceiving that I did not approve of his suggestion, he seemed to regret having mentioned it, and drew off. I went on and saw my uncle the younger Khan. In my first interview with him, I had come upon him unexpectedly, and gone up to him at once, so that he had not even time to dismount from his horse, and our meeting took place without ceremony. On this occasion, however, when I had approached near, he came out hastily, beyond the range of his tent ropes, and as I walked with considerable pain, and with a staff in my hand, from the arrow-wound in my thigh, he ran up and embraced me, saying, "Brother, you have behaved like a hero!" and taking me by the arm, led me into the tent. His tent was but small. As he had been brought up in a rude and remote country, the place in which he sat was far from being distinguished for neatness, and had much of the air of a marauder's. Melons, grapes, and stable furniture were all lying huddled about in the same tent in which he was sitting.

Baber visits the younger Khan.

Khan's Moghul surgeon.

After getting up from the little Khan's, I came to my own camp, when he sent me his own Yakhshi or Surgeon to examine my wound. The Moghuls term a surgeon Yakhshi. He was wonderfully skilful in surgery. If a man's brains had come out, he could cure him by medicine; and even where the arteries were cut, he healed them with the utmost facility. To some wounds he applied a kind of plaster; and to some wounded persons he gave a medicine to be swallowed. To the wound in my thigh he applied the skin of some fruits which he had prepared and dried, and did not insert a seton. He also once gave me something like a vein to eat, and said, "A man had once the bone of his leg broken in such a manner that a part of the bone, of the size of the hand, was completely shattered to pieces. I cut open the integuments, extracted the whole of the shattered bones, and inserted in their place a pulverized preparation; the preparation grew in the place of the bone, and became bone itself, and the leg was perfectly cured." He told me many similar strange and wonderful stories of cures, such as the surgeons of our countries are totally unable to accomplish. Three or four days afterwards, Kamber Ali, being apprehensive of evil consequences from the conversation which he had had with me, fled to Andejân.

Baber goes against Kâsân and Akhsi.

After a few days, the Khans, having held a consultation, sent Ayûb Begchik, with his Tumân, Jan Hassan Bârin, with the Tumân of Barîns, and Sarik Bâsh Mirza, as commander of the detachment, with a thousand or two thousand men to attend me, and dispatched us towards Akhsi. Sheikh Bayezîd, Tambol's younger brother, held Akhsi, and Shahbâz Karlûk[1] held Kâsân. On this occasion, Shahbâz came out and took post in advance of the fortress of Noukend. Having passed the river of Khojend unobserved, opposite to Ata, I hastened by a rapid march towards Noukend to surprize Shahbâz. Just before morning, when we were hard upon Noukend, my Begs

Advances to Noukend.

[1] Karbuk.—*Persian.*

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represented to me that in all probability Shahbâz had got notice of our approach; that therefore it was better not to advance in disorder, but slowly and in regular array. We therefore advanced deliberately, and, as we approached, Shahbâz, who had in reality been off his guard, and ignorant of our motions, on being apprized of our coming, fled away and took shelter in the fortress. Things very often turn out just as they did on this occasion. On its being suggested that the enemy must be acquainted with our motions, enterprises are easily given up, and the moment for action is lost. The result of my experience on these matters is, that after we have formed our plan, and are in the moment of execution, we ought to admit of no remission of activity or exertion in carrying it through; for afterwards what do regret and repining avail? When it was morning, there was some fighting around the fort, but I made no serious attack.

From Noukend we proceeded towards the hills near Push-Khârân, for the purpose of plundering. Shahbâz Kârlûk availing himself of the opportunity, abandoned Nou-Kend and threw himself into Kâsân. On my return I took up my quarters in Noukend. During the interval that followed, my troops made various excursions in different directions. On one occasion they fell upon the villages of Akhsi; on another they plundered those of Kâsân. Shahbâz, with the adopted son of Uzun Hassan, one Mîram, came out to fight, and did engage; but they were defeated, and Mîram fell in the action.

Pâp declares for him.

One of the strongest fortresses of Akhsi, is Pâp, the garrison of which declared for me, put it in a state of defence, and sent a messenger to call me in; when I dispatched Syed Kâsim with a detachment, who passed the river[1] opposite to some villages above Akhsi, and marching on, entered the castle of Pâp.

Attempt to surprise Pâp

A few days after this, an event worthy of notice occurred. At this time, Ibrâhim Chapûk Tâghâi, Ahmed Kâsim Kohbur, and Kâsim Jangeh Arghûn, with Sheikh Bayezîd, were in Akhsi. Tambol one night sent these officers with about two hundred chosen men to surprise Pâp. Syed Kâsim had gone to sleep without taking the proper precautions for guarding the place. The enemy having reached the fort, applied their scaling-ladders, mounted the walls, seized the gate, let down the draw-bridge, and introduced seventy or eighty of their men, before Syed Kâsim received intelligence of what was passing. Half awakened from his sleep, he rushed out just as he was, in his vest, and with five or six others, began to discharge arrows upon them, and molested them so effectually by dint of repeated attacks, that he drove them out of the fort, and cut off the heads of some of them, which he sent me. Though it was very unworthy of a Captain to go to sleep in this negligent manner, yet, with a few men, to drive out such a number of brave soldiers clad in mail, merely by hard fighting and the edge of the sword, was a most gallant exploit.

fails.

All this time the Khans were engaged in the siege of the fortress of Andejân. The garrison, however, would not suffer him to approach it, and parties of horse frequently sallied out and skirmished with the besiegers.

Sheikh Bayezîd, who was in Akhsi, now made a show of being devoted to my in-

[1] Probably the river of Kâsân.

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Sheikh Bayezid invites Baber to Akhsi.

terests, and sent a confidential messenger earnestly inviting me to repair to that city. The motive of this invitation was a wish to detach me, by any device, from the Khans, being persuaded that after I left them they could no longer maintain themselves in the country. It was done by him on an understanding with his elder brother Tambol. But to separate myself from the Khans, and to unite myself with them, was a thing to me altogether impossible. I let the Khans understand the invitation I had received. The Khans advised me by all means to go, and to seize Sheikh Bayezîd one way or another; but such artifice and underhand dealing were totally abhorrent from my habits and disposition, especially as there must have been a treaty, and I never could bring myself to violate my faith. But I was anxious by one method or another to get into Akhsi, that Sheikh Bayezîd might be detached from his brother Tambol, and unite with me, till some plan should offer, of which I could avail myself with honour. I therefore sent a person to Akhsi, who concluded an agreement with him, when he invited me to the place, and I accordingly went. He came out to meet me, bringing my youngest brother Nâsir Mirza along with him, and conducted me into the fort, where he left me. I alighted at the apartments which had been prepared for me in my father's palace in the stone fort.

Baber repairs thither.

Tambol calls in Sheibâni Khan.

Tambol had sent his elder brother Beg Tilbeh to Shebâk Khan, proffering him his allegiance, and summoning him to his assistance. At this very time he received letters from Sheibâk Khan, by which he was informed that the Khan was about to come to join him. As soon as the Khans received this intelligence, they were disconcerted, and broke up from before Andejân in great alarm. The little Khan himself had a high character for justice and piety; but the Moghuls whom he had left in Ush, in Marghinân, and the other fortresses of which I had gained possession, instead of protecting, had set about oppressing and tyrannizing over the inhabitants. As soon, therefore, as the Khans raised the siege of Andejân, the men of Ush, Marghinân, and the other fortresses, rose on the Moghuls who were in garrison, seized and plundered them, and drove them out of the towns. The Khans did not immediately cross the river of Khojend, but retreated by way of Marghinân and Kendbâdâm, and passed the river at Khojend. Tambol followed them as far as Marghinân. I was now greatly distracted; I had no great confidence in their adhering staunchly to me, but I did not like to fly off from them without evident necessity.

The two Khans retire by Khojend.

Jehangîr Mirza flies from Tambol and joins Baber.

One morning Jehangîr Mirza came and joined me, having fled from Tambol, whom he had left at Marghinân. I was in the bath when the Mirza arrived, but immediately received and embraced him. At this time Sheikh Bayezîd was in great perturbation, quite unsettled what line of conduct to pursue. The Mirza and Ibrâhim Beg insisted that it was necessary to seize him, and to take possession of the citadel. In truth the proposition was a judicious one. I answered, "I have made an agreement, and how can I violate it?" Sheikh Bayezîd meanwhile entered the citadel. We ought to have placed a guard at the bridge, yet we did not station a single man to defend it. These blunders were the effects of our inexperience. Before the dawn, Tambol arrived with two or three thousand mailed warriors, passed by the bridge, and entered the citadel. I had but very few men with me from the first, and after I came to Akhsi, I had dispatched many of them on different services; some to garrison forts, others to take

Tambol arrives at Akhsi.

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charge of districts, and others to collect the revenue, so that, at this crisis, I had not with me in Akhsi many more than a hundred. However, having taken to horse with those that remained, I was busy posting them in the entrances to the different streets, and in preparing supplies of warlike stores for their use, when Sheikh Bayezîd, Kamber Ali, and Muhammed Dost, came galloping from Tambol to propose a pacification. Having ordered such of my men as had stations assigned them to remain steadily at their posts, I went and alighted at my father's tomb, to hold a conference with them. I also sent to call Jehangîr Mirza to the meeting. Muhammed Dost returned back, while Sheikh Bayezîd and Kamber Ali remained with me. We were sitting in the southern portico of the Mausoleum, engaged in conversation, when Jehangîr Mirza and Ibrâhim Chapûk, after consulting together, had come to a resolution to seize them. Jehangîr Mirza whispered in my ear, "It is necessary to seize them." I answered him, "Do nothing in a hurry: the time for seizing them is gone by. Let us try if we can get anything by negotiation, which is much more feasible, for at present they are very numerous, and we are extremely few: besides, their superior force is in possession of the citadel, while our inconsiderable strength only occupies the outer fort." Sheikh Bayezîd and Kamber Ali were present while this passed. Jehangîr Mirza, looking towards Ibrâhim Chapûk, made a sign to him to desist. I know not whether he misunderstood it, or whether from perversity he acted knowingly; however that may be, he seized Sheikh Bayezîd. The men who were around closed in on every side, and, in an instant, dragged away and rifled these two noblemen. There was now an end of all treaty. We, therefore, delivered them both into custody, and mounted for battle.

Jehangîr Mirza seizes Sheikh Bayezîd.

I intrusted one side of the town to Jehangîr Mirza; as the Mirza's followers were very few in number, I attached some of my own to him. I first of all went and put his quarter of the town in order, visiting all the posts, and assigning each man his station; after which I proceeded to the other quarters.[1] In the midst of the town there was an open level green, in which I had posted a body of my men, and passed on. They were soon attacked by a much superior number of horse and foot, who drove them from their ground, and forced them into a narrow lane. At this instant I arrived, and immediately pushed on my horse to the charge. The enemy did not maintain their ground, but fled. We had driven them out of the narrow lane, and were pushing them over the green, sword in hand, when my horse was wounded in the leg by an arrow. He bolted, and springing aside, threw me on the ground in the midst of the enemy. I started up instantly and discharged one arrow. Kâhil, one of my attendants, who was on a sorry sort of steed, dismounted and presented it to me. I got on it, and having posted a party there, proceeded to the foot of another street. Sultan Muhammed Weis, observing what a bad horse I had got, dismounted and gave me his own, which I mounted. At this very instant Kamber Ali Beg, the son of Kâsim Beg, came to me wounded, from Jehangîr Mirza, with notice that Jehangîr Mirza had been attacked for some time past in such force, that he was reduced to the last extremity, and had been compelled to retreat out of the town, and take to flight.

Baber attempts to defend Akhsi.

[1] It would appear that the town was open and without walls on the side of the citadel.

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While still disconcerted by this accident, Syed Kâsim, who had held the fort of Pâp, arrived. This was a strangely unseasonable time for coming; for, at such an extremity, had I retained possession of a fortress of such strength as Pâp, there had still been some resource. I said to Ibrâhim Beg, "What is to be done now?" He was a little wounded, and I know not whether it was from the irritation of his wound, or from his heart failing him, but he did not give me a very distinct answer. An idea struck me, which was to retreat by the bridge, and breaking it down behind us, to advance towards Andejân. Baba Shirzâd behaved extremely well in this exigency. He said, "Let us attack and force a passage through this nearest gateway." According to this suggestion, we proceeded towards the gate. Khwâjeh Mîr Mirân also spoke and comported himself in a manly manner, in this extremity. While we were entering the street, Syed Kâsim and Dost Nâsir, with Bâki Khiz, maintained the action, and covered our retreat; I and Ibrâhim Beg, and Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh, had rode on before them. We had no sooner come opposite the gate, than we saw Sheikh Bayezîd, with a quilted corslet over his vest, who just then entered the gateway with three or four horsemen, and was proceeding into the town. In the morning, when, contrary to my wish, he was seized along with those who were with him, they had been left with Jehangîr's men, who, when forced to retreat, carried off Sheikh Bayezîd with them. They once thought of putting him to death, but fortunately they did not, but set him at liberty. He had just been released, and was entering the gate, when I met him. I immediately drew to the head the arrow which was on my notch, and discharged it full at him. It only grazed his neck, but it was a fine shot. The moment he had entered the gate, he turned short to the right, and fled by a narrow street in great perturbation. I pursued him. Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh struck down one foot-soldier with his mace, and had passed another, when the fellow aimed an arrow at Ibrâhim Beg, who startled him by exclaiming, Hai! Hai! and went forward; after which the man, being about as far off as the porch of a house is from the hall, let fly at me an arrow, which struck me under the arm. I had on a Kalmuk mail; two plates of it were pierced and broken from the blow. After shooting the arrow, he fled, and I discharged an arrow after him. At that very moment a foot-soldier happened to be flying along the rampart, and my arrow pinned his cap to the wall, where it remained shot through and through, and dangling from the parapet. He took his turban, which he twisted round his arm, and ran away. A man on horseback passed close by me, fleeing up the narrow lane by which Sheikh Bayezîd had escaped. I struck him such a blow on the temples with the point of my sword, that he bent over as if ready to fall from his horse, but supporting himself on the wall of the lane, he did not lose his seat, but escaped with the utmost hazard. Having dispersed all the horse and foot that were at the gate, we took possession of it. There was now no reasonable chance of success; for they had two or three thousand well-armed men in the citadel, while I had only a hundred, or two hundred at most, in the outer stone fort: and, besides, Jehangîr Mirza, about as long before as milk takes to boil, had been beaten and driven out, and half of my men were with him. In spite of all this, such was my inexperience, that, posting myself in the gateway, I dispatched a man to Jehangîr Mirza, to request him to join me if he was near, and that we might make another effort. But,

Retreats towards the gate;

which he gains,

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in truth, the business was over. Whether it was that Ibrâhim Beg's horse was really weak, or whether the Beg was fretful from his wound, I cannot tell; but he said to me, "My horse is useless." Immediately, Sulemân, a servant of Muhammed Ali Mobasher, dismounted and gave him his horse of his own accord, without anybody suggesting such a thing to him. It was a fine trait of character in the man. While we remained waiting at the gate, Kûchik Ali, who is now collector [1] of Koel, displayed great bravery. He was then in the service of Sultan-Muhammed Weis. He, on another occasion, performed good service at Usi. We continued at the gate, waiting for the return of the messenger whom I had sent to call the Mirza. He did return, and informed us that Jehangîr Mirza had already been gone some time in his retreat. It was no longer a season to tarry, and we also set off. Indeed, my halting so long was very ill advised. Not above twenty or thirty men now remained with me. The moment we moved off in our retreat, a great band of the enemy's troops came smartly after us. We had just passed the drawbridge when they reached the town side of it. Bend Ali Beg, the son of Kâsim Beg, who was the maternal grandfather of Khamzeh Beg, called aloud to Ibrâhim Beg, "You are always boasting and bragging: stop and let us exchange a few sword-cuts." Ibrâhim Beg, who was close by me, answered, "Come away, then: What hinders us?" The senseless madcaps! in such a moment of peril and discomfiture, to think of adjusting their rival claims. It was no time for a trial of skill, nor for delay nor loss of time. We retreated with all speed, the enemy being in full pursuit of us. They brought down man after man as they overtook us. and retreats.

Within a kos [2] of Akhsi there is place called *Gumbid-e-Chemen* (or the Garden-dome). We had just passed it, when Ibrâhim Beg called out to me for assistance. I looked round, and perceived him engaged with a home-bred slave of Sheikh Bayezîd. I instantly turned my bridle to go back. Jân Kuli Biân Kuli, who was by me, exclaimed, "What time is this for turning back?" seized my bridle-reins, and hurried me on. Before we reached Sang, they had unhorsed the greater part of my adherents. Sang may be about two kos from Akhsi. After passing Sang, we saw no more of the enemy in pursuit. We proceeded up the river of Sang, being at this time only eight in all—Dost Nâsir, Kamber Ali Kâsim Beg, Jân Kuli Biân Kuli, Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh, Shahîm Nâsir, Abdul Kadûs Sîdî Kara, and Khwâjeh Hussaini; I myself was the eighth. A sort of path leads up the river amidst broken glens, remote from the beaten road. By this unfrequented and retired path we proceeded up the river, till, leaving the river on the right, we struck into another narrow path. It was about afternoon prayers when we emerged from the broken grounds into the level country. A blackness was discernible afar off in the plain. Having placed my men under cover, I myself, on foot, ascended an eminence to spy what it might be; when suddenly a number of horsemen galloped up the hillock behind us. We could not ascertain precisely how many or how few they were, but took to our horses and continued our flight. The horsemen who followed us were not in all above twenty, or twenty-five; and we were eight, as has been mentioned. Had we but known their number when they first came up, we should have given them warm play; but we imagined that they Is warmly pursued.

[1] Shekdar, a sort of military collector.

[2] Shirai, rather more than a mile and a half.

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were certainly followed by a detachment sent in pursuit of the fugitives. Impressed with this notion, we continued our flight. The fact is, that the fliers, even though the most numerous, can never contend with the pursuers, though the inferior number. As it is said,

(*Persian Verse.*)—The shout of Hûî is sufficient for vanquished bands.

Jân Kuli said, "We must not go on in this way, or they will take us all. Let you and Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh, therefore, select the two best horses of the party,[1] and galloping off together keep one another's horses at speed; perhaps you may escape." The advice was not a bad one; for, since we could not engage them, this presented a possibility of escape; but I could not consent in such circumstances to leave any of my followers dismounted in the midst of the enemy. At length, however, the party began to separate and fall behind each other. The horse on which I was mounted began to lag. Jân Kuli dismounted and gave me his horse. I leaped from my own and mounted his, while he mounted mine. At this very instant Shahîm Nâsir, with Abdal Kadûs Sîdî Kara, who had fallen behind, were dismounted by the enemy. Jân Kuli also fell behind; but it was no season for trying to shield or assist him. We, therefore, pushed our horses to their utmost speed, but they gradually flagged and fell off. The horse of Dost Beg too began to flag, and fell behind; and the horse which I rode likewise began to be worn out. Kamber Ali dismounting, gave me his own horse. He mounted mine, and presently dropped behind. Khwâjeh Hûssaini, who was lame, turned off towards the heights. I now remained alone with Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh. Our horses were too weak to admit of being put to the gallop; we went on at a canter; but the horse of Mirza Kuli began to move slower and slower. I said to him, "If deprived of you, whither can I go? Come, then, and be it death or life, let us meet it together."—I kept on, turning from time to time, to see Mirza Kuli. At last, Mirza Kuli said, "My horse is completely blown, and it is impossible for you to escape if you encumber yourself with me. Push on, and shift for yourself. Perhaps you may still escape." I was in a singularly distressful situation. Mirza Kuli also fell behind, and I was left alone. Two of the enemy were in sight; the name of the one was Baba Seirâmi, that of the other Bandeh Ali; they gained upon me; my horse began to flag. There was a hill about a kos off, and I came up to a heap of stones. I reflected with myself that my horse was knocked up, and the hill still a considerable way off. What was to be done? I had about twenty arrows left in my quiver. Should I dismount at this heap of stones, and keep my ground as long as my arrows lasted? But it occurred to me again, that perhaps I might be able to gain the hill, and that if I did, I might stick a few arrows in my belt, and succeed in climbing it. I had great reliance on my own nimbleness. Impelled by this idea, I kept on my course. My horse was unable to make any speed, and my pursuers got within arrow's reach of me; I was sparing of my arrows, however, and did not shoot. They also were somewhat chary, and did not come nearer than a bowshot, but kept on tracking me.

His followers taken one after another.

Is left alone, and pursued by Baba Seirâmi and Bandeh Ali.

About sunset, I got near the hill, when they suddenly called out to me, "Where

[1] He seems to have wished them to take each a spare horse, as is usual in the forays of the Tûrks.

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do you intend going, that you flee in this manner? Jehangîr Mirza has been taken, and brought in; Nâsir Mirza, too, has been seized." I was greatly alarmed at these words; because, if all of us[1] fell into their hands, we had everything to dread. I made no reply, but kept on for the hill. When we had gone a certain way farther, they again called out to me. This time they spoke to me in a more gracious style than at first. They dismounted from their horses, and began to address me. I did not attend to what they said, but proceeded in my course, and, entering a glen, I began to ascend it, and went on till about bedtime prayers, when I reached a large rock about the size of a house. I went behind it, and came to an ascent of steep ledges, where the horse could not keep his feet. They also dismounted and began to address me in a still more courteous and respectful style, expostulating with me, and saying, "What end can it serve to go on in this manner, in a dark night, and where there is no road? Where can you possibly go?" Both of them, with a solemn oath, asserted, "Sultan Ahmed Beg wishes to place you on the throne." "I cannot," I replied, "confide in anything of the sort; and to join him is for me impossible. If you are serious in your wish to do me an important service, you have now such an opportunity as may not occur for years. Point out to me a road by which I may rejoin the Khans, and I will show you kindness and favour even beyond your highest wishes. If you refuse this, return by the way you came, and leave me to fulfil my destiny—even that will be no mean service." "Would to God," they replied, "that we had never come; but, since we have come, how can we desert you in this desolate situation? Since you will not accompany us, we shall follow you and serve you, go where you will." I answered, "Swear then unto me by the Holy Book that you are sincere in your offer." And they swore the heavy and awful oath.

They swear to be true to him.

I now began to have a certain degree of confidence in them, and said to them, "An open road was formerly pointed out to me near this same valley; do you proceed by it." Though they had sworn to me, yet still I could not perfectly confide in them; I therefore made them go on before and followed them. We had advanced a kos or two, when we reached a rivulet. I said, "This cannot be the road by the open valley that I spoke of." They hesitated, and said, "That road is still a considerable way forward." The truth is, that we then really were on the very road of the open valley, and they were deceiving me and concealing the truth. We went on till midnight, when we again came to a stream. They now said, "We have not been sufficiently attentive, and have certainly left behind the road in the open valley." I said, "What then is to be done?" They said, "The road to Ghiva lies a little farther on, and by it you may go to Ferket." We kept on in our way, therefore, and continued travelling forward till the end of the third watch of the night,[2] when we reached the river of Karnân, which comes down from Ghiva. Baba Seirâmi then said, "Stop here, while I go on before, and I will return after reconnoitring the road to Ghiva." He did return in a short time, and told us, "A good many men are passing over the plain along the road; it will be impossible for us to go this way." I was alarmed at this information. I was in the

[1] Jehangîr and Nâsir Mirza were Baber's only two brothers.
[2] Three o'clock in the morning.

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midst of an enemy's country, the morning was near at hand, and I was far from the place to which I had wished to go. "Show me, then," I said, "some spot where we may remain concealed during the day, and, when it is night, we can get something for our horses, pass the river of Khojend, and then proceed straight for Khojend by the other side of the river." They answered, "Hard by there is a hillock, in which we may hide ourselves." Bandeh Ali was the Darogha of Karnân. He said, "Neither we nor our horses can long stand out, unless we get something to eat. I will go to Karnân, and will bring out whatever I can procure." We therefore passed on, and took the road for Karnân. We stopped about a kos from Karnân, while Bandeh Ali went on, and staid away for a long time. The morning had dawned, yet there was no appearance of our man. I began to be greatly alarmed. Just as it was day, Bandeh Ali came cantering back, bringing three loaves, but no grain for the horses. Each of us taking a loaf under his arm, we went off without loss of time, reached the hillock where we wished to remain in concealment, and, having tied our horses in the low marshy broken grounds, we all mounted the eminence, and sat keeping watch on different sides.

Baber compelled to conceal himself.

It was now near mid-day, when we spied Ahmed Koshchi (the falconer), with four horsemen, coming from Ghiva towards Akhsi. I once thought of sending for the falconer, and getting possession of their horses by fair words and promises; for our horses were quite worn out, having been in constant exercise and on the stretch for a day and night, without having got a grain of anything to eat. But my heart immediately began to waver again, and I could not make up my mind to put confidence in them. I and my companions arranged, however, that as these people were likely to stay all night at Karnân, we should secretly enter the town, carry off their horses, and so make our escape to some place of safety.

It was about noon, when, as far off as the sight could reach, we perceived something that glittered on a horse. For some time we could not distinguish what it was. It was, in truth, Muhammed Bâkir Beg. He had been in Akhsi along with me; and in the dispersion that followed our leaving the place, when every one was scattered here and there, Muhammed Bâkir Beg had come in this direction, and was now wandering about and concealing himself. Bandeh Ali and Baba Seirâmi said, "For two days past our horses have had neither grain nor fodder. Let us go down into the valley, and suffer them to graze." We accordingly mounted, and, having descended into the valley set them a-grazing. It was about the time of afternoon prayers, when we descried a horseman passing along over the very height on which we had been hiding. I recognised him to be Kâdir Berdi, the head-man[1] of Ghiva. I said to them, "Let us call Kâdir Berdi." We called him, and he came and joined us. Having greeted him, asked him some questions, spoken obligingly and with kindness to him, made him promises, and disposed him favourably towards me by every means in my power, I sent him to bring a rope, a grass-hook, an axe, apparatus for crossing a river, provender for the horses and food for ourselves, and, if possible, a horse likewise; and we made an appointment to meet him on this same spot, at bedtime prayers.

[1] Kilânter.

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Evening prayers were over, when a horseman was seen passing from Karnân towards Ghiva. We called out, "Who goes there?" He answered us. This was, in truth, the same Muhammed Bâkir Beg, whom we had observed at noon. He had, in the course of the day,[1] moved from the place in which he had lain concealed, to another lurking-place; and now so thoroughly changed his voice, that, although he had lived for years with me, I did not discover him. Had I known him, and kept him with me, it had been well for me. I was rendered very uneasy by this man's passing us; and durst not adhere to the assignation we had made with Kâdir Berdi of Ghiva, by waiting till the specified time. Bandeh Ali said, "There are many retired gardens among the suburbs of Karnân, where nobody will suspect us of lurking. Let us go thither, and send a person to conduct Kâdir Berdi to us." With this intention, we mounted, and proceeded to the suburbs of Karnân. It was winter, and excessively cold. They brought me an old mantle of year-old lambskin, with the wool on the inside, and of coarse woven cloth without, which I put on. They also procured and brought me a dish of pottage of boiled millet-flour, which I eat, and found wonderfully comfortable. I asked Bandeh Ali, "Have you sent anybody to Kâdir Berdi?" He answered, "Yes, I have." These unlucky perfidious clowns had in reality met Kâdir Berdi, and had dispatched him to Tambol at Akhsi.

Hides himself in Karnân.

Having gone into a house that had stone walls, and kindled a fire, I closed my eyes for a moment in sleep. These crafty fellows, pretending an extreme anxiety to serve me, "We must not stir from this neighbourhood," said they, "till we have news of Kâdir Berdi. The house where we are, however, is in the very middle of the suburbs. There is a place in the outskirts of the suburbs where we might be quite unsuspected, could we but reach it." We mounted our horses, therefore, about midnight, and proceeded to a garden on the outskirts of the suburbs. Baba Seirâmi watched on the terrace-roof of the house, keeping a sharp look-out in every direction. It was near noon when he came down from the terrace, and said to me, "Here comes Yûsef, the Darogha." I was seized with prodigious alarm, and said, "Learn if he comes in consequence of knowing that I am here." Baba went out, and, after some conversation, returned and said, "Yûsef, the Darogha, says, that, at the gate of Akhsi, he met a man on foot, who told him that the King was in Karnân, at such a place; that, without communicating this intelligence to any one, he had put the man into close custody, along with Wali, the treasurer, who had fallen into his hands in the action; after which, he hastened to you full speed; and that the Begs are not informed of the circumstance." I asked him, "What do you think of the matter?" He answered, "They are all your servants; there is nothing left for it but to join them. They will undoubtedly make you king." "But after such wars and quarrels," I replied, "with what confidence can I place myself in their power?" I was still speaking, when Yûsef suddenly presented himself, and throwing himself on both his knees before me, exclaimed, "Why should I conceal anything from you? Sultan Ahmed Beg knows nothing of the matter; but Sheikh Bayezîd Beg has got information where you are, and has sent me hither."

[1] Literally *yesterday*, a new day commencing from sunset.

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Baber in imminent danger.

On hearing these words, I was thrown into a dreadful state of agitation. There is nothing in the world which affects a man with more painful feelings than the near prospect of death. "Tell me the truth," I exclaimed, "if indeed things are about to go with me contrary to my wishes, that I may at least perform my last ablutions." Yûsef swore again and again, but I did not heed his oaths. I felt my strength gone. I rose and went to a corner of the garden. I meditated with myself, and said, "Should a man live a hundred, nay a thousand years, yet at last he———"

[The copyist adds, "The remaining transactions of this year, viz. 908, may God grant that they come to hand." In this wish I most heartily join.—*Leyden.*]

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SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN THE END OF A. H. 908, AND IN A. H. 909.[1]

THE narrative of Baber is here broken off, at one of the most interesting moments of his history. Whether this defect be owing to the imperfection of the copies, or to design in the author, it is not easy to decide; though, from a similar interruption at the beginning of the year 914 of the Hejira, when Baber appears to be on the point of falling into the hands of a desperate band of conspirators, it seems probable that it was intentional; and, we may be almost tempted to believe, that the Imperial author derived a sort of dramatic pleasure from working up to a very high pitch the curiosity of his reader or hearer, and leaving the mind in a state of awakened suspense by a sudden break in the narrative. All the three copies which I have had an opportunity of comparing, break off precisely at the same period, in both instances. This holds in the original Tûrki as well as in the translation; and it is hardly conceivable that a translator would have deserted his hero in the most memorable passages of his life. The copy which Dr Leyden followed, was evidently, in this respect, exactly like the others. The blank which Baber has left in his own Memoirs, it is difficult to supply, in spite of the great number of authors who have written the details of his reign; as they have in general confined themselves to the grand military and political actions of his times, and give us little assistance where Baber, who is his own best biographer, happens to fail in detailing the earlier, which are by no means the least interesting events of his life. A. D. 1508.

The Memoirs break off in A. H. 908, and are resumed in A. H. 910.[2] Whether Baber was delivered into the hands of Sheikh Bayezîd, or whether he effected his escape from the painful custody in which he was held at Karnân, I have not been able to discover. The narrative of Abul-Fazel[3] is here very imperfect. It would appear, how- The Khans defeated by Sheibânj Khan.

[1] From the end of A. D. 1502, to June 1504.

[2] Leaving a blank from the end of A. D. 1502, to June 1504.

[3] In the account of Baber's reign in the 1st vol. of the Akbernama. MS.

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ever, from the brief account of Ferishta,[1] and of Khâfi Khan,[2] that Baber had succeeded in rejoining his maternal uncles the two Khans; but, if this was the case, the advantage derived from this junction was of short continuance. Sheibâni Khan, whom Ahmed Tambol had invited to his assistance, arrived soon after with an army more in number than the rain-drops, says Mîr Khâwend Shah,[3] attacked the Moghuls, defeated them in a bloody battle, made both the brothers prisoners, and compelled Baber to fly into Moghûlistân. Immediately after the battle, Sheibâni Khan dispatched a messenger to Tâshkend, to communicate information that the two Khans were in his hands, and that Baber had been obliged to abandon the country; and with instructions to add that, if the inhabitants had any wish to save their princes, they must prevent the escape of Khwâjeh Abul Mokâram, and detain him in custody. Sheibâni Khan, after having kept the Khans a few days as his prisoners, dismissed them to go where they would; "and they came by their end," continues Mîr Khâwend Shah, "in the way mentioned in the Account of the Family of Jaghatâi Khan." The particulars of their death I have not been able to ascertain, and there is some disagreement among historians on the subject. By some, Sheibâni Khan[4] is represented as having used his victory with considerable lenity. He is said to have set the brothers at liberty, prompted by the recollection that he had formerly been in their service, and that he had been received and kindly treated by Yunis Khan, their father. We are told by Ferishta, that Sultan Mahmûd Khan, the elder brother, fell into a deep melancholy; when advised by one of his friends to use a famous antidote brought from China, for the purpose of averting the effects of poison, which it was suggested might have been administered by Sheibâni Khan, he is said to have replied, "Yes; Sheibâni has indeed poisoned me! He has taken away my kingdom, which your antidote cannot restore."[5] But these accounts are not very consistent with the narrative of Baber himself, who informs us that Sheibâni Khan put Sultan Mahmûd Khan to death in Khojend, with his son Baba Khan, and many other princes of his family. It is not improbable that Sheibâni Khan affected to set the Khan at liberty a few days after the battle, as is mentioned by Mîr Khâwend Shah, and that he gave orders to pursue, and put him to death privately, along with his family; a policy which he appears to have followed on other occasions, in order to avoid part of the odium likely to arise from an unpopular act.

Fate of Khwâjeh Abul Mokaram.

Khwâjeh Abul Mokâram was thrown into prison at Tâshkend, but in two or three days effected his escape, and set out from that city on foot. That he might not be recognised, he submitted to the mortification of cutting off his beard: but being unable, from his age and infirmities, to reach any place of safety, he was compelled to take refuge with a man who lived in a neighbouring village. This person concealed him for a day or two, but having afterwards informed against him, he was seized and carried before Sheibâni Khan. The Khan, on seeing him, inquired, "What have you done

[1] See his General History of Hindustan, Dow's Translation, vol. II. p. 182.
[2] In his valuable and amusing MS. History of the House of Taimur in India.
[3] Tarîkhe Rozet-es-Sefâ, vol. VII. folio MS. containing the History of Sultan Hussain Mirza.
[4] See Tarikhe Khafi Khan, vol. I. and the Akbernâmeh of Abul-fazel, vol. I. MS.
[5] See Dow's History of Hindustan, as above.

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with your beard?" to which the Khwâjeh answered in two Persian verses, the sense of which is, that he who puffs at the lamp which God has lighted, singes his beard. But the felicity of this allusion did not avail him, and he[1] was put to death. Sheibâni Khan following up the advantages which he had gained, took possession of Tâshkend, Shahrokhîa, and all the dominions of Sultan Mahmûd Khan, as well probably as of the territories of his younger brother Ilacheh Khan, so that his territories now extended along both sides of the Sirr or Jaxartes, and stretched southward to the banks of the Amu. He fixed the seat of his government at Samarkand, and gave his brother Mahmûd Sultan the charge of Bokhâra. Tâshkend, with the dominions of the two Khans, he gave to his paternal uncles, Gujenjeh Khan, and Sunjek Sultan, whose mother was the daughter of the celebrated Mirza Ulugh Beg Gurgân. The office of Darogha of Shahrokhîa, he bestowed on Amir Yâkub, who was one of the chief of his nobles.

Baber is said to have taken refuge after this disaster in Moghulistân, an incident to which he himself never refers. This at least is certain, that he was soon after fortunate enough to escape from the north side of the Sirr, and to gain the hill country of Sûkh and Hushiâr, villages which lie in the district of Asfera, among the mountains that separate Ferghâna from Hissâr and Karatigîn, where he wandered for nearly a year as a fugitive, often reduced to the greatest difficulties.[2] Finding his partizans completely dispersed, however, and all hopes gone of recovering his hereditary kingdom, after consulting with his few remaining adherents, he resolved to try his fortune in Khorasân, which was at that time held by Sultan Hussain Mirza, a sovereign of great power and reputation, and beyond comparison the most distinguished prince then living of the family of Taimur.

Baber flies to Asfera. A. D. 1503.

A. D. 1503-4.

When Baber bade adieu for the last time to his native country, which he appears to have regarded during all the future years of his life with the fondness which a man of warm attachments feels for the scenes of his early affections, he crossed the high range of hills to the south of Ferghâna, and came down west of Karatigîn on the country of Cheghâniân and Hissâr, territories at that time belonging to Khosrou Shah, to whom Baber always professes a deep-rooted hatred. The murder of Baiesanghar Mirza, and the blinding of Sultan Masaûd Mirza, both cousins of Baber, and the latter the full brother of one of his wives, were certainly sufficient to justify the terms of strong detestation in which that prince always speaks of him; but Ferishta seems to insinuate, that he hated the man whom he had injured; and that Baber, though treated by Khosrou Shah with great hospitality, stirred up a faction in his court, seduced the affections of his army, and by his intrigues, forced him to abandon his troops, his treasure, and his dominions. Whether or not Baber was aware that such charges had been made, or were likely to be brought against him, is uncertain; but the narrative in his Memoirs is certainly fitted to meet accusations of this nature; and he appears throughout to show uncommon solicitude to justify himself in regard to Khosrou Shah, whose general character for hospitality and generosity to others he acknowledges, while he pointedly accuses him of niggardliness, and want of common civility to himself, in the

Baber leaves Ferghâna.

His conduct to Khosrou Shah.

[1] See Tarikhe Rozet-es-Sefâ, vol. VII. MS.

[2] See Baber's Memoirs, near the beginning.

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two different instances in which he was obliged to pass through the country of that chieftain. That he intrigued with the army of Khosrou Shah, particularly with the Moghul troops, Baber boldly avows, but appears to regard his conduct in that respect as only an act of fair hostility towards an inveterate foe.

Ulugh Beg of Kâbul dies, A. D. 1501.

Ulugh Beg Mirza, Baber's paternal uncle, the King of Kâbul and Ghazni, had died in the year A. H. 907, leaving his territories to his son Abdal Rizâk Mirza, who was still young. The whole power was usurped by one of his ministers, Shirim Ziker, who soon rendered him odious to the chief men of the country. A conspiracy, headed by Muhammed Kâsim Beg and Yunis Ali, was formed against the minister, in consequence of which, the conspirators entering Kâbul with a formidable band of adherents, put Ziker to death while sitting in state at a grand festival, which was held for celebrating the Id.[1] The kingdom for some time was a prey to disorder and tumult. Muhammed Mokîm Beg, the son of Zûlnûn Arghûn and brother of Shah Beg, names which often occur in the following pages, availing himself of this situation of things, marched without orders from the Germsîr,[2] which he held for his father, and appeared suddenly before Kâbul, which opened its gates. Zûlnûn Beg, without professing to approve of the proceedings of Mokîm, sanctioned his retaining possession of his conquest. Abdul Rizâk Mirza had retired among the hills, and was still making ineffectual efforts for the recovery of his capital, when Baber entered the territories of Khosrou Shah.[3]

Confused state of that kingdom.

A. H. 908. A. D. 1502-3.

A. H. 910. A. D. 1504.

It is necessary then to recollect that, at this period, when Baber resumes the history of his own adventures, Sheibâni Khan had conquered Samarkand and Bokhâra, Ferghâna and Uratippa, Tâshkend and Shahrokhîa; Sultan Hussain Mirza governed Khorasân; Khosrou Shah still held Hissâr, Khutlân, Kundez, and Badakhshân; and Zûlnûn Beg, though he acknowledged Sultan Hussain Mirza, had the chief and almost independent power in Kandahâr and Zemîn-Dâwer, the country of the Hazâras and Nukderis, the Germsîr, and great part of Sistân, and the country south of Kandahâr.

[1] The feast on the conclusion of Ramzan; probably either the 9th April 1502, or 30th March 1503.

[2] The Germsîr, as afterwards mentioned by Baber, is the country east of the Pass of Badam-chesh-meh.

[3] See Khafi Khan, Ferishta, &c.

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MEMOIRS OF BABER.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 910.

In the month of Moharrem,[1] I set out from the vicinity of Ferghâna, intending to proceed to Khorasân, and halted at the summer-cots of Ilâk,[2] one of the summer pasturing districts belonging to the country of Hissâr. I here entered my twenty-third year, and began to apply the razor to my face.[3] The followers who still adhered to my fortunes, great and small, exceeded two hundred, and fell short of three hundred. The greater part of them were on foot, with brogues on their feet, clubs in their hands, and long frocks[4] over their shoulders. Such was our distress, that among us all we had only two tents. My own tent was pitched for my mother, and they erected for me at each stage a felt-tent of cross-poles,[5] in which I used to take up my quarters. Although I was on my way for Khorasân, yet, in the present state of things, I was not quite without hopes of still effecting something here among the territories and servants of Khosrou Shah. Scarce a day passed in which somebody did not join me, bringing such reports regarding the country and wandering tribes as served to feed my expectation. Baber sets out for Khorasân.

At this very time, Mûlla Baba Beshâgheri, whom I had sent on a mission to Khosrou Shah, came back. From Khosrou Shah he brought me no message that could cheer my mind; but he brought me favourable accounts of the disposition of the Ils and Ulûses (the wandering Tûrki and Moghul tribes of the country).

From Ilâk, in three or four journeys, I reached Khwâjeh-Emâd, a place in the territory of Hissâr. In this station, Mohib Ali Kûrchi waited on me as ambassador from Khosrou Shah. Twice did my course lie through the country of this Khosrou

[1] Moharrem, 910, began on the 14th June 1504, the year when Ferdinand, the Catholic, drove the French out of Naples.

[2] There is still a place called Ilâk to the north-west of Derbend, which may be in the district here alluded to.

[3] Among the Tûrki tribes, the time of first applying the razor to the face is celebrated by a great entertainment. Baber's miserable circumstances did not admit of this.

[4] Chapân.

[5] The ilâchack is a sort of tent formed of flexible poles, covered with felt, and easily folded up.

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Shah, so far-famed for his liberal conduct and generosity; and that humanity which he displayed to the meanest of men, he never showed to me. As I had expectations from the Ils and Ulûses of these districts, I halted a day at each stage. Shîrîm Taghai, than whom I had not with me a man of more eminence, from a dislike to the plan of going to Khorasân, began to think of leaving me. At the time when I had been defeated at Sir-e-pûl,[1] and was forced to retire, he had sent away the whole of his family, and had remained with me in the fort (of Samarkand) alone, and without any encumbrance to impede his going off. He was rather unmanly, and had several times played the same game.

Joined by Bâki Cheghâniâni.

When I arrived at Kabâdiân,[2] Bâki Cheghâniâni, the younger brother of Khosrou Shah, who held Cheghâniân,[3] with the towns of Sefa and Termez, sent the Khatib[4] of Karshi, to express to me his wishes for my prosperity, and his desire to be permitted to join and accompany me as his prince; and, as I crossed the Amû, at the ferry of Ubâj,[5] he himself came and paid his respects to me. At the desire of Bâki Cheghâniâni, I moved down towards Termez, when he brought his whole family and effects across the river and joined me, after which we proceeded towards Kehmerd and Bamiân (places at this time held by the son of Ahmed Kâsim, the sister's son of Khosrou Shah), intending to place our families in the fortress of Ajer, one of the towns of Kehmerd,[6] and, after having put it in a posture of defence, to follow whatever plan seemed best to promise success. When we reached Aibek,[7] Yâr Ali Belâl, who had formerly been in my service, and had conducted himself with bravery, but who had been separated from me during the commotions, and was now in the employment of Khosrou Shah, deserted with several young cavaliers, and came and joined me, bringing assurances from the Moghuls in Khosrou Shah's service that they were all attached to my interests. On reaching the valley of Zindân,[8] Kamber Ali Beg, surnamed Silakh (or the skinner), fled and came to me. In three or four marches we reached Kehmerd, having left our wives and families in the fortress of Ajer.

Reaches Kehmerd.

While we remained in the fort of Ajer, the marriage of Jehangîr Mirza with the daughter of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza by Khanzâdeh Begum was consummated. They had been engaged during the lifetime of the Mirzas, their fathers.

Bâki advises him to send away Jehangîr Mirza.

At this same period, Bâki Beg repeatedly, and with much earnestness, urged his sentiments, that to have two sovereigns in one country, and two generals in one army,

[1] In the neighbourhood of Samarkand.

[2] Kabâdiân stands on the Amu, somewhat higher up than Termez.

[3] Cheghâniân, or Saghâniân, whence the whole country of Hissâr formerly took its name, lies north of Termez.

[4] The *Khatib* is the preacher by whom the Khutbeh, or prayers for the prince, are repeated in the mosque.

[5] The Tûrki has *Uyaj*—Leyden, *Umaj*—Mr Metcalfe's copy, *Aubaj*—and my Persian copy, *Uyakh*; but the passage, *Hist. de Timur Bec*, tom. I. p. 186, fixes *Ubaj* as the true reading. All these differences arise only from the diacritical points.

[6] Kehmerd, or Kohmerd, lies between Balkh and Kâbul, in the hill country. Ajer is about 12 miles west from Kehmerd.

[7] This is Aibek, on the Khulum river.

[8] The Dereh Zindân lies about seven miles to the south of Aibek, on the road to Sarbâgh.

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was an unfailing source of confusion and ruin, and inevitably productive of rebellion, mutiny, and finally of dissolution; as the poet says,—

(*Persian.*)—Ten dervishes may repose on one cloak,
But two sovereigns cannot be contained in the same climate.
The man of God, when he eats half a loaf,
Divides the other half among the poor and needy.
If a king subdues a whole kingdom, nay a climate,
Still, as before, he covets yet another.[1]

That there was every reason to expect that, in a few days, all the chiefs and servants of Khosrou Shah would come in and make their submission to the King; that among them there were many seditious and turbulent men, such as the sons of Ayûb Beg and some others, who had always been the movers and exciters of discord and enmity among the Mirzas; that it was best, at the present moment, to send away Jehangîr Mirza for Khorasân on good and friendly terms, that he might not, by and by, occasion me regret and repentance. As it was not in my nature to treat my brothers or any of my relations with disrespect or harshness, however instant he was in his representations, I could not be prevailed on to assent to them. For although great heart-burning and difference had formerly existed between Jehangîr Mirza and me, arising from our rivalry in authority, and from our both aiming at the possession of the sovereignty, yet, at this time, he had left his country to accompany me, he was my brother and my dependant, and, in addition to this, had not at this time done anything which could be the ground of dissatisfaction. Afterwards, however, these very exciters of sedition who had been pointed out, Yûsef Ayûb and Behlûl Ayûb, deserted from me, went over to Jehangîr Mirza, and were so successful in their seditious schemes and machinations, that they alienated his mind from me, and carried him into Khorasân, exactly as Bâki Beg had predicted. He refuses.

At this time there came strange long-winded letters from Sultan Hussain Mirza to Badîa-ez-Zemân, to me, to Khosrou Shah, and to Zûlnûn Beg. These letters are still by me. The purport of them was as follows:—When the three brothers, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, and Ulugh Beg Mirza, united their forces and advanced against me, I guarded the banks of the river Murghâb,[2] and the Mirzas, after having come close up to me, were compelled to retreat, without effecting anything. Should the Uzbeks now advance, I will again defend the banks of the Murghâb. Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza, after having put the fortresses of Balkh, Shaberghan, and Andekhûd,[3] in a state of defence, and confided them to trusty officers, must himself proceed to Gurzewân, the Dereh-e-Zeng,[4] and the rest of that hill-country.—He also wrote to me to this effect:—Do you defend Kehmerd, Ajer, and the tract of hill-country in that neighbourhood. Khosrou Shah, after leaving trusty men in Hissâr, Sultan Hussain Mirza's letters.

[1] From the Gulistan of Sadi.

[2] The river Murghâb, rising in the hills of Hazâra, flows down by Merv.

[3] These were the three chief fortresses between the hills and the desert to the north of the Paropamissan mountains.

[4] Gurzewân and the valley of Zeng were the chief passes into the hill country between Balkh and Herât.

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and Kundez, is to proceed, accompanied by his brother Wali, to the defence of the hilly tracts of Badakhshân and Khutlân, so that the Uzbeks will be forced to retreat without effecting anything.—

These letters of Sultan Hussain Mirza threw us into despair; for, at that time, of the whole house of Taimur Beg, there was no sovereign so respectable, either in regard to age, dominions, or military force; and it was expected that envoys and agents would have been treading hard on each other's heels, and assiduously giving orders to collect so many vessels at the passes of Termez, Kilif, and Kirki,[1] and so many materials for constructing bridges; and that commands would have been issued for guarding carefully the upper passes of Togûzûlûm, that the inhabitants, whose spirit for some years had been quite broken down by the incursions of the Uzbeks, might have time to recover heart. But when a mighty prince, like Sultan Hussain Mirza, who occupied the throne of Taimur Beg, instead of proposing to march against the enemy, only issued directions to strengthen a few posts, what hopes could people entertain?

Meanwhile, having left in Ajer such of the men and horses that had accompanied me as had been worn out with hunger and fatigue, together with the family, women, effects, and baggage of Bâki Cheghâniâni, of Ahmed Kâsim's son, of the troops that accompanied them, and of the Aimâks who adhered to them, as well as everything on which they set a value, we marched out and took the field. Persons now arrived in uninterrupted succession from the Moghuls in Khosrou Shah's service, announcing that the whole Moghul tribes, desirous of professing their allegiance to the King, were on their march from Taikhân,[2] towards Ishkemish and Felûl; that it was necessary, therefore, that his Majesty should move with the utmost speed to join them; that many of Khosrou Shah's followers were much distracted, and would embrace the King's service.

The Moghuls in Khosrou Shah's service declare for Baber.

At this very period, information arrived that Sheibâni Khan had taken Andejân, and was advancing against Hissâr and Kûndez. On hearing this news, Khosrou Shah, unable to support himself in Kûndez, took the route of Kâbul with his whole force. No sooner had he left Kûndez, than Mûlla Muhammed Tûrkestâni, one of his old and confidential servants, occupied that fortress, and declared for Sheibâni Khan. Just as I reached the Kezel-su[3] (the Red River), by the route of Shemtû, three or four thousand heads of houses of the Moghul clans, who had been dependant on Khosrou Shah, and who had been in Hissâr and Kundez, came and joined me, with their whole families. Here, in order to gratify Bâki Beg, I was obliged to discharge Kamber Ali, the Moghul, who has been so often mentioned. He was a thoughtless and rude talker; and Bâki Beg could not put up with his manners. From this time forward, his son Abdal Shakûr continued in the service of Jehangîr Mirza.

Khosrou Shah submits,

When Khosrou Shah learned that the Moghul tribes had joined me, he felt his own

[1] These are the three chief passes over the river Amu or Jeihun, between Kabadian and Chârjû.

[2] Mr Metcalfe's copy has Talikhân. Ishkemish is about 15 miles from Kundez to the south-east, and 30 miles west of Talikhân, which lies on the river of Kundez.

[3] It is properly called the Sûrkhab, which has the same signification. It is the river that flows by Surkh-kilaa (Red-castle), from near Kehmerd on the west, and falls into the river of Anderâb, below Doshi.

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helplessness; and, seeing no remedy left, sent his son-in-law, Yâkub Ayûb, as his envoy, to make professions of submission and allegiance, and to assure me that, if I would enter into terms with him, he would come and submit himself. As Bâki Cheghâniâni, a man of much weight, though steadily attached to my service, yet was not without a natural bias in favour of his brother, he recommended a compromise to be made, on condition that Khosrou's life should be spared, and his property left entirely to his own disposal. A treaty was accordingly concluded on these terms. After Yâkub had taken leave, we marched down the Kezel-sû, and encamped near its conflux with the river of Anderâb. and visits Baber.

Next morning (it was about the middle of the first Rabîa[1]) I passed the Anderâb with a few attendants, and took my seat under the shade of a lofty palm-tree, in the territory of Doshi.[2] From the opposite quarter Khosrou Shah advanced with great pomp and retinue; according to the custom and usage, he dismounted at a considerable distance, and walked up on foot. In approaching to salute, he bowed three times, and as often when he retired back. He also bowed once on the usual inquiries being made, and when he presented his offering; and he showed the same marks of respect to Jehangîr Mirza, and Mirza Khan. This pompous man, who for years had acted according to his own will and pleasure, and who wanted nothing of royalty, except that he had not caused the Khutbeh to be read in his own name, now bent himself for twenty-five or twenty-six times successively, and went and came back and forward, till he was so tired that he nearly fell right forward. The visions of empire and authority in which for years he had indulged, vanished from his view. After he had saluted me and presented his tributory offering, I desired him to be seated. He sat down and for one or two *garis*[3] we conversed on various subjects and incidents. Besides being of an unmanly and perfidious character, he showed also great want of propriety, and a sneering turn in his conversation. He made two remarks, in particular, which appeared singular as coming from him, at the moment when his most trusty and confidential servants were going over in troops before his eyes, and taking service with me; and when his affairs had arrived at such a pass, that though a man who in his day had enacted the sovereign, he yet was compelled, sore against his will, to come in this wretched and miserable way, and submit himself in a very paltry manner. One of these was, when I was consoling him for the desertion of his servants; he replied, "These fellows have already left me four times, and always come back again." The other was, on my asking after his younger brother, Wali; when he would come, and by what ford he would cross the Amû? he answered, "If he can find a ford he will come over speedily; but when a river comes down in flood, the fords change; as the proverb runs, 'the river has carried down its fords.'" At the very moment of the change of his fortune and of the desertion of his servants, Almighty God brought these words out of his own mouth. After one or two *garis*, I mounted and returned back to the camp, and he also returned to his encampment. That same day, great and small, good and bad, officers and servants, began to forsake him, and

[1] The end of August, 1504.
[2] Doshi lies above Ghuri, on the river Anderâb, at its conflux with the Surkhâb.
[3] A gari is twenty-four minutes.

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came and joined me with their families and effects; so that, on the morrow, between mid-day and afternoon prayers, not a man remained with him. (*Arabic.*) "Say, O my Lord! Thou art the King of kings! Thou givest empire unto whom thou pleasest, and takest empire from whom thou pleasest; and increasest whom thou pleasest, and reducest whom thou pleasest: Beneficence is in thy hand; for, verily, thou art powerful over all things." The Lord is wonderful in his might! A man who was master of twenty or thirty thousand retainers, and who possessed the whole tract of country formerly subject to Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, extending from Kahlûgheh,[1] which is also termed *Derbend-e-aheni* (the Iron-gate), as far as the Hindû-Kûsh mountains, and one of whose tax-gatherers, named Hassan Birlâs, an aged man, had conducted me, in the surliest manner, from Ilâk to Ubâj, giving me orders how far I was to march, and where I was to encamp; that this very person, in the space of half a day, without battle, without contest, should be reduced to appear in such a state of distress and wretchedness before a needy and reduced fugitive like me, who had only two hundred or two hundred and fifty tatterdemalions, all in the greatest want; that he should no longer have any power over his own servants, nor over his wealth, nor even his life, was a wonderful dispensation of the Omnipotent!

He is charged with murder by Mirza Khan,

The evening of the same day in which I returned from the interview with Khosrou Shah, Mirza Khan[2] came into my presence and accused him of the murder of his brothers. Many among us were for receiving the charge; and, indeed, it was conformable to every law, human and divine, that such a man should meet with condign punishment; but as an agreement had been entered into with Khosrou Shah, he was left

but suffered to depart.

free and unmolested, and orders were given that he might carry off as much of his property as he chose. He accordingly loaded three or four strings[3] of mules, and as many camels as he had, with jewels, gold and silver utensils, and other valuables, and set out with them. I directed Shîrîm Taghâi to conduct Khosrou Shah by the route of Ghuri[4] and Dehâneh towards Khorasân, and then to proceed himself to Kehmerd and bring my family after me to Kâbul.

Baber marches against Kabul;

I now left my encampment and marched against Kâbul. I halted at Khwâjeh-zeid.[5] That same day, as Khamzeh-bi Mankfat, who headed a plundering party of Uzbeks, had made an incursion, and was ravaging the territory of Doshi,[6] I dispatched Syed Kâsim, the chamberlain,[7] and Ahmed Kâsim Kohbur, with a party of horse, who fell upon the pillagers, completely routed them, and brought in a number of their heads. At this station the arms and armour which were left in the stores of Khosrou Shah were divided among the troops. There were about seven or eight hundred coats of mail, and suits of horse furniture. These were one part of the articles which Khosrou Shah left behind; there were many others beside, but nothing of consequence.

[1] This pass, generally called *Kaluga*, is famous in the history of Taimur Beg, and Chengis Khan. It leads through the chain of the Kara-tagh hills, that lies between Khozar and Hissâr.

[2] Mirza Khan was Sultan Weis Mirza, youngest son of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, Baber's uncle. One of his brothers, Baiesanghar Mirza, had been murdered, and Sultan Masaûd Mirza, another of them, had been blinded by Khosrou Shah, as has been already related in these Memoirs.

[3] Seven to a string.—*Leyden.*

[4] Ghuri lies N.E. from Kehmerd.

[5] In the Persian copy, Khwâjeh Rind.

[6] Doshi lies ten or twelve miles S.E. of Ghuri.

[7] Ishek-agha.

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From Khwâjeh-zeid, by three or four marches, we reached Ghur-bend.[1] On coming to our ground at Ushter-Sheher, we got intelligence that Shirkeh Arghûn, the Beg in whom Mokîm reposed the greatest confidence, still ignorant of my approach, had advanced with an army, and taken post on the river Bârân, for the purpose of intercepting any who might attempt, by the route of Panjhir,[2] to join Abdal Rizâk Mirza,[3] who had fled at that time from Kâbul, and was then among the Turkolâni Afghâns in the territory of Lamghân. The instant I received this information, which was between mid-day and afternoon prayers, we set out, and marching all night, ascended the hill-pass of Hupiân.[4] Till this time I had never seen the star Soheil,[5] (Canopus,) but on reaching the top of a hill, Soheil appeared below, bright to the south. I said, "This cannot be Soheil!" They answered, "It is indeed Soheil." Bâki Cheghâniâni recited the following verses:—

O Soheil, how far dost thou shine, and where dost thou rise?
Thine eye is an omen of good fortune to him on whom it falls.

The sun was a spear's length high when we reached the foot of the valley of Senjed and alighted. The party whom we had sent on in advance to reconnoitre, with a number of enterprising young warriors, fell in with Shirkeh below Karabagh,[6] in the territory of Aikeri-Yar, and instantly attacked him; they kept harassing him for some time in a skirmishing fight, till reinforcements came up, when they made a vigorous charge, and completely routed his troops. Shirkeh himself was dismounted and made prisoner, with seventy, eighty, or a hundred of his best men. I spared his life, and he entered into my service.

When Khosrou Shah abandoned Kundez, and set out for Kâbul, without troubling himself about his Ils and Ulûses, (the wandering Tûrki and Moghul tribes,) the troops in his service, including the Ils and Ulûses, formed five or six bodies. One of these bodies was composed of the men from the hill-country of Badakhshân. Sîdîm Ali Derbân, with the Hazâras of the desert, having passed the straits of Penjhir,[7] joined me at this stage, and entered into my service. Another of these bodies, under Yûsef Ayûb

is joined by some Hazâras.

[1] Ghur-bend, or the Pass of Ghur, which lies to the south of the high hills of Hindû-kûsh, is one of the chief passes from Balkh to Kâbul, across that great range.

[2] Now Penjshir.

[3] Abdal Rizâk Mirza was the son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, one of Baber's uncles, the King of Kâbul and Ghazni. Ulugh Beg died in 907 of the Hejira, about three years before Baber's invasion. He was succeeded by his son Abdal Rizâk Mirza; but that prince being very young, Shîrîm Ziker, one of his nobles, usurped the supreme direction of affairs. The other Begs, disgusted with Shîrîm's conduct, formed a conspiracy and put him to death. During the confusions that ensued, Muhammed Mokim, a son of Zûlnûn Beg, surprised Kâbul in 908, and married a sister of Abdal Rizâk Mirza. Affairs were still in confusion when Baber entered the country in 910.

[4] Hupian, or Upian, is a few miles north of Châriкâr, on the way to Perwan. Senjed Dereh lies west, or north west of Ghurbend.

[5] Soheil is a most conspicuous star in Afghanistân. It gives its name to the south, which is never called Junûb, but Soheil. The rising of Soheil marks one of their seasons.

[6] Black-garden.

[7] The Pass of Penjhîr, or Penjshîr, is in the Hindû-kûsh range, to the east of that of Kipchâk, by which Baber had come.

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and Behlûl Ayûb, joined me in like manner at the same place. Other two of these bodies, the one from Khutlân, under the command of Wali, the brother of Khosrou; the other from Ilanchuk, Nûkderi, and Kakshal, with the Aimâks that had settled in Kundez, advanced by the route of Anderâb and Seirâb, with an intention of passing by the straits of Penjhir. The Aimâks reached Seirab first; and as Wali was advancing in their rear, they took possession of the road, engaged and defeated him. Wali himself, after his discomfiture, fled for refuge to the Uzbeks; but his head was struck off in the public market[1] of Samarkand by the orders of Sheibâni Khan; all the rest of his servants and officers, being discomfited, plundered, and destitute, came and joined me, along with the Aimâks, at this same stage. Syed Yûsef Beg Ughlâkchi also came along with the Aimâks to this place.

Wali defeated, and put to death.

Marching thence, we halted in the auleng, or meadow, of Ak-Serâi,[2] which is situated close upon Karabagh: Khosrou Shah's men, who had long been inured to the practice of violence, and to disregard of discipline, now began to oppress the people of the country. At last an active retainer of Sîdîm Ali Derbân having carried off a jar of oil from some person by force, I ordered him to be brought out and beaten with sticks. He expired under the punishment. This example put an end to such practices.

We here held a consultation whether or not it was advisable to proceed against Kâbul. Syed Yûsef Beg and others were of opinion that, as the winter was at hand, we should proceed to Lamghân, and there act as circumstances might require. Bâki Cheghâniâni and several others were for marching directly on Kâbul; and that plan being finally adopted, we marched off from our station, and stopped at the Kûrûk (or Park) of Ama. I was here joined by my mother the Khanum, and the rest of the household that had been left behind at Kehmerd. They had endured great hardships in their march to meet me. The incidents were as follows:—I had sent Shîrîm Taghâi to conduct Khosrou Shah on the route to Khorasân, and directed him afterwards to bring on my household. By the time, however, that they reached Dehâneh, Shîrîm Taghâi found that he was not his own master, and Khosrou Shah took the resolution of accompanying him to Kehmerd. Ahmed Kâsim, the sister's son of Khosrou Shah, was then in Kehmerd. Khosrou Shah prevailed upon Ahmed Kâsim to behave very ill to the families left in the place. Many of the Moghul retainers of Bâki Cheghâniâni were in Kehmerd along with these families. They privately, in concert with Shîrîm Taghâi, prepared to seize both Khosrou Shah and Ahmed Kâsim, who, however, taking the alarm, fled away by the road which leads by the skirts of the valley of Ajer, and took the route of Khorasân. The effect of this firmness of the Moghuls having been to rid themselves of these enemies, the guard which was with the families being now freed from any danger from Khosrou Shah, left Ajer. By the time they reached Kehmerd, however, the Sighânchi clan were up in arms, seized the passes on the road, and plundered a number of the families, and of the Ils and Ulûses (or wandering clans), who had followed the fortunes of Bâki Beg. The son of Kûl Bayezîd Tûrk, who was young, was made a prisoner by them. He came to Kâbul three or four years after. The families which had been plundered and dispersed,

Khosrou Shah expelled from Kehmerd.

[1] Charsu.

[2] White-house. It is about twelve or fourteen miles north-west from Kâbul.

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came on by way of the pass of Kipchâk, the same by which I had come, and joined me in the Kûrûk of Ama.

Leaving this station, the second march brought us to the Auleng (or pasture grounds) of Châlâk, where we halted. Having held a consultation, in which the siege of Kâbul was determined on, we marched forward. I, with the main body, halted between Haider Taki's garden and the tomb of Kûl Bayezîd, the cup-bearer. Jehangîr Mirza, with the right wing, took his station at my great Char-bagh.[1] Nâsir Mirza, with the left wing, took post in an auleng (or meadow) behind the tomb of Kûtluk Kedem. I repeatedly sent persons to confer with Mokîm; they sometimes brought back insincere excuses, sometimes conciliatory answers. But his real object, all the while, was to gain time; for, when I took Shirkeh prisoner, he had dispatched expresses to his father and elder brother, and he now attempted to create delays, in hopes of getting succour from them. Baber resolves to besiege Kâbul.

One day I ordered that the whole host, main body, right wing, and left, after arraying themselves in complete armour, and clothing their horses in mail, should advance close up to the city, display their arms, and inflict a little chastisement on the town's people. Jehangîr Mirza, with the right wing, marched forward towards the Kucheh Bagh.[2] As there was a river in front of the main body, I proceeded by the tomb of Kutluk Kedem, and stationed myself on an eminence in front of a rising ground. The advanced body spread themselves out above Kutluk Kedem's bridge; at that time, however, there was no bridge there. Our troops galloped insultingly close up to the Currier's[3] gate. The men who had advanced out of the town, being few in number, could not stand their ground, but took to flight, and sought shelter in the city. A number of the town's people of Kâbul had gone out on the glacis of the citadel, on the side of an eminence, in order to witness the sight. As they fled, a great dust arose, and many of them were thrown down. Between the gate and the bridge, on a rising ground, and in the high road, pits had been dug, in which pointed stakes had been fixed, and then the whole covered over with grass. Sultan Kuli Chenâk, and several other cavaliers, fell into these pits as they pushed on at full speed. On the right wing, one or two cavaliers exchanged a few sabre blows with a part of the garrison who sallied out on the side of the Kucheh Bagh, but soon returned, as they had no orders to engage.

The men in the town were now greatly alarmed and dejected, when Mokîm, through some of the Begs, offered to submit, and agreed to surrender Kâbul; on which he was introduced by the mediation of Bâki Beg Cheghâniâni, and tendered his allegiance. I did all that I could to dispel his apprehensions, and received him with affability and kindness. It was arranged that he should next day march out with all his soldiers, adherents, effects, and property, and surrender the fortress. As the retainers of Khosrou Shah had not, for a long period, been subjected to discipline, but, on the contrary, had indulged in all kind of injustice and rapine, I appointed Jehangîr Mirza, and Mokîm surrenders it.

[1] That is, the ground which Baber afterwards laid out as a grand garden or Char-bagh.

[2] Suburb Garden. The Kucheh Bagh is still a garden about four miles from Kâbul, on the north-west, and divided from it by a low kotal or pass. There is still a bridge on the way.

[3] Derwâzeh Chermgerân.

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Nâsir Mirza, with some of the principal Begs, and my most trusty servants, to guard the family of Mokîm, as well as Mokîm himself and his dependents, while they left Kâbul with their goods and property; and I appointed Tibâh[1] as his place of residence. Next morning the Mirzas and Begs who had gone to the gate, observing an uproar and mobbing of people, dispatched a man to inform me of the circumstance; adding, "Until you come, we shall not be able to put a stop to the commotion." I mounted, and having repaired to the spot, allayed the tumult, but not until I had ordered three or four of the rioters to be shot with arrows, and one or two to be cut to pieces. Mokîm and his train then set out, and reached Tibâh in quiet and safety.

In the latter end of the month of the latter Rabîa,[2] by the blessing of Almighty God, I gained possession of Kâbul and Ghazni, with the country and provinces dependent on them, without battle or contest.

Description of Kâbul and Ghazni.

The country of Kâbul is situate in the fourth climate, in the midst of the inhabited part of the world. On the east it has the Lamghanât, Pershâwer, Hashnaghar, and some of the countries of Hind. On the west it has the mountain districts, in which are situated Karnûd and Ghûr. This mountainous tract is at present occupied and inhabited by the Hazâra and Nûkderi tribes. On the north are the countries of Kundez and Anderâb, from which it is separated by the mountain of Hindû-Kûsh. On the south are Fermul and Naghz,[3] and Banû and Afghanistân.[4] It is a narrow country, but stretching to a considerable extent. Its length is in the direction of east and west.

City of Kâbul.

It is surrounded on all sides by hills. The walls of the town extend up a hill. To the south-west of the town there is a small hill, which is called Shah-Kâbul,[5] from the circumstance of a King of Kâbul's having built a palace on its summit. This hill begins at the defile of Deveren, and reaches all the way to that of Deh-Yakub. It may be about a farsang[6] in circumference. The skirts of this hill are entirely covered with gardens. In the time of my paternal uncle Ulugh Beg Mirza, Weis Atkeh con-

[1] Tibâh is about three miles south of Akserâi, and to the left of the road from that place to Kâbul.

[2] About the beginning of October 1504.

[3] This word is sometimes written Naghz, sometimes Naghr, but generally Naghr.

[4] Baber confines the term Afghanistân to the countries inhabited by the Afghan tribes. These were chiefly the hill tracts to the south of the road from Kâbul to Pershâwer. Kâbul, Ghazni, the low country of Lamghân, and in general all the plains and lower grounds, with the towns, were inhabited by Tajiks, or men of a different race. Forster, vol. II. p. 79, describes Kâbul "as a walled town of about a mile and a half in circumference, and situated on the eastern side of a range of two united hills, describing generally the figure of a semi-circle." "Balausir," he adds (p. 80), "the name of the Shah's palace, where also the household servants, guards, and the slaves are lodged, stands on a rising ground in the eastern quarter of the city, and exhibits but a slender testimony of the dignity of its master."—"Kâbul stands near the foot of two conjoined hills, whose length has nearly an east and west direction. Towards the base of the eastern, stands, on a flat projection, a fortified palace, which was formerly the habitation of the governors of the city; but it has been converted by Timur Shah into a state prison, where the brothers of this prince, and other branches of his family, are kept in confinement. Above this building is seen a small tower on a peak, whence the ground rises to a considerable height, and is united by a neck of lower land to the other hill. From the peak a stone wall extends over the summit of the two hills, and is terminated at the bottom of the westernmost by an ordinary redoubt." P. 83, 84.

[5] There is a hill south of Kâbul, on which Kâbul (Cain, the son of Adam), the founder of the city, is said to be buried; but the only hill south-west is that where Baber himself is interred. It is now known by no name but that of Baber Bâdshâh, and is the great holiday resort of the people of the city.

[6] Nearly four miles.

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ducted a stream of water along the bottom of it; and all the gardens about the hill are cultivated by means of this stream. Lower down the river there is a place called Kelkeneh,[1] in a retired, hidden situation. Much debauchery has gone on at that place. The verse of Khwâjeh Hâfez may be parodied and applied to it—

O for the happy times, when, free and uncontroll'd,
We lived in Kilkeneh with no very good fame.

Southward from the town, and to the east of Shah-Kâbul, there is a lake[2] nearly a farsang in circumference. Three springs of water issue from Shah-Kâbul, and flow towards the city; two of them are in the vicinity of Kelkeneh. One of these runs by the tomb of Khwâjeh Shems, and the other by the Kedemgâh[3] (place of the footsteps) of Khwâjeh Khezer. These two places are the favourite resorts of the people of Kâbul. The third fountain is opposite to Khwâjeh Abd-al-Simd, and bears the name of Khwâjeh Roushenâi. There is a small ridge which runs out from the hill of Shah-Kâbul, and is called Akâbein;[4] and there is besides another small hill, on which stands the citadel of Kâbul. The fortified town lies on the north of the citadel. The citadel is of surprising height, and enjoys an excellent climate, overlooking the large lake, the three aulengs (or meadows) called *Siah-seng*, *Sung-Korghan*, and *Châlâk*, which stretch below it. These aulengs present a very beautiful prospect when the plains are green. In the spring, the north-wind blows incessantly; they call it *bade-perwân* (the pleasant breeze).[5] In the north part of the citadel there are houses with windows, which enjoy a delightful atmosphere. Mûlla Muhammed Tâleb Maamâi composed the following distich in praise of the citadel of Kâbul, under the character of Badia-ez-zemân Mirza:

(*Persian.*) Drink wine in the citadel of Kâbul, and send round the cup without stopping;
For it is at once a mountain and a sea, a town and a desert.

The people of Hindustân call every country beyond their own Khorasân, in the same manner as the Arabs term all except Arabia, Ajem. On the road between Hindustân and Khorasân, there are two great marts; the one Kâbul, the other Kandahâr. Caravans, from Ferghâna, Tûrkestân, Samarkand, Balkh, Bokhâra, Hissâr, and Badakhshân, all resort to Kâbul; while those from Khorasân repair to Kandahâr. This country lies between Hindustân and Khorasân. It is an excellent and profitable market for commodities. Were the merchants to carry their goods as far as Khitâ or Rûm,[6] they would scarcely get the same profit on them. Every year, seven, eight, or ten thousand horses arrive in Kâbul. From Hindustân, every year, fifteen or twenty

Its trade.

[1] Kelkeneh, or Gulguneh, for it may be either, cannot now be discovered.

[2] This lake is now called Kheirâbâd. It is about three miles round.

[3] The spot on which a Musulman saint lived, or on which he is supposed to have stood while he performed any celebrated act, becomes his *kedemgah*, the place of his footsteps, and is visited and circumambulated by the pious Mahommedan with great veneration.

[4] The hill called Akâbein seems to be that now called Ashikân Arifân, which connects with Baber Bâdshâh. The Bâla Hissâr, or citadel, is on the same ridge, farther east, and south-east of the town.

[5] May it not mean the breeze of Perwân, from the town of that name which lies north from Kâbul?

[6] Khitâ is Northern China, and its dependent provinces. Rûm is Turkey, particularly the provinces about Trebizond.

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thousand pieces of cloth are brought by caravans. The commodities of Hindustân are slaves, white clothes, sugar-candy, refined and common sugar, drugs, and spices. There are many merchants that are not satisfied with getting thirty or forty for ten.[1] The productions of Khorasân, Rûm, Irâk, and Chîn,[2] may all be found in Kâbul, which is the very emporium of Hindustân. Its warm and cold districts are close by each other. From Kâbul you may in a single day go to a place where snow never falls, and in the space of two astronomical hours, you may reach a spot where snow lies always, except now and then when the summer happens to be peculiarly hot. In the districts dependant on Kâbul, there is great abundance of the fruits both of hot and cold climates, and they are found in its immediate vicinity. The fruits of the cold districts in Kâbul are grapes, pomegranates, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, quinces, jujubes, damsons, almonds, and walnuts; all of which are found in great abundance. I caused the sour-cherry-tree[3] to be brought here and planted; it produced excellent fruit, and continues thriving. The fruits it possesses peculiar to a warm climate, are the orange, citron,[4] the amlûk, and sugar-cane, which are brought from the Lamghanât. I caused the sugar-cane to be brought, and planted it here. They bring the Jelghûzek[5] from Nijrow. They have numbers of bee-hives, but honey is brought only from the hill-country on the west. The rawâsh[6] of Kâbul is of excellent quality; its quinces and damask plums are excellent, as well as its bâdrengs.[7] There is a species of grape which they call the water-grape, that is very delicious; its wines are strong and intoxicating. That produced on the skirt of the mountain of Khwâjeh Khan-Saaîd is celebrated for its potency, though I describe it only from what I have heard;

Climate of Kâbul.

Produce.

The drinker knows the flavour of the wine; how should the sober know it?

Kâbul is not fertile in grain; a return of four or five to one is reckoned favourable. The melons too are not good, but those raised from seed brought from Khorasân are tolerable. The climate is extremely delightful, and in this respect there is no such place in the known world. In the nights of summer you cannot sleep without a postîn (or lamb-skin-cloak.) Though the snow falls very deep in the winter, yet the cold is never excessively intense. Samarkand and Tabrîz are celebrated for their fine climate, but the cold there is extreme beyond measure.

The Aulengs of Kâbul.

In the neighbourhood of Kâbul there are four fine aulengs or meadows.[8] On the north-east is the auleng of Sung-Korghân, at the distance of about two kos. It is a fine plain, and the grass agrees well with horses; there are few musquitoes in it. To the north-west lies the auleng of Châlâk, about one kos from Kâbul. It is extensive; but in the summer the musquitoes greatly annoy the horses. On the west is the au-

[1] Three or four hundred per cent.

[2] Chîn is all China.

[3] Alubâla.

[4] A berry like the karinda.

[5] The jelghûzek is the seed of a kind of pine, the cones of which are as big as a man's two fists.

[6] The rawâsh is described as a root something like beet-root, but much larger—white and red in colour, with large leaves, that rise little from the ground. It has a pleasant mixture of sweet and acid. It may be the rhubarb, râweid.

[7] The bâdreng is a large green fruit, in shape somewhat like a citron. The name is also applied to a large sort of cucumber.

[8] Auleng or Uleng, is a plain or meadow.

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leng of Deveren, which consists properly of two plains, the one the auleng of Tîbâh, the other that of Kûsh-Nâder, which would make the aulengs of Kâbul five in number. Each of these two aulengs lies about a farsang from Kâbul. Though but of small extent, they afford excellent pasture for horses, and are not pestered with gnats. There is not in all Kâbul any auleng equal to these. The auleng of Siâh-Seng lies on the east of Kâbul. Between this last auleng and the Currier's-gate stands the tomb of Kutluk Kedem. This auleng being much infested with musquitoes in the hot weather, is not in such high estimation as the others. Adjoining to this last valley is that of Kemri. By this computation it appears that there are six aulengs about Kâbul, but we hear only of the four aulengs.

Passes over Hindû-kûsh.

The country of Kâbul is very strong, and of difficult access, whether to foreigners or enemies. Between Balkh, Kundez, and Badakhshân on the one side, and Kâbul on the other, is interposed the mountain of Hindû-kûsh, the passes over which are seven in number. Three of these are by Penjhîr;[1] the uppermost[2] of which is Khewâk;[3] lower down is that of Tûl;[4] and still lower, that of Bazârak. Of these three passes, the best is that of Tûl, but the way is somewhat longer, whence it probably got its name of Tûl (or the long). The most direct pass is that of Bazârak. Both of these passes lead over to Sirâb. As the pass of Bazârak terminates at a village named Barendi, the people of Sirâb call it the pass of Barendi. Another route is that of Perwân. Between Perwân and the high mountain there are seven minor passes, which they call *Heft-becheh* (the Seven Younglings). As you come from the Anderâb side, two roads unite below the main pass, and lead down on Perwân by way of the Seven Younglings. This is a very difficult road. There are besides three roads in Ghûrbend. That which is nearest to Perwân is the pass of *Yangi-yuli* (the new road), which descends by Waliân and Khinjân. Another route is that of Kipchâk, which leads by the junction of the rivers of Sûrkhâb and Anderâb. This is a good pass. Another route is by the pass of Shibertu. During the summer, when the waters are up, you can go by this pass only by taking the route of Bamiân and Sikan;[5] but in the winter season, they travel by way of Abdereh. In winter, all the roads are shut up for four or five months, except this alone; such as then proceed to Shibertu through this pass, travel by way of Abdereh. In the season of spring, when the waters are in flood, it is as difficult to pass these roads as in winter; for it is impossible to cross the water courses, on account of the flooding of the torrents, so that the road by the water courses is not passable; and as for passing along the mountains, the mountain track is so difficult, that it is only for three or four months in autumn, when the snow and the waters decrease, that

[1] Now Penjshîr. [2] In this enumeration Baber begins from the east.

[3] There is a pass over the Hindû-kûsh range, at the head of the valley of Penjshîr, which is called the Kurindah Pass.

[4] Tûl is the Tool of Mr Elphinstone's map; Bazârak must be the straight road from Seifâbâd to Chârmaghzâr. The Perwân route is that by Perwân to Charmaghzâr, which passes between Seifâbâd and the head of the valley of Sauleh auleng. Yengi-yûli is that by Doshâkh direct upon Khinjân. The Kipchâk route runs up the valley of Ghûrbend, and then over the mountains to the junction of the two rivers at Kila Beiza. The Shibertu Pass is by Shiber. There seems to have been a direct road from that to Mader in dry weather; but in wet, people went round by Bamiân, Seighân, and the pass of Dendân-shiken.

[5] Or Seighan.

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it is practicable. The Kafir robbers also issue from the mountains and narrow paths, and infest this passage.

The road from Khorasân leads by way of Kandahâr. It is a straight level road, and does not go through any hill-passes.

The Passes to India.

From Hindustân there are four roads which lead up to Kâbul. One of these is by way of the Lamghanât,[1] and comes by the hill of Kheiber, in which there is one short hill-pass. Another road leads by Bangash; a third by Naghz,[2] and the fourth by Fermul. In all of these roads there are passes of more or less difficulty. Those who come by them cross the river Sind at three different places. Those who go by the Nilâb passage,[3] take the road of Lamghanât. In the winter season, however, they cross the river Sind, the river of Sewâd, and the river of Kâbul, above the conflux of this last river with the Sind. In most of the expeditions which I made into Hindustân, I forded these rivers in this way; but the last time, when I invaded that country, defeated Sultan Ibrâhim and conquered Hindustân, I crossed at the Nilâb passage in boats. Except at the place that has been mentioned, the river Sind can nowhere be passed unless in boats. Those again who cross at Dînkôt[4] take the Bangash road; while those who cross at Choupâreh[5] take the road of Fermul, if proceeding to Ghazni, and the road of the desht or plains if they are going to Kandahâr.

In the country of Kâbul there are many and various tribes. Its valleys and plains are inhabited by Tûrks, Aimâks, and Arabs. In the city and the greater part of the villages, the population consists of Tâjîks. Many other of the villages and districts are occupied by Pashâis, Parâchis, Tâjîks, Berekis, and Afghâns. In the hill-country to the west, reside the Hazâras and Nukderis. Among the Hazâra and Nukderi tribes, there are some who speak the Moghul language. In the hill-country to the north-east lies Kaferistân, such as Kattor[6] and Gebrek. To the south is Afghanistân. There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Kâbul: Arabic, Persian, Tûrki, Mogholi, Hindi, Afghâni, Pashâi, Parâchi, Geberi, Bereki, and Lamghâni. It is dubious whether so many distinct races, and different languages, could be found in any other country.

Division of Kâbul.

The country of Kâbul is divided into fourteen Tûmans. In Samarkand, Bokhâra, and those quarters, the smaller districts into which a country is divided, are called *Tûman*: in Andejân, Kâshghar, and the neighbouring countries, they get the name of

[1] The Lamghan road is the great road from Kâbul to Peshâwer. The Bangash is explained by its name.

[2] Naghz, now unknown, seems to have been on the upper course of the Kûrram. Fermul was probably Urghûn, where the Fermulis, a Persian race, still reside.

[3] Nilâb stands somewhat lower down the Sind than Attok. The present Nilâb is about 15 miles below Attock. I may remark, that I have not been able to discover any Indian authority previous to the time of Abulfazl, for the Sind being called Nilâb, though it would help to explain an ancient geographical difficulty.

[4] Dînkôt is probably at or near the present Khûshialghur, unless its being afterwards mentioned as a northern boundary of Banu should render it probably that it was Kalabagh.

[5] The road from Choupâreh to Fermul was probably the direct road through Kaneguram to Urghun. The road of the desht or plain, was no doubt that through Damân, the flat part of which Baber always calls *Desht*. Choupâreh was probably situated near Kagalwâla on the Kûrram.

[6] Kattor or Katâr, is a place of note in Kaferistân. Gebrek also lies in the Kâfer country.

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Urchîn, and in Hindustân they call them Perganah. Although Bajour, Sewâd, Pershâwer, and Hashnaghar,[1] originally belonged to Kâbul; yet at the present date some of these districts have been desolated, and others of them entirely occupied by the tribes of Afghans, so that they can no longer be properly regarded as provinces.

Lamghanât.

On the east lies the Lamghanât,[2] which comprehends five Tumâns and two Balûks. The largest of the Tumâns of Lamghan is Nangenhâr,[3] which, in many histories, is written Nekerhâr. The residence of the darogha, or commandant of this district, is Adînapûr. Nangenhâr lies to the east of Kâbul, thirteen farsangs[4] of very difficult road. In three or four places there are some very short kotuls or steep hill-passes, and in two or three places there are narrows or straits. The Khirilchi and other robber Afghân tribes infest this road with their depredations. There was no population along this road till I settled Karatû below the Kuruk-sâi,[5] which rendered the road safe. The Germsîl (or region of warm temperature) is divided from the Serdsîl (or region of cold temperature) only by the steep pass of Badam-cheshmeh.[6] Snow falls on the Kâbul side of this pass, but not on the Kuruk-sâi and Lamghanât side. The moment you descend this hill-pass, you see quite another world. Its timber is different, its grains are of another sort, its animals of a different species, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants are of a different kind. Nangenhâr has nine streams.[7] Its rice and wheat are excellent. Oranges, citrons, and pomegranates, are very abundant, and of good quality. Opposite to the fort of Adînahpûr,[8] to the south, on a rising ground, I formed a charbagh (or great garden), in the year nine hundred and fourteen.[9] It is called Baghe Vafâ (the Garden of Fidelity). It overlooks the river, which flows between the fort and the palace. In the year in which I defeated Behâr Khan and conquered Lahore and Dibâlpûr, I brought plantains and planted them here. They grew and thrived. The year before I had also planted the sugar-cane in it, which throve remarkably well. I sent some of them to Badakhshân and Bokhâra. It is on an elevated site, enjoys running water, and the climate in the winter season is temperate. In the garden there is a small hillock, from which a stream of water, sufficient to drive a mill, incessantly flows into the garden below. The four-fold field-plot[10] of this garden is situated on this eminence. On the south-west part of this garden is a reservoir of water ten gez[11] square, which is wholly planted round with orange trees; there are likewise pomegranates. All around the piece of water the ground is quite

A. H. 930. A. D. 1524.

[1] This place is now always called Heshtnagar.

[2] A singular proof of the imperfect state in which the geography of those countries long remained is, that Petis de la Croix places Lamghan in Kashmîr.—*Hist. de Timur Bec*, Vol. II. p. 18.

[3] Nangenhâr lies along the Kâbul river on the south. It is the Nungnehaura of Mr Elphinstone's map.

[4] Upwards of 50 miles.

[5] The dry water channel.—*Leyden.* Perhaps the Park river.

[6] *i. e.* Almond-spring. The Pass of Badam-cheshmeh lies south of the Kâbul river, between Little Kâbul and Barik-âb.

[7] Whence it is said to derive its name, which in Afghâni means *nine streams.*

[8] The fort of Adînahpûr is to the south of the Kâbul river.

[9] About A. D. 1508.

[10] It is usual for the Persians to divide their gardens into four plots by two roads which cross each other.

[11] The original has only *ten by ten,* but the gez is probably the measure understood, which would make it a square of about twenty feet or upwards.

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covered with clover. This spot is the very eye of the beauty of the garden. At the time when the orange becomes yellow, the prospect is delightful. Indeed the garden is charmingly laid out. To the south of this garden lies the Koh-e-Sefîd (the White Mountain) of Nangenhâr, which separates Bangash from Nangenhâr. There is no road by which one can pass it on horseback. Nine streams descend from this mountain. The snow on its summit never diminishes, whence probably comes the name of Koh-e-Sefîd[1] (the White Mountain). No snow ever falls in the dales at its foot. Between the mountain and the garden there may be as much interval as would serve a party to encamp on. On the skirts of this hill there are many airy and beautiful situations. The water which descends from it is naturally so cold, that it does not require ice to cool it. On the south of the fort of Adînaphûr is the Sûrkh-rûd[2] (the Red Rivulet). The fort is situated on an eminence, which, towards the river, is forty or fifty gez[3] in perpendicular height. On the north there is a detached mass of mountain. The fortress is very strong. This last mountain forms the division between Nangenhâr and the Lamghanât. Whenever it snows at Kâbul, the snow falls also on the top of this mountain, by which means the people of the Lamghanât can tell, from the appearance of its top, when it snows at Kâbul. In travelling from Kâbul to Lamghân,[4] there is one road by which, after passing Kuruk-sâi, you proceed through the steep pass of Debri,[5] and reach the Lamghanât by way of Bûlân. There is another road,[6] by which, crossing Kuruk-sâi lower down than Kurabûk, and passing the river Bârân[7] at Uluk-Nûr,[8] and thence proceeding by the hill-pass of Badij, you come down upon Lamghân. If one travel by the road of Nijrou he passes on by Bedrav,[9] and, proceeding by Karabankerik, falls into the hill-pass of Badij. Though Nangenhâr be spoken of as one of the *five* Tumâns of Lamghân,[10] yet there are only *three* Tumâns which properly bear the name of Lamghân.

Tumân of Alisheng.

The first of these three is the Tumân of Alisheng,[11] which, on the north, consists of rugged snowy hills that join the mountain of Hindû-kûsh. That mountainous country is entirely in Kaferistân. The part of Kaferistân nearest to Alisheng is Meil; and the river of Alisheng comes down from Meil.[12] The tomb of the holy Lâm, the

[1] The Koh-e-Sefîd is a remarkable position in the geography of Afghanistân. It is seen from Peshâwer.

[2] The Sûrkh-rûd rises in Sefîd Roh, and runs into the Kâbul river between Jagdelik and Gundomuk.

[3] A hundred feet or upwards.

[4] A friend to whose observations on Baber's geography of Afghanistân I have been much indebted, remarks, "The change of names here is astonishing. I have many routes in Lumghân, one in particular, by the way of Nijrow here referred to, and yet I cannot discover one place of those here mentioned, unless the kotal of Badij be allowed any resemblance to Bâdpash (by changing the diacritical points). Bâdpash is a steep kotal, half a day's journey to the north of Undroor on the Caubul river, and about 16 or 18 miles west of Turgurree, where the streams of Alingâr and Alisheng join."

[5] Leyden has Beri. [6] In this route they proceed by the north side of the Kâbul or Baran river.

[7] Rain river.—*Leyden.* [8] Uluk-Nûr.—The Great Light.—*Leyden.*

Leyden reads Bazar; Mr Elphinstone's Turki copy has Bezrav.

[10] Lamghân is now always called Laghmân.

[11] The two streams which form the glens of Alisheng and Alingâr, coming from the north, unite above Mandraur, and fall into the Kâbul river below that place.

[12] Now called Kilai Akheri.

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father of Nûh,[1] is in the Tumân of Alisheng. In some histories, the holy Lâm is denominated Lamek and Lamekân. The people of that country have a general practice of changing the letter *Kaf* into *Ghain*, and it seems very probable that the name Lamghân originated from that circumstance.

The second Tumân is Alingâr. The part of Kaferistân that is nearest to Alingâr is Gewâr, and the river of Alingâr comes down from Gewâr. These two rivers, after passing through Alisheng and Alingâr, unite with each other, and afterwards fall into the river Bârân,[2] below the third Tumân, which is called Mendrâur. Alingâr.

Of the two Balûks which have been mentioned, one is Dereh-Nûr[3] (the Valley of Light), which is an uncommonly fine tract. The fort is situated at the entrance of the valley, on the projecting point of a mountain, and washed by a river on both of its sides. The grounds are chiefly laid out in rice-fields, and can be passed only by the high road. It has the orange, the citron, and the fruits of a warm climate. It has likewise a few date trees. The banks of the river, which flows on the two sides of the fort, are quite covered with trees; the most abundant of which is the *chob-amluk*, which the Tûrks generally name *karayemûsh*.[4] This fruit is very abundant in the Dereh-Nûr, but is found nowhere else. It has also grapes, all of which they grow upon trees.[5] The wine of Dereh-Nûr is famous over all the Lamghanât. It is of two kinds, which they term *areh-tâshi* (the stone-saw), and *suhân-tashi* (the stone-file). The stone-saw is of a yellowish colour; the stone-file, of a fine red. The stone-saw, however, is the better wine of the two, though neither of them equals their reputation. Higher up, at the head of the glens, in this mountain, there are some apes to be met with. Apes are found lower down towards Hindustân, but none higher up than this hill. The inhabitants used formerly to keep hogs,[6] but in my time they have renounced the practice. Dereh-Nûr.

Kûner and Nûrgil form another Tumân, which lies out of the way, and at some distance from Lamghân. It is situated in the midst of Kaferistân, which forms its boundary. Although it is equal in extent to the other Tumâns, yet, from this circumstance, it yields less revenue, and the inhabitants pay less. The river of Cheghânserâi,[7] after passing through Kaferistân from the north-east, and dividing this country, unites with the river Bârân, in the Balûk of Kameh, and then passes onward to the Kûner and Nûrgil.

[1] *i. e.* Lamech, the father of Noah.

[2] The Bârân and Kâbul rivers unite above this junction.

[3] The Dereh-Nûr lies on the Cheghânserâi, or Kashkâr river. It runs from the peak of Kûnd to Kûner.

[4] It is very singular that the Amlûk should now be called in Lumghan, or rather Lughmân, Karamûsh, which is evidently mentioned here as a contrast to the Lughmâni name.

[5] On this passage Captain John Briggs, of the Madras Establishment, who is well versed in oriental usages, remarks, "Baber means in this place, I imagine, that the vines are not standards, but allowed to creep and spread. Standing vines are, however, very common in Persia. The plant is kept about three feet only in height, by lopping, and it is found to be a much more productive plan, though it sooner exhausts the soil."

[6] This practice Baber viewed with disgust, the hog being an impure animal in the Muhammedan law.

[7] This is the river which rises at Pûshtekhar, near Pamere, and which is called by Mr Elphinstone the Kashkar, or Kameh river.

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east. Nûrgil[1] lies on the west, and Kûner on the east of this river. Amîr Syed Ali Hamadâni departed this life in a spot one farsang higher up than Kuner. His disciples carried him hence to Khutlân. A mausoleum is erected on the place where he
A.D. 1514. died. In the year 920, when I came and took Cheghânserâi, I[2] circumambulated his tomb; the orange, citron, and karenj,[3] abound there. They get a strong and heady wine from Kaferistân. The inhabitants relate a strange circumstance, which appears to be impossible, but which is, however, constantly told. The lower part of this Tumân is called Milteh-Kendi, below which the country belongs to the Dereh-Nûr and Ater.[4] Higher up than this Milteh-Kendi, in the whole of this hill country, comprehending Kuner, Nûrgil, Bajour, Sewâd, and all that neighbourhood, it is the custom, when a woman dies, to place her on a bier, which they lift up by the four sides. If the woman has lived virtuously, she shakes the bearers to such a degree, that, even when they are upon their guard, and attempting to prevent it, the corpse falls from the bier. If, however, she has done anything amiss, no motion takes place. It is not solely from the people of this place that I have had information of the practice, but the men of Bajour, Sewâd, and the whole of the hill-country, agree in their accounts. Haider Ali Bajouri, who was Sultan of Bajour, and who governed that country with much justice, when his mother died, neither made lamentation, nor expressed sorrow, nor arrayed himself in black, but only said, "Go, and place her on the bier; if she does not move, I will burn her."[5] They placed her on the bier, and the corpse had the desired motion. On hearing this he put on black, and gave vent to his sorrow.

Cheghânserâi. Another Bulûk is Cheghânserâi, which contains one village only, and is of limited extent, lying in the very jaws or entrance of Kaferistân. As its inhabitants, though Musulmans, are mingled with the Kafirs, they live according to the customs of that race. The large river, known by the name of the river of Cheghânserâi, comes from the north-east of Cheghânserâi, behind Bajour. Another smaller stream,[6] coming from the west, after flowing down through the midst of Pich, a district of Kaferistân, falls into it. The wine of Cheghânserâi is strong and yellowish; but bears no sort of comparison with that of the Dereh-Nûr. In Cheghânserâi there are neither grapes nor vineyards; but they bring the wines down the river from Kaferistân and Kaferistân-Pîch. When I took Cheghânserâi, the Kafers of Pîch came to their assistance. So prevalent is the use of wine among them, that every Kafer has a *khig*, or leathern bottle of wine about his neck; they drink wine instead of water.

Kâmeh. Kâmeh,[7] though not a distinct district, but under Nangenhâr, yet gets the name of a Balûk.

Nijrow. Another Tumân is Nijrow, which lies north-east from Kâbul, in the hill-country. Behind it, in the hill-country, all the inhabitants are Kafers, and the country is Ka-

[1] Nûrgil lies in the hills west of Kûner.

[2] It is usual for pious Muhammedans to circumambulate the tomb of a saint or holy man seven times, as a mark of veneration.

[3] The karenj is a plant producing a small seed, probably like the coriander seed, which the Persians mix with their bread.

[4] Ater is five or six kos north of Jalâlâbâd.

[5] That is, treat the corpse as that of an infidel.

[6] This is probably the river on which Kandi stands.

[7] Kâmeh lies to the east of the Cheghânserâi river, at its junction with that of Kâbul

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feristân. It is a sort of sequestered corner. Grapes and fruits are extremely abundant in this district; and it produces a great quantity of wine, but in making they boil it. In the winter season they fatten a number of fowls. The inhabitants are wine-bibers, never pray, fear neither God nor man, and are heathenish in their usages. In the hills of this district they have the pine, the jilguzeh,[1] the oak, and the mastick tree in abundance. The fir, pine, and oak trees grow beneath Nijrow, but are not met with higher up; they are among the trees of Hindustân. The people of this hill-country burn the fir instead of lamps; it gives light, and burns like a candle. It has a very singular appearance. In the mountain districts of Nijrow, the flying-fox is found. It is an animal larger than a squirrel, with a kind of leathern web stretching between its fore and hind feet, like a bat's wing. They frequently brought them to me. It is said that they can fly a bowshot from a higher tree to a lower one. I myself have never seen them fly, but have let one go beside a tree, which it quickly clung to and ascended; and, when driven away, expanded its wings like a bird, and came to the ground without injury. In these mountains is found the bird Lokheh,[2] which is also termed the *Bûkelimûn*, or Camelion-bird, and which has, between its head and its tail, five or six different colours. It has a brilliant changeable colour, like the neck of a dove, and is larger than the beautiful partridge, named Kibk-i-durri. It is probable that this bird is that which in Hindustân passes for the Kibk-i-durri. The people of the country relate a singular circumstance concerning it. In the winter season these birds come down to the skirts of the hills; and, if in their flight they happen to pass over a vineyard, they are no longer able to fly, and are caught.[3] In Nijrow there is also a species of rat, which is named the musk-rat, and has the scent of musk, but I have not seen it.[4]

Penjhîr[5] is another Tumân. It lies upon the road, and is in the immediate vicinity of Kaferistân. The thoroughfare and inroads of the robbers of Kaferistân are through Penjhîr. In consequence of their vicinity to the Kafers, the inhabitants of this district are happy to pay them a fixed contribution. Since I last invaded Hindustân, and subdued it, the Kafers have descended into Panjhîr, and returned, after slaying a great number of people, and committing extensive ravages. Penjhîr.

There is another Tumân, named Ghûrbend.[6] In this country they call a steep hill-pass *bend*; and as they cross over to Ghûr by this pass, the district, from that circumstance, has acquired the name of Ghûrbend. The Hazâras have got possession of the Ghûrbend.

[1] The Jilgûzeh, as has already been remarked, is a kind of pine, which has cones larger than artichokes, containing seeds resembling pistachio nuts.

[2] The hill-chikôr.

[3] A similar story is told of some fields near Whitby:—"These wild geese, which, in the winter fly in great flocks to the lakes and rivers unfrozen in the southern parts, to the great amazement of every one, fall suddenly down upon the ground, when they are in their flight over certain neighbouring fields thereabouts; a relation I should not have made, if I had not received it from several credible men."—*See Notes to Marmion*, p. xlvi.

[4] Are we entitled to infer from this, that the musk-rat was not so common in Hindustân in the age of Baber as it has since become. Baber was not a careless observer.

[5] Penjhîr, now always called Panjshîr, lies on the upper part of the Panjshîr river, above Perwân, nearly north of Kâbul.

[6] Ghûrbend lies north-west of Kâbul; its river runs into the Bârân.

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tops of its valleys. It contains a few villages, but yields little revenue. It is said, that on the mountains of Ghûrbend there are mines of silver and of lapis-lazuli. On the skirts of the hills there are some districts; in the upper part are Mîteh, Kacheh, and Perwân; and lower down are twelve or thirteen villages. All of them abound in fruits, and their wines come from this tract; the strongest wine comes from Khwâjeh-Khân-Saîd. As all these villages lie on the skirts of the mountain, or on the mountain itself, although they pay something as revenue, yet they are not regularly rated in the revenue rolls. Lower down than these villages, along the skirts of the mountains, and between them and the river Bârân, lie two detached spots of level ground; the one called the *Gireh-e-Tazian*, the other the *Desht-e-Sheikh*.[1] In the warm season they are covered with the *chekîn-taleh* grass in a very beautiful manner, and the Aimâks and Tûrks resort to them. In the skirts of these mountains the ground is richly diversified by various kinds of tulips. I once directed them to be counted, and they brought in thirty-two or thirty-three different sorts of tulips. There is one species which has a scent in some degree like the rose, and which I termed *laleh-gul-bûi* (the rose-scented tulip). This species is found only in the Desht-e-Sheikh (the Sheikh's plain), in a small spot of ground, and nowhere else. In the skirts of the same hills, below Perwân, is produced the *laleh-sed-berg*[2] (or hundred-leaved tulip), which is likewise found only in one narrow spot of ground, as we emerge from the straits of Ghûrbend. Between these two plains there is a small hill, on which there is a line of sandy ground, reaching from the top to the bottom of the hill. They called it *Khwâjeh-reg-rewan*.[3] They say that in the summer season the sound of drums and nagarets issues from this sand.

There are a number of other districts belonging to Kâbul. On the south-west of Kâbul, is a high snowy[4] mountain, on which the snow of one year generally falls on the snow of another. It happens very rarely that the old snow has disappeared before the new falls. When the ice-houses of Kâbul are exhausted, they fetch ice from this mountain to cool their water. It is three farsangs[5] from Kâbul. This hill and that of Bâmiân are both exceedingly lofty. The Hirmend,[6] the Sind, the Doghabeh of Kundez, and the river of Balkh, all take their rise in this mountain; and it is said, that in the same day a person may drink from the streams of all these four rivers. The districts which I mentioned are chiefly on the skirts of this mountain. Their gardens are numerous, and their grapes, as well as every other kind of fruit, abundant. Among these villages there are none to be compared with Istâlif and Isterghâch,[7] which were term-

[1] *The Arab's encampment*, and *the Sheikh's plain*.

[2] This is the double poppy.

[3] *i. e.* Khwajeh moving-sand.

[4] By this high snowy mountain, Baber evidently means the Kohi Baba, which, by an inaccuracy in the points of the compass not unusual with him, he places S.W. of Kâbul, instead of N.W. The Helmend and river of Kâbul both rise there. The river of Balkh rises in the N.W. of the same mountain. The river of Eibak, and the Sûrkhrûd, which descends by Kundez, rise at no great distance.

[5] Twelve miles.

[6] The Hirmend, Helmand, or Helbend, which rises to the west of the mountains not far from Kâbul, after passing Girisk, falls into the lake of Sistân; the Sind, I presume, is the Kâbul or the Gharbend river, which finally falls into the Sind. The other two fall into the Amu, or Jeihun, which discharges itself into the sea of Aral.

[7] These districts lie on the river of Karabagh, north-west of Kâbul. It falls into the Bârân. Isterghach is now termed Sirghach by the Afghans. Pemgham is called Peghman.

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ed by Ulugh Beg Mirza, Khorasân and Samarkand. Pemghân is also within the range of these districts; and though it cannot be compared with those just mentioned, in respect to grapes and fruits, is beyond all comparison superior to them in respect to climate. The mountain of Pemghân[1] always keeps its snow. Few quarters possess a district that can rival Istâlif. A large river runs through it, and on either side of it are gardens, green, gay, and beautiful. Its water is so cold, that there is no need of icing it; and it is particularly pure. In this district is a garden, called Bagh-e-Kilân (or the Great Garden), which Ulugh Beg Mirza[2] seized upon. I paid the price of the garden to the proprietors, and received from them a grant of it. On the outside of the garden are large and beautiful spreading plane-trees, under the shade of which there are agreeable spots finely sheltered. A perennial stream, large enough to turn a mill, runs through the garden; and on its banks are planted planes and other trees. Formerly this stream flowed in a winding and crooked course, but I ordered its course to be altered according to a regular plan, which added greatly to the beauty of the place. Lower down than these villages, and about a kos or a kos and a half above the level plain, on the lower skirts of the hills, is a fountain, named *Khwâjeh-seh-yârân* (Khwâjeh three-friends), around which there are three species of trees; above the fountain are many beautiful plane-trees, which yield a pleasant shade. On the two sides of the fountain, on small eminences at the bottom of the hills, there are a number of oak-trees;[3] except on these two spots where there are groves of oak, there is not an oak to be met with on the hills to the west of Kâbul. In front of this fountain, towards the plain, there are many spots, covered with the flowery Arghwân[4] tree, and besides these Arghwân plots, there are none else in the whole country. It is said that these three kinds of trees were bestowed on it by the power of these three holy men, beloved of God; and that this is the origin of the name Seyârân.[5] I directed this fountain to be built round with stone, and formed a cistern of lime and mortar ten gez[6] by ten. On the four sides of the fountain, a fine level platform for resting, was constructed on a very neat plan. At the time when the Arghwân flowers begin to blow, I do not know that any place in the world is to be compared to it. The yellow Arghwân is here very abundant, and the yellow Arghwân's blossom mingles with the red. On the south-west of this fountain there is a valley, in which is a rivulet, containing half as much water as would suffice to turn a mill. This rivulet I confined within artificial banks, and caused a channel to be dug for it over one of the heights on the south-west of Seyârân. On the top of this height I formed a circular platform for sitting on. The date of my forming this rivulet was found in the words, *Jûi Khûsh*[7] (a charming stream).

[1] The four tippahs, or districts, now dependant on Kâbul, are Pemghân, or Peghmân, Kohdâmen, Bûtkhâk, and Logar.

[2] This Ulugh Beg Mirza was the paternal uncle of Baber.

[3] Belût.

[4] The name Arghwân is generally applied to the anemone; but in Afghanistân it is given to a beautiful flowering shrub, which grows nearly the size of a tree.

[5] Three Friends. A note on the margin of Mr Elphinstone's Turki copy informs us, that these three friends were Khwâjeh Moudud-e-Chesti, Khawâjeh Khâwend Said, and Khwâjeh Rag-rewân.

[6] Upwards of twenty feet square.

[7] The numerical letters of these words give 925.

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Logar. Lohuger[1] is another Tumân, the largest town of which is Cherkh. Moulâna Yâkub,[2] on whom be mercy, was of Cherkh; the Mûlla-zâdeh Mulla Osman is also from Cherkh. Sejâwend[3] is also one of the towns of Lohuger, whence are Khwâjeh Ahmed and Khwâjeh Yunis. Cherkh has numerous gardens, but there are none in any of the other villages of Lohuger. The men are *Aughân-Shâl*, a term well known in Kâbul; it is probable, that the phrase *Afghân-Shaar* (or Afghanlike) has been converted into *Aughân-Shâl*.

Ghazni. There is also the country of Ghazni,[4] which is often denominated a Tumân. Ghazni was the capital of Subaktegîn, of Sultan Mahmûd, and of the dynasty sprung from them. Many call it Ghaznein. This was also the capital of Shehâb-ed-dîn Ghuri, who, in the *Tabkât-e-Nâseri*, and many of the histories of Hind, is called Moezzeddîn. It is situated in the third climate. It is also named Zabul, and it is to this country that the term Zâbulistân relates; many include Kandahâr in Zâbulistân. It lies to the west of Kâbul,[5] at the distance of fourteen farsangs.[6] A person setting out from Ghazni at early dawn, may reach Kâbul between noonday and afternoon prayers. Adînapûr is only thirteen farsangs[7] distant; but, from the badness of the road, it is never travelled in one day. Ghazni is a country of small extent. Its river[8] may be large enough to drive four or five mills. The city of Ghazni, and four or or five other districts, are supplied from this river, while as many more are fertilized by subterraneous[9] water-courses. The grapes of Ghazni are superior to those of Kâbul, and its melons more abundant. Its apples too are excellent, and are carried into Hindostân. Cultivation is carried on with great difficulty and labour, and whatever ground is cultivated is obliged to have a new dressing of mould every year; but the produce of the crops exceeds that of Kâbul. The madder is chiefly cultivated here, and is carried over all Hindostân. It is the most profitable crop in this district. The inhabitants of the open country are Hazâras and Afghâns. Ghazni is a cheap place compared with Kâbul. The inhabitants are Moslems of the sect of Hânifah, and orthodox in their faith. Many of them fast for three months[10] in the year, and their wives and children live in a correct and sequestered manner. Mûlla Abdul Rahman was one of the eminent men of Ghazni. He was a man of learning, and always taught a class. He was a holy, pious, and virtuous person. He took his departure from this world the same year with Nâsir Mirza. The tomb of Sultan Mahmûd is in one of the suburbs of Ghazni, which, from that circumstance, is termed *Rozeh*.[11] The best grapes in Ghazni are from Rozeh. The tombs of his descendants, Sulten Mâsaûd and Sultan Ibrâhim, are in Ghazni. There are many holy tombs at that city. In the year

[1] Lohgar, or Loger, is situated S.E. from Kâbul about seventeen miles.

[2] Now called Cherkh Beraki. [3] Sejâwan lies between Cherkh and Speiga.

[4] This country is famous in history as the seat of government of Sultan Mahmûd Ghaznevi, and of the Ghaznevi dynasty.

[5] Ghazni is rather south than west of Kâbul.

[6] Fifty-six miles. [7] Fifty-two miles.

[8] The river of Ghazni runs north to Lohger, and joins the Kâbul river. Kâriz.

[10] Some very pious Musulmans fast all the months of Rejeb, Shabân, and Ramzân. The Muhammedan fasts only by day. The night is often given to feasting.

[11] The garden. The tombs of the more eminent Musulmans are generally in gardens, and surrounded by elegant parterres.

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in which I took Kâbul, after ravaging Kohat, the plain of Bânu, and Afghanistân with great slaughter, I proceeded by Duki, and having come on to Ghazni, along the banks of Ab-istâdeh,[1] I was told, that in one of the villages of Ghazni, there was a mausoleum, in which the tomb moved itself whenever the benediction on the Prophet was pronounced over it. I went and viewed it, and there certainly seemed to be a motion of the tomb. In the end, however, I discovered that the whole was an imposture, practised by the attendants of the mausoleum. They had erected over the tomb a kind of scaffolding; contrived that it could be set in motion when any of them stood upon it, so that a looker-on imagined that it was the tomb that had moved; just as to a person sailing in a boat, it is the bank which appears to be in motion. I directed the persons who attended the tomb to come down from the scaffolding; after which, let them pronounce as many benedictions as they would, no motion whatever took place. I ordered the scaffolding to be removed, and a dome to be erected over the tomb, and strictly enjoined the servants of the tomb not to dare to repeat this imposture.

Ghazni is but a poor, mean place, and I have always wondered how its princes, who possessed also Hindustân and Khorasân, could have chosen such a wretched country for the seat of their government, in preference to Khorasân. In the time of the Sultan, there were three or four mounds for collecting water.[2] One of these, which is of great dimensions, was formed by the Sultan of Ghazni, on the river of Ghazni, about three farsangs up the river, on the north-west of the town. The height of this mound is about forty or fifty gez,[3] and its length may be about three hundred gez.[4] The water is here collected, and drawn off according as it is wanted for cultivation. Alâ-eddîn Jehânsôz[5] Ghuri, when he subdued this country, broke down the mound, burned and destroyed many of the tombs of the royal family of the Sultan, ruined and burned the city of Ghazni, and plundered and massacred the inhabitants. In short, there was no act of desolation and destruction from which he refrained. Ever since that time, the mound had remained in a state of ruin. In the year[6] in which I conquered Hindustân, I sent by Khwâjeh Kilân a sum of money for the purpose of rebuilding it, and I entertain hopes that, by the mercy of God, this mound may once more be repaired. Another mound is that of Sakhen, which lies to the east of Ghazni at the distance of three or four farsangs[7] from that city. This also has long been in a state of ruin, and is not reparable. Another mound is that of Sirdeh,[8] which is in good repair. Some books mention, that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which, if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and

[1] Ab-istâdeh, a lake south from Ghazni.

[2] In the East, where the success of cultivation depends chiefly on the supply of water, it is usual to dam up the bottoms of narrow valleys, or of low meadows, so as to collect all the water into one body, whence it is afterwards distributed for the supply of the country below. These artificial lakes in India are sometimes several miles in circumference, and are perhaps the most useful works in the country.

[3] Eighty, or a hundred feet.

[4] Six hundred feet.

[5] Jehânsôz, the burner or desolator of the world. He is said to have got this name from his horrible massacre at Ghazni.

[6] A.H. 932.—A.D. 1525.

[7] Twelve or sixteen miles

[8] Sirdeh lies S.E. from Ghazni.

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hurricane, with snow and rain. I have seen in another history, that, when the Rai of Hind besieged Subaktegîn in Ghazni, Subaktegîn ordered dead flesh and other impurities to be thrown into this fountain, when there instantly arose a tempest and hurricane, with rain and snow, and by this device he drove away the enemy.[1] I made strict inquiry in Ghazni for this well, but nobody could give me the slightest information about it. In these countries, Ghazni and Khwârizm are celebrated for their cold, in the same manner as Sultanîah and Tabrîz are in the Irâks and Azerbâijân.

Zûrmet. Another Tumân is that of Zûrmet,[2] which lies on the south of Kâbul, and south-east of Ghazni. It is distant twelve or thirteen farsangs from Kâbul, and seven or eight from Ghazni.[3] It contains seven or eight districts or villages, and the residence of the Daragha is at Gerdez. In the walled town of Gerdez, the greater part of the houses are three or four stories in height. Gerdez is of considerable strength; and when the inhabitants were in a state of hostility to Nâsir Mirza, occasioned the Mirza no small trouble. The inhabitants of Zûrmet are *Aughân-shâl* (Afghans in their manners). They apply to agriculture, and the raising of corn, but not to orchards or gardening. On the south of this Tumân, there is a mountain which is termed the Hill of Turkestân;[4] on the skirts of which, on a rising ground, is a fountain, near which is the tomb of Sheikh Muhammed Muselmân.

Fêrmul. Another Tumân is that of Fêrmul,[5] which is of small extent, and little importance; but its apples are tolerable, and they are carried even to Mûltân and Hindustân. The Sheikh-zadehs (descendants of Sheikhs), who were treated with such distinguished favour in Hindustân during the time of the Afghâns, were all of Fêrmul, and descended of Sheikh Muhammud Muselmân.

Bangash. Bangash[6] is another Tumân. It is entirely surrounded by hills inhabited by Afghan robbers, such as the Khugiâni, the Khirilchi, the Bûri, and the Linder, who, lying out of the way, do not willingly pay taxes. Being occupied by many affairs of superior importance, such as the conquest of Kandahâr, Balkh, Badakhshân, and Hindustân, I never found leisure to apply myself to the settlement of Bangash. But if Almighty God prosper my wishes, my first moments of leisure shall be devoted to the settlement of that district, and of its plundering neighbours.

Alah-sâi. One of the Balûks of Kâbul is Alah-sâi,[7] which lies two or three farsangs to the east of Nijrow, from which you advance in a straight level direction towards Alah-sai. On reaching a place named Kôrah, you proceed by a small kotal, or hill-pass, towards Alah-sai. In this quarter, the space between the warm climate (Germsîl) and the cold (Serdsîl) is merely the extent of this hill-pass of Kôrah. By this hill-pass, at the beginning of the spring, the birds take their flight from the one to the other. The

[1] Baber has here reversed the situation of Subaktegîn and the Hindu Raja. Subaktegîn besieged the Raja, and, after being repelled, was informed in a vision of the quality of the well.—*Leyden.*

[2] Zûrmet lies east of Ghazni, on the sources of the Khûram river.

[3] That is 48 or 52 miles from Kâbul, and 28 or 32 miles from Ghazni.

[4] Leyden reads Barkestân.

[5] Fêrmul lies S.E. from Ghazni, and, as has been already remarked, is probably Urghûn.

[6] Bangash occupies the lower grounds from Gerdez to Kohat.

[7] Alah-sâi, now called Tugow. Baber reckons it in the Germsîl. The great difference of climate, however, takes place farther east, between Alisheng and Uzbîn.

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people of Pachghân, a place dependent on Nijrow, catch a great number of birds in their passage. In the ascent of the pass, they build from distance to distance cots of stone, in which the fowlers sit and conceal themselves. They fasten one side of a net strongly, at the distance of five or six gez;[1] one side of it is fixed down to the ground by stones, the other end, as far as half its length, three or four gez,[2] they fix to a stick, one end of which is held by the fowler, who is concealed, and sits on the watch, looking through holes left in the cot for the purpose, and waiting for the approach of the game from below. As soon as the birds come close up, he elevates one end of the net, and they rush into it by their own impulse. By this device, they take a great quantity of fowl; they boast, that sometimes they take such a number, that they have not time to kill them in the mode commanded by the law.[3] In this country, the pomegranates of Alah-sâi are famous: for, although they are not very excellent, yet there are none better in the country. They carry them all to Hindustân. Its grapes too are pretty good. The wines of Alah-sâi are not stronger, but are pleasanter than those of Nijrow.

Bedrow[4] is another Balûk, which lies close by Alah-sâi. Here there are no fruits, and the cultivators are all Kâfers. They raise corn. Bedrow.

As in Khorasân and Samarkand the possessors of the Wolds are the Tûrks and Aimâks, so, in this country, the inhabitants of the Waste are Hazâras and Afghâns. The most powerful of the Hazâras in this territory, are the Sultan Masaûdi Hazâras, and the most powerful of the Afghâns are the Mehmend Afghâns. Inhabitants.

The amount of the revenue of Kâbul, whether arising from settled lands, or raised from the inhabitants of the wastes, is eight lak of shahrokhis.[5] Revenue.

The mountainous country on the east frontier of Kâbul is broken and of two kinds, and the mountainous country on the west of Kâbul is also of two sorts, in which it differs from the hilly countries in the direction of Anderâb, Khost, and the Badakhshânât, which are all covered with the Archeh, or mountain pine, well watered with springs, and abounding with soft and smooth heights; the vegetation on these last, whether on the hills, the gentle heights and eminences, or the valleys, is all of one sort, and is of good quality. It abounds with the grass named *kah-butkeh*, which is excellent for horses. In the county of Andejân, they also call this grass *bâtkeh-aûti*, but I was not acquainted with the origin of the name. In this country I learned that it is so called because it grows in *bâteh*, knots or patches. The yâilâks, or summer residences of Hissâr, Khûtlân, Samarkand, Ferghâna, and Moghulistân, are all the same kind of yâilâks and pasturages as these; and though the summer retreats of Ferghâna and Moghulistân are not to be compared with the others, yet the hills and pastures are of the same sort. Nijrow again, and the hill country of Lamghanât, Bajour, and Sewâd, are of another kind, having many forests of pine, fir, oak, olive, and Pasture. Eastern hills.

[1] Ten or twelve feet. [2] Six or eight feet.

[3] That is, by repeating the Musulman confession of faith, and cutting their neck. It is usual to say only Bismilla (in the name of God.)

[4] Bedrow is perhaps the upper part of Tugow, now called Bâhâghâi. It is evidently higher up, by its having no fruits, and belonging to the Kâfers.

[5] The rupee being equal to two shahrokhis and a half, the shahrokhis may be taken at tenpence, thus making the revenue only L.33,333, 6s. 8d.—See *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. II. p. 169.

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mastick, but the grass is by no means equal to that of the hill country just mentioned. It is abundant enough, and likewise tall enough, but good for nothing, and not kindly either for horses or sheep. Though these mountains are not nearly so elevated as those that compose the other hill-country, and appear diminutive in comparison, yet they are singularly hard hills; there are indeed slopes and hillocks which have a smooth, level surface; yet hillocks and hills are equally hard, are covered with rocks, and inaccessible to horses. In these mountains there are many of the birds and animals of Hindustân, such as the parrot, the sharok, the peacock, the lokheh, the ape, the nil-gau, and the koteh-pâi (short-foot), and besides these, many other kinds of birds and animals, exceeding in number what I have heard of even in Hindustân.

Western hills.

The mountainous country which lies to the west is composed of the hills that form the valley of Zindân,[1] the vale of Sûf, with Gurzewân and Gharjestân, which hills are all of the same description. Their grazing grounds are all in the valleys; the hills, or hillocks, have not a single handful of grass such as is to be found on the mountains to the north, nor do they even abound much with the Archeh pine. The grass in the grazing grounds is very fit for both horses and sheep. Above these hills, the whole country is good riding ground, and level, and there all the cultivated ground lies. The deer are very numerous in these mountains. The courses of the streams are generally profound glens, often quite perpendicular, and incapable of being descended. It is a singular circumstance, that, while in all other mountainous tracts, the strengths, and steep and rugged places, are at the top of the hills, in these mountains the strong places are all towards the bottom. The hill-countries of Ghûr, Karbû,[2] and Hazâra, are all of the kind that has been described. Their pasture-grass is in the valleys and plains. They have few trees, and even the Archeh pine does not grow in them. The grass is nutritive to horses and sheep. The deer are numerous; and the rugged and precipitous places, and strengths of these hills, are also near the bottom.

Southern hills.

This hill-country, however, bears no resemblance to the hill-countries of Khwâjeh Ismâel, Desht,[3] Duki, and Afghanistân, which have all an uniformity of aspect, being very low, having little grass, bad water, and not a tree, and which are an ugly and worthless country. At the same time, the mountains are worthy of the men; as the proverb says, "A narrow place is large to the narrow-minded." There are perhaps scarcely in the whole world such dismal-looking hill-countries as these.

Fuel.

In Kâbul, although the cold is intense, and much snow falls in winter, yet there is plenty of firewood, and near at hand. They can go and fetch it in one day. The fuel

[1] This valley seems to run east and west, or north-east and south-west, across the road from Sârbâgh to Eibak. The Dereh-sûf, often mentioned by the Arabian writers, seems to lie west of Bâmiân; Gurzewân stretches west from the river of Balkh, north of Charkend, to the head of the Murghab. Gharjistân seems to have had Herât on the west, Furra on the south, and Ghour on the east.—*Mines de l'Orient*, vol. I. p. 325. It must, therefore, have corresponded with Sihâbend and the Firozkohi, perhaps including part of the Jemshedi country. In a passage of Ebn Haukal, p. 327, the learned De Sacy proposes to read *Isferâin*, for *Esferâr*. Perhaps it would offer less violence to the text to read *Isfezâr*, which differs from the latter word only by one diacritical point. Isfezâr is the tract of country lying between Herât and Furra, to the south of Sebzâr.

[2] In my Persian MS. it is sometimes called Gaznu, sometimes Karnûd.

[3] Desht is Damân; Duki is the Hindki for a hill. Baber always uses it for the south-eastern hills of Afghanistân.

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consists chiefly of mastick, oak, bitter almond, and the kerkend. The best of these is the mastick, which burns with a bright light, and has also a sweet perfume; it retains its heat long, and burns even when green. The oak,[1] too, is an excellent firewood, though it burns with a duller light; yet it affords much heat and light; its embers last a long time, and it yields a pleasant smell in burning. It has one singular property; if its green branches and leaves are set fire to, they blaze up and burn from the bottom to the top briskly and with a crackling noise, and catch fire all at once. It is a fine sight to see this tree burn. The bitter almond is the most abundant and common of all, but it does not last. The kerkend is a low, prickly thorn, that burns alike whether green or dry; it constitutes the only fuel of the inhabitants of Ghazni.

Animals.

The different districts of Kâbul lie amid mountains which extend like so many mounds, with the vales and level plains expanding between them. The greater part of the villages and population is found on these intermediate spaces. Deer and game are scarce. In the autumn and spring, the red deer, which is the arkarghalcheh, always has a stated track which it follows, in going from its winter to its summer range. Those who are fond of hunting, and who have hounds, preoccupy this track, and, remaining on the watch, catch the deer. The red deer[2] and wild ass[3] are also found near the Surkhâb,[4] and little Kâbul, but the white deer is never found there. In Ghazni, they have both the white deer and wild ass, and the white deer is seldom to be met with so plump as near Ghazni. In the spring there are many hunting grounds in Kâbul. The great passage of the fowls and animals is by the banks of the river Bârân, for that river is enclosed by mountains both on the east and west. Right opposite to this spot, that is, by the banks of the river Bârân, is the grand pass up Hindûkûsh, and there is no pass but itself in this vicinity. On that account all the game ascend the mountain by this route. If there be wind, or if any clouds rest on the pass up Hindûkûsh, the birds are unable to ascend it, and they all alight in the vale of Bârân, when multitudes of them are taken by the people of the neighbourhood. About the close of the winter, the banks of the river Bârân are frequented by multitudes of water-fowl, which are extremely fat. The cranes, the karkareh (or begla heron), and the larger game, afterwards arrive in innumerable flocks, and are seen in immense quantities. On the banks of the river Bârân, great numbers of cranes are caught in springes, which they make for that purpose, as well as the heron, the begla heron, and the khawâsil. This last-mentioned fowl is rare. The mode of taking these fowls is as follows: They spin a thin sliding springe, about an arrow's flight long, and to the one end of this cord fix a double-pointed arrow, while on the other end of it they fasten a cross handle of horn. They then take a stick, of the thickness of the wrist, and a span in length, and commencing at the arrow, wind up the cord till it is all wound on, after which they make fast the horn handle, and pull out the stick of the thickness of the wrist, on which the cord had been wound; the cord remaining

Modes of fowling.

[1] The belût (quercus, beloot) is a kind of oak, and bears acorns, but has prickly leaves, from which circumstance it is probably here confounded with the holly.

[2] Ahue súrkh. [3] Goreh-khar.

[4] This is the Surkhâb which rises in Sefid-koh, and joins the Kâbul river.

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wound up and hollow. Taking a firm hold of the horn handle, they throw the dart having the cord attached to it, at any fowl that comes near. If it falls on the neck or wings of the bird it twists round it, and brings it down. All the people on the Bârân catch birds in this manner; but this mode of fowling is extremely difficult and unpleasant, as it must be practised on dark and rainy nights, for on such nights, for fear of the ravenous animals and beasts of prey, they fly about constantly all night long, never resting till the morning; and at such times they fly low. In the dark nights they keep flying over the running water, as it appears bright and white, and it is at such times when, from fear, they fly up and down above the streams all night long, that the fowlers cast their cords. One night I threw the cord many times, but at last it severed and the bird escaped; next morning, however, they brought in both the bird and the severed cord twisted round it. In this manner the people of the Bârân catch great numbers of herons. The *kilki-saj*[1] are of the heron's feathers. These plumes, or kilkisaj, are one of the commodities carried into Irâk and Khorasân from Kâbul. There is a body of slave fowlers,[2] whose trade and occupation is to act as fowlers; they may consist of about two hundred or three hundred houses. One of the family of Taimur Beg[3] first caused them to be brought from the neighbourhood of Multân. They have constructed tanks, and bending down the branches of trees, have placed nets over the tanks; in this way they take every species of bird. These, however, are not the only persons who practise fowling, for all the inhabitants along the river Bârân, are extremely skilful in throwing the cord, in laying nets, and in every other device for taking fowl; and they take birds of every description.

Slave fowlers.

In the same season the migration of the fish takes place in the river Bârân; they first of all take great quantities of them by the net, and by erecting gratings.[4] In the autumn season, when the plant named kûlân kûerûghi (or wild-ass's-tail) has come out, reached maturity, flowered and seeded, they take ten or twelve loads of it, and twenty or thirty loads of the plant named gok-shibâk, and having brought them to the banks of the river, shred them down and throw them into the stream; the instant that the plants touch the water the fishes become intoxicated, and they begin to catch them. Farther down the river they construct gratings, in a convenient place, in the following manner:—They take twigs of the *tal* tree, of the thickness of one's finger, and weave them into open gratings, lattice-wise; this lattice-work they place under a water-fall, where there is a hollow, and lay heaps of stones all around it, so that the water rushes through the wicker-work with a loud noise, and runs off below, while the fish that come down the stream are borne along and retained by the wicker-work above; and thus the fishes that have been intoxicated, while they come in numbers floating down the current, are taken within these gratings. They catch great quantities of fish in this manner, in the rivers of Gul-behâr, Perwân, and Istâlîf.[5]

Modes of fishing.

There is another singular way in which they catch fish in Lamghanât during the

[1] Plumes worn on the cap, or turban, on great occasions.

[2] Gholaman-e-siâd; slave, or royal fowlers.

[3] Tamerlane.

[4] The *chich*, or gratings, are frames of open basket-work, which allow the water to pass, but retain the fish.

[5] These rivers all run into the Bârân.

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winter. In places where the water falls from a height, they dig out hollow pits of about the size of a house, and laying them with stones in the form of the lower part of a cooking furnace, they heap on stones above the pits, leaving only one passage for the water to descend; and they pile the stones up in such a manner, that, except by this single passage, there is no other for any fish either to come or go. The water of the stream finds its way through these stones that have been heaped on, so that this contrivance answers the purpose of a fish pool. In winter, whenever fish are required, they open one of these pits, and take out forty or fifty fishes at a time. In some convenient place of the pit an opening is formed, and excepting at that outlet, all the sides of it are secured with rice straw, over which stones are piled up. At the opening they fasten a kind of wicker-work like a net, the two extremities of which are contracted and brought near each other. In the middle of this first wicker-net they fix another piece of wicker net-work, in such a way that the mouth of this last may correspond with that of the other, but its whole length be only about half of that of the one first mentioned. They make the mouth of this inner net-work very narrow. Whatever enters it must pass into the larger wicker-net, the lower part of which is so constructed that no fish can escape back. The lower part of the mouth of the inner wicker-net is so formed that, when fish have once entered the upper part, they must proceed one by one down to the lower part of its mouth. The sharpened sticks forming the lower part of the mouth are brought close together. Whatever passes this mouth comes into the larger wicker-net, the lower passage of which is strongly secured, so that the fish cannot escape; and should it turn and attempt to swim back, it cannot get up, in consequence of the sharpened prongs that form the lower mouth of the small inner wicker-net. Every time that they bring these nets, they fasten them in the water course of the fish-pool, and then take off the covering of the fish-pool, leaving all its sides secured by the rice-straw. Whatever they can lay hold of in the hollow pit they seize, while every fish that attempts to escape by the only issue left, necessarily comes into the wicker-net that has been mentioned, and is taken there. This mode of catching fish I never saw practised elsewhere.

Mokîm allowed to leave Kâbul.

Some days after the taking of Kâbul, Mokîm requested permission to proceed to Kandahâr; and, as had been settled by the capitulation, I dismissed him safe and sound, with all his baggage, effects, and followers, to join his father and elder brother.

Baber divides the country among his followers.

After his departure I partitioned out the country of Kâbul among those Begs only who had lately taken service with me. Ghazni and its dependencies I gave to Jehangîr Mirza; the Tumân of Nangenhâr, Manderaur, the Dereh-Nûr, the Dereh-Kuner, Nûrgil, and Cheghânserâi, I gave to Nâsir Mirza. Those Begs and young officers who had followed me in my expeditions and dangers, I rewarded; giving to one of them a village, to another an estate in land, but to none of them did I give the government of a district. Nor was this the sole occasion in which I acted in this manner; but uniformly, whenever the Most High God prospered my undertakings, I always regarded and provided for those Begs and soldiers who were strangers and guests, in the first place, and in a superior manner to the Baberians, and those who were of Andejân. In spite of this, it has been a great misfortune to me that I have always been charged

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with favouring none but my own Baberians and the Andejânians. There is a proverb,

(*Persian.*) " What is it enemies will not say ?
What is it dreams will not display ?
The gates of a city you may shut ;
You cannot shut the mouth of an enemy.

Levies a contribution on Kâbul.

As many Ils and Uluses had come to me from Hissâr, Samarkand, and Kundez, it appeared advisable, as Kâbul was a confined country, and to be governed by the sword, not the pen,[1] and incapable of supplying a contribution in money sufficient for all my people, that a levy of corn should be made and given to the wives, families, and followers of the Ils and Uluses, to enable them to proceed with us in our wars and expeditions. It was therefore determined to raise thirty thousand loads of grain,[2] from Kâbul, Ghazni, and their dependencies. As I was at that time very imperfectly acquainted with the revenues and resources of Kâbul, the amount was excessive, and the country suffered extremely.

It was at this time that I invented a kind of writing called the Baberi hand.

Foray against the Masaûdi Hazâras.

I had imposed a large contribution of horses and sheep on the Sultan Masaûdi Hazâras, and sent collectors to receive it. In a few days I heard from them that the Hazâras[3] refused to pay, and were in a state of rebellion. Several times before, they had been guilty of depredations on the roads of Ghazni and Gerdêz.[4] On these accounts I took the field for the purpose of falling on them by surprise ; and having advanced by way of Meidân, we cleared the pass of Nirkh[5] by night, and, by the time of morning prayers, fell upon the Hazâras in the territory of Chatû, and beat them to our heart's content. Returning thence by way of Sang-e-Surâkh, Jehangîr Mirza took leave to go to Ghazni, while I returned to Kâbul. When I reached Kâbul, Yâr Hussain, the son of Deria Khan, came from Behreh[6] to offer me his services.

Baber resolves on an irruption into Hindustân.

A few days afterwards, having mustered my army, and assembled the persons best acquainted with the situation of the country, I made particular inquiries regarding the state and condition of the different districts on every hand. Some advised that we should march against Desht ;[7] others preferred Bangash ; while others proposed to advance against Hindustân. It was at last determined in council to make an irruption into Hindustân.

January 1505.

Reaches Adînapûr.

In the month of Shâbân, when the sun was in Aquarius, I set out from Kâbul towards Hindustân ; and proceeding by way of Badâm-Cheshmeh and Jigdâlîk,[8] in six marches reached Adînapûr. I had never before seen the Germsîl (or countries of

[1] *Seifi*, not *qalmi*.

[2] A Kherwâr is generally one hundred man of Tabrîz.—*Leyden*. Abul-Fazl says, that it is equal to 40 Kaadahari, or 10 Hindustâni mans.—Vol. II. p. 158. It is about 700 pounds averdupois.

[3] It is not clear where the Sultan Masaûdi Hazâras lay ; but it must have been west or south-west of Kâbul, among the hills.

[4] Gerdêz lies upwards of 65 miles S.E. from Kâbul.

[5] Nirkh lies west of Kâbul. Sang-Surâkh is a common name.

[6] Or Bhîreh, on the Behat or Hydaspes.

[7] Damân.

[8] This is the straight road to Peshâwer and Attok, from Kâbul.

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warm temperature), nor the country of Hindustân. Immediately on reaching them, I beheld a new world. The grass was different, the trees different, the wild animals of a different sort, the birds of a different plumage, the manners and customs of the Ils and Uluses (the wandering tribes) of a different kind.[1] I was struck with astonishment, and indeed there was room for wonder.

Nâsir Mirza, who, a little before, had come to his government, now waited upon me at Adînapûr. As the Aîmâks of that neighbourhood, with their followers, had moved down with all their families into Lamghanât, for the purpose of wintering there, I halted a day or two in that vicinity, till I was joined by them and the troops that were behind; and then taking them along with me, I went on to Kûsh-Gûmbez,[2] lower down than Jûi-Shâhi. Nâsir Mirza having made some provision for his dependants and followers from the country under his government, staid behind by permission at Kûsh-Gûmbez, promising to follow in two or three days.

Marching from Kûsh-Gûmbez, when we halted at Germ-cheshmeh,[4] they brought me one Pekhi,[5] a head man of the Gagiânis, who had been used to accompany the caravans. I carried on Pekhi along with me, in order to have the benefit of his information concerning the road and the country. In one or two marches I passed Kheiber, and encamped at Jâm.[6] I had heard of the fame of Gûrh-Katri,[7] which is one of the holy places of the Jogis of the Hindûs, who come from great distances to cut off their hair and shave their beards at this Gûrh-Katri. As soon as I reached Jâm, I immediately rode out to visit Bekrâm.[8] I saw its stupendous tree, and surveyed the country. Our guide was Malek Bu-saîd Kamari. Although we asked particularly for Gûrh-Katri, he did not show us where it was; but just as we had returned, and were close upon the camp, he said to Khwâjeh Muhammed Amîn that Gûrh-Katri was close upon Bekrâm, but that he did not mention it, for fear of being obliged to go among its narrow caverns and dangerous recesses. The Khwâjeh exclaiming against him as a perfidious rogue, immediately repeated what he had said; but as the day was nearly spent, and the way long, I could not go back to visit it. Passes Kheiber.

At this station I held a consultation about passing the river Sind, and which way I should direct my course. Bâki Cheghâniâni advised that, instead of crossing the Sind, we should proceed against a place called Kohat, which lay at the distance of two marches; that the inhabitants were very numerous and very wealthy; and he produced some Kâbul men, who confirmed what he had stated. I had never even heard Marches against Kohat,

[1] Mr Forster, in travelling the same road, in an opposite direction, was sensible of a similar change. "About three miles to the eastward of Gundamouck, crossed a small fordable river, running to the southward. The air, hitherto hot, had assumed at this place a sudden coldness; not effected by any change of weather, but, agreeably to the observation of travellers, peculiar to the climate of this part of the country. The shortness of our stay would not permit an inquiry into the cause of this quick transition; nor could any of my associates, though used to the road, give a reasonable account of it."—Forster's *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 68, second edition. The cause is no doubt to be found in the sudden rise of the ground, and the position of the neighbouring mountains.

[2] The Bird's Dome. [3] The royal or chief stream. [4] Hot-spring.

[5] Probably so called from the town of Muhammed Pekh, afterwards mentioned.

[6] Now Jâmrûd, printed Timrood in Forster by an error of the press.

[7] Gûrh-Katri is now the site of the grand Caravanserai at Peshâwer.

[8] Bekrâm is now called Peshâwer. See the Ayeen Akbari, vol. I. p. 165.

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the name of the place; but as my principal man, and the one who possessed most influence and authority in the army, had urged our marching against Kohat, and had even called in evidence to fortify his opinion, I gave up my plan of crossing the river and invading Hindustân; and therefore, marching off from Jâm, and crossing the Bareh,[1] advanced up to Muhammed Pekh and Abâni, and encamped not far from them.

At this time the Gagiâni Afghans were in Peshâwer, and, from dread of my army, they had all drawn off to the skirts of the mountains. At this encampment, Khosrou Gagiâni, one of the chief men of the Gagiânis, came and paid me his respects. I took him to accompany Pekhi, in order to have the benefit of their advice regarding the roads and the country.

and plunders it.

Marching from this station about midnight, and passing Muhammed Pekh at sunrise, we fell upon and plundered Kohat[2] about luncheon-time,[3] and found a great many bullocks and buffaloes. We also made a great many Afghans prisoners; but the whole of these I sought out and released. In their houses immense quantities of grain were found. Our plundering parties pushed on as far as the river Sind, on the banks of which they staid all night, and next day came and rejoined me. The army, however, found none of the riches which Bâki Cheghâniâni had led us to expect; and Bâki was greatly ashamed of his expedition.

Having tarried two days and two nights in Kohat, and called in our plundering detachments, we held a council to consider whither we should now bend our course; and it was determined that we should ravage the lands of the Afghans in Bânu and Bangash, and then return back by way of Naghz[4] and Fermul. Yâr Hussain, the son of the Deria Khan, who had come and joined me in Kâbul, and tendered his allegiance, requested that instructions might be issued to the Dilâzâks, the Yûsuf-Zais, and Gagiânis, to act under his orders, pledging himself that he would carry my power beyond the Sind. I granted him the authority which he required, and he took leave of me at Kohat.

Marches by Bangash.

Taking our departure from Kohat, we marched up[5] towards Bangash, by the route of Hangu. Between Kohat and Hangu there lies a valley, with a high mountain on each side, through which the road passes. When in the course of our march we had reached this glen, the Afghans of Kohat and that quarter having collected, occupied the hills that overhang the glen on both sides, raised the war-shout, and made a loud clamour. Malek Bu-saîd Kamari, who was well acquainted with the whole of Afghanistân, was our guide. He told us that, a little farther on, there was a small hill on the right of the road, and that, if the Afghans should pass from their mountain to that hill, which was detached, we might then surround them on all sides, and get hold of them. Almighty God accomplished our wishes. The Afghans having descended upon us, came and occupied that detached hill. I instantly dispatched a party of my men to take possession of the neckof ground between the mountain and the hill. I ordered

[1] The river of Peshâwer.
[2] The valley of Kohat lies south-east from Jâm. It is about twelve miles in diameter.
[3] Eleven o'clock.
[4] Or Naghr.
[5] The road from Kohat to Bangash is west by south.

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the rest of the army to attack the hill on both sides, and, moving regularly forward, to punish them for their temerity. The moment my troops advanced upon them, the Afghans found that they could not stand their ground, and in an instant a hundred or a hundred and fifty of them were brought down; of these some were brought in alive, but only the heads of the greater part of them. The Afghans, when they are reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth; being as much as to say, "I am your ox." This custom[1] I first observed on the present occasion; for the Afghans, when they could not maintain the contest, approached us with grass in their teeth. Orders were given for beheading such of them as had been brought in alive, and a minaret[2] was erected of their heads at our next halting-place.

On the morrow, I marched on and encamped at Hangu. The Afghans of that quarter had fortified a hill, or made it a *sanger*. I first heard the word sanger[3] on coming to Kâbul. They call a detached piece of a hill strongly fortified a sanger. The troops, immediately on coming up to the sanger, stormed and took it, and cut off a hundred or two hundred heads of the refractory Afghans, which they brought down along with them. Here also we erected a minaret of heads.

Marching from Hangu, the second stage brought us to a place called Til, at the bottom of the upper Bangash. The soldiers set out to plunder the Afghans of the neighbourhood. Some of them, who had made an attack on a sanger, returned without success.

Marching from thence, and proceeding in a direction in which there was no road, we halted one night, and on the day after reached a very precipitous declivity, where we were obliged to dismount, and descended by a long and steep defile, after which we encamped in Bânu.[4] The soldiers, as well as the camels and horses, suffered extremely in the steep descent and the narrow defile; and the greater part of the bullocks, which we had brought away as plunder in the course of this expedition, dropped down by the way. The common road was only a kos or two to our right; and the road by which we were conducted was not a horse-road. As the herds and shepherds sometimes drove their flocks of sheep and mares down this descent and by the defile, it was for that reason termed *Gosfend-liâr*, or the Sheep-road, *liâr* signifying a road in the Afghan language.[5] Our chief guide was Malek Bu-saîd Kamari; and the soldiers in general attributed the taking of this left-hand road to some design in him. Reaches Bânu.

Immediately on descending from the hills of Bangash and Naghz, Bânu appeared in sight. It has the appearance of a flat and level champaign. On the north are the hills[6] of Bangash and Naghz. The Bangash river[7] runs through the Bânu territory, and by means of it chiefly is the country cultivated. On the south are Choupâreh and the river Sind; on the east is Dînkôt, and on the west is Desht, which is also called Bâ-

[1] It is as old as the time of the heroes of the Shahnâmeh, or at least of Ferdansi.
[2] This barbarous custom has always prevailed among the Tartar conquerors of Asia.
[3] Sanger is now in constant use in Kâbul and Persia for an entrenchment or field-work.
[4] These last marches must have been southerly.
[5] It has still the same signification in the Pushtu.
[6] The Salt-range of Mr Elphinstone's map.
[7] The Koorrum of Mr Elphinstone's map.

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zâr and Tâk.[1] Of the Afghan tribes, the Kerâni, the Kivi, the Sûr, the Isa-Khail, and Niâzi, cultivate the ground in this country. On ascending into the Bânu territory, I received information that the tribes inhabiting the plain had erected a sanger in the hills to the north. I therefore dispatched against them a body of troops under Jehangîr Mîrza. The sanger against which he went was that of the Kivi tribe. It was taken in an instant, a general massacre ensued, and a number of heads were cut off and brought back to the camp. A great quantity of cloth was taken on this occasion by the army. Of the heads a pile of skulls was formed in the Bânu country. After the taking of this sanger, one of the chiefs of the Kivis, named Shâdi Khan, came to me with grass in his mouth, and made his submission. I spared and gave up to him all the prisoners who had been taken alive.

After the sack of Kohat, it had been resolved that, after plundering the Afghans about Bangash and Bânu, we should return back to Kâbul by way of Naghz or Fermul. After ravaging Bânu, however, persons perfectly acquainted with the whole routes represented to me that Desht was near at hand; that the inhabitants were wealthy and the roads good; and it was finally determined that, instead of returning by Fermul, we should plunder the Desht, and return back by that road.[2]

Arrives in the Isakhail country.

On the morrow, we marched thence, and halted on the banks of the same river, at a village of the Isakhail.[3] The Isakhail having had notice of our approach, had betaken themselves to the Choupâreh mountains.[4] I next marched from the village of the Isakhail, and encamped on the skirts of the Choupâreh mountains, while the skirmishers, ascending the mountain, stormed a sanger of the Isakhail, and brought back sheep, cattle, and cloths, in great quantity. The same night, the Isakhail Afghans attempted a surprize; but as I had been particularly cautious, they did not succeed. The whole army had been drawn up in battle-array, with right and left wing, centre and van, at their stations, armed and ready to maintain their posts; and there were foot-soldiers on the watch all round the camp, at the distance of rather more than a bowshot from the tents. In this manner the army passed the night. Every night I drew out the army in the same manner; and every night three or four of my most trusty chiefs in turn went the rounds about the camp with torches. I myself also took one round. Such persons as had not repaired to their posts had their noses slit, and were led about the camp in that state. On the right wing was Jehangîr Mirza, with Bâki Cheghâniâni, Shirim Tâghâi, Syed Hussain Akber, and several other Begs; on the left wing were Mirza Khan, Abdal Rizâk Mirza, Kâsim Beg, and some other Begs; in the centre there were none of the superior Begs, all of them were Begs of my own household; in the van[5] were Syed Kâsim, the chamberlain, Baba Ughul Alaberdi, and

[1] All through his operations in Bânu, Baber uses west for south, and the other points of the compass accordingly. Hence we have on the east Choupâreh and the Sind, on the north Dînkôt, on the south Desht or Damân. Tâk seems to be the Tuk of Mr Elphinstone's map; and Bâzâr is there laid down west of it. Tâk is said long to have been the capital of Damân.

[2] This road was more to the south, and more circuitous than the other.

[3] The Isakhail are one of the principal tribes of Afghans.

[4] The Choupâreh mountains seem to be the ridge between Largi and the Sind.

[5] Irâwel.

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several other Begs. The whole army was divided into six bodies, each of which, in its turn, was appointed to keep watch for one whole day and night.

Leaving the skirt of this mountain I marched towards the west,[1] and halted between Desht and Bânu,[2] in a tank in which there was no water. The soldiers here digging in the dry bed of a river, procured water for themselves, their flocks, mares, and cattle. By digging a gez or a gez and half into the dry channel, water was found; and it is not in this river alone that this occurs, but in all the beds of rivers in Hindustân, water is with certainty found by digging down a gez or a gez and a half. It is a wonderful provision of providence, that though in Hindustân there is no permanently running water except in the large rivers, yet that water should be found so near the surface in all the dry channels of the rivulets. Mode of finding water.

Marching from this dry river in the morning, the light cavalry moving forward without anything to encumber them, about afternoon prayers reached the villages of Desht.[3] The skirmishers immediately proceeded to ravage several of the villages, and brought off much spoil in raiment, flocks of sheep, and horses bred for sale. All this night till morning, and all next day till night, the beasts of burden, flocks of sheep, camels, and foot-soldiers of the army, which had been left behind on the road, continued to drop in. During the day that we remained here, the pillaging parties went out, and brought in numbers of sheep and oxen from the villages of Desht. Having also fallen in with some Afghan merchants, they took a great quantity of white cloth, aromatic drugs, sugar, both candied and in powder, the stout species of horses called *Tipchak*, and other horses which they had for sale. Midi Moghul dismounted Khwâjeh Khezer Lohâni,[4] who was one of the most noted and eminent of the Afghan merchants, cut off his head, and brought it to the camp. Shîrîm Tâghâi had gone out in the rear of the pillagers. He met an Afghân on foot, who struck him a blow with his sword that cut off his fore-finger. Reaches the Desht.

On the next morning we marched forward, and halted at no great distance, among the villages of Desht. Our next march was to the banks of the river Gomal. From Desht there are two roads that lead to the west. One of them is the road of Sangsurâkh, which reaches Fermul by way of Bûrek. The other is along the banks of the Gomal, which also conducts to Fermul,[5] but without passing Bûrek. The road along the Gomal is generally preferred. During the few days that I had been in the Desht, it had rained incessantly; and the Gomal had in consequence swelled so much, that it was with great difficulty that we found a ford by which we could pass. Persons who knew the road informed me that it would be necessary by the Gomal road to cross the river several times; which would be attended with extreme difficulty if the flood- Reaches the Gomal.

[1] That is, as explained, the south.

[2] Baber has now crossed the Kurum and Gambila, and is advancing south to the Desht or Damân. Between Damân and Bânu, and also between Damân and Isakhail, which Baber considers as part of Bânu, there is a halt without water by whichever way you go.

[3] Damân.

[4] Lohâni is the general name for most of the tribes of Damân, the greatest merchants of Afghanistân. The word is frequently written Nuhâni in all the copies.

[5] The first of these roads is probably the direct one by Kanigûram to Urghûn, the residence of the Fermulis. The one by the Gomal takes the Pass of Gholeri.

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ing should continue as high as it then was. Some hesitation still remained respecting the propriety of taking this route; nor were our opinions quite settled next morning when the drum beat for the march. It was my intention to have conversed over the matter as we mounted our horses, and to have followed the route that should then ap-
7th March 1505. pear best. It was the *Ide-fitr*,[1] and I was engaged in performing the ceremonial ablutions required on account of that festival, while Jehangîr Mirza and the Begs were conversing on the subject. Some of them suggested that the mountain on the west of the Desht, which they call the Mehter Sulemâni mountain,[2] lies between Desht and Duki; that if we could turn the extremity of the mountain we should come to a road that was level, although it might make a difference of a march or two. This plan meeting with their approbation, they directed the march of the army towards the edge of the mountain.[3] Before I had completed my ablutions, the army was in full march for the skirts of the mountains, and many had even passed the river Gomal. As none of us had ever been this road, we were perfectly ignorant of its length or shortness. It had been adopted on mere idle surmise. The stated prayers of the *Id* were recited on the banks of the Gomal. In this year the *nouroz*[4] fell remarkably near the *Ide-fitr*, there being only a few days between them. On the subject of this approximation I composed the following ghazel:—

(*Persian.*)—They are blest who see the new moon and the face of their beloved at the same time:
But I, far from the countenance of my beloved and her eyebrow, experience only sorrow.

(The concluding lines only are given.)

O Baber, deem thou the face of thy love the best of new moons, and an interview the best of Ids!
For a better day than that thou canst not find, were there a hundred festivals of Nouroz, and a hundred Bairams.

March southward. Leaving the banks of the Gomal, we directed our course towards the south, and marched along the skirts of the mountain. We had advanced a kos or two, when a body of death-devoted Afghans presented themselves on an eminence close upon the mountain. We instantly proceeded to charge them at full gallop; the greater part of them fled away; the rest foolishly attempted to make a stand on some small hills, which were on the skirts of the heights. One Afghan took his stand on a detached hillock, apparently because all its other sides being steep and a direct precipice, he had no road by which to escape. Sultan Ali Chanâk rode up, gained the summit, engaged and took him. This feat, which he performed in my presence, was the occasion of his future favour and advancement. In another declivity of the hill, Kutluk Kadam engaged an Afghan in combat, and while they grappled, both of them fell tumbling from a height of ten or twelve gez;[5] at last, however, Kutluk cut off his head, and brought it in. Kepek Beg grappled with another Afghan on a steep knoll, when both the com-

[1] The *Ide-fitr*, or *Greater Bairâm*, is the feast on the conclusion of the fast of the Ramzân. It commences as soon as the new moon of Shawal is seen.

[2] The mountain of the Prophet Solomon, called also the *Takhte Sulimân*, or Solomon's Throne.

[3] The army would seem to have marched by Pezú.

[4] The *Nouroz* is the feast of the old Persian new-year.

[5] Twenty or twenty-four feet.

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batants came rolling from the top midway down; but he also brought away the Afghan's head. A great many of these Afghans fell into my hands on this occasion, but I released them all.

Reaches the Sind.

After leaving Desht, we marched for three stages in a southerly direction, keeping close to the skirts of the mountain of Mehter Sûlemân; and at the close of the fourth halted at Belah,[1] a small district lying on the banks of the Sind, and which is dependant on Mûltân. The inhabitants in general took directly to their boats, and crossed the river; a few plunged into the water, and crossed it by swimming. Opposite to this village there was an island,[2] on which we observed several natives who had not passed over to the mainland; many of our troops drove their horses, all armed as they were, into the river, and passed over. Several of them were carried down by the stream; of my followers one was Kûl Ahmed Aruk, another the chief of my tent-pitchers[3] and house servants; of Jehangîr Mirza's followers, one was Kaitmâs Turkmân. In this island a considerable booty in clothes, furniture, and other property, fell into the hands of our men. All the people of that neighbourhood passed the Sind in boats, and went to the other side. A party that had passed immediately opposite to the island, trusting to the breadth of the river, drew their swords, and began to flourish them in an insulting way. Among those who had passed over to the island, one was Kul Bayezîd the cupbearer,[4] who alone, and on an unarmed horse, threw himself into the stream and pushed for them. The water on the other side of the island was twice as broad as on this side. After swimming his horse for the distance of a bowshot in the face of the enemy, who stood on the banks, it got footing and took ground, with the water reaching as high as the flap of the saddle. He stopped there as long as milk takes to boil; and having apparently made up his mind, seeing nobody following behind to support him, and having no hopes of receiving any assistance, he rushed with great speed on the enemy who occupied the bank: they discharged two or three arrows at him, but durst not stand their ground, and fled. Alone, on an unarmed horse,[5] devoid of all support, to swim across such a river as the Sind, to put the enemy to flight and occupy their ground, was a stout and manly feat. After the enemy had taken to flight, our troops passed over, and got a considerable booty in cloth, cattle, and other plunder. Although on several former occasions I had distinguished Kul Bayezîd by marks of favour, in consequence of the services which he had done, and of the bravery which he had repeatedly displayed, and had promoted him from the office of cook to be one of my tasters,[6] yet after this last courageous achievement, I was still more resolved to show him every possible mark of favour, and accordingly I did distinguish him in the most marked manner, as will be mentioned. In truth, he was worthy of every kind of attention and honour.

I made other two marches down the river Sind, keeping close to its banks. The soldiers had now completely knocked up their horses, from being perpetually on plundering parties, in the course of which too they had gained no booty worth the while. It consisted chiefly of bullocks; in the Desht they had got some sheep, and in several

[1] Abul-Fazl says *on the outside of Terbilah.* [2] Arâli. [3] Mehter Ferâsh.
[4] Bekâwel—also a taster or butler. [5] Yedak often signifies a led horse.
[6] Bekâwel.

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places clothes, and such like articles. After leaving the Desht, they got nothing but bullocks. In our marches along the Sind, however, these were found in such plenty, that the meanest retainer in the army often picked up three or four hundred bullocks and cows; but from their very numbers they were obliged to leave the greater part of them behind.

Marches westward from the Sind.

For three marches I proceeded along the Sind, and separated from it right against the tomb of Pîr Kânu,[1] on reaching which we halted. As some of the soldiers had wounded several of the attendants at the tomb, I ordered one of the culprits to be punished, and he was hewn to pieces as an example. This tomb is very highly respected in Hindustân. It lies on the skirts of a hill which is connected with the mountain of Mehter Sûlemân.

Taking my departure from this tomb, I reached the top of a hill-pass,[2] where we halted. Marching from thence I gained Rûdi,[3] a place dependent on the country of Dûki. While moving from that station, Fâzil Gokultâsh, the Darogha of Sivi,[4] a servant of Shah Beg,[5] with twenty of his people, who had come to reconnoitre us, were seized and brought in; but as at that time we were not in bad terms, I dismissed them with their arms and horses.

Arrives at Chotiâli.

Leaving this station, the second march brought us to Chotiâli, one of the villages of Dûki,[6] near which we encamped. Though the horses had undergone great fatigue in the continual plundering parties in which they had been engaged, both before reaching the Sind, and along its banks, yet they had plenty of corn, and abundance of grain cut in the ear, so that they did not flag. But when we left the banks of the Sind, and moved up by Pîr Kânu, there were no longer green cuttings, or at least in two or three marches a very inconsiderable quantity of young corn was occasionally met with. I could not even get corn for my own horse. In the course of these marches, the horses of the army began to flag. In the stage at which we halted after leaving Chotiâli, I was even forced to leave my pavilion-tent[7] behind for want of carriage. While there, such a rain fell during the night, that the water reached above the knee among the tents, and I was obliged to sit on carpets piled on each other; in which melancholy plight we were forced to wear away the night till morning appeared.

Conspiracy in Baber's camp.

A march or two after, Jehangîr Mirza came up to me, and whispered in my ear, "I have a word to speak with you in private." I retired with him, and he said to me, "Bâki Cheghâniâni has been with me, and said, We intend to send the King, with seven, eight, or ten persons, over the Sind, and to raise you to the throne." I asked,

[1] The tomb of Pîr Kânu was probably near the Dera Ghâzi Khan, which lies nearly in lat. 29.50. The Durgah of Sakhi Sirwar is still a place of pilgrimage in that neighbourhood. The vicinity of Sivi, or Siwistan, is a proof that Baber must have gone so far down the Sind.

[2] The pass of Pawat lies above Sakhi Sirwar.

[3] Or it may be, "a stream belonging to the country," &c. as Leyden has it.

[4] Or Siwi.

[5] Shah Beg, Zûlnûn Beg's son, when expelled from Ghazni and Kâbul, had occupied the country below Sivistân. He finally conquered Sind.

[6] Dûki is not now known. A place of that name appears, however, in De l'Isle's map, as well as in Rennell's, not more out of its situation than the rest of the country. But it is probable that the whole country took the name of Dûki from lying among the hills, Dûki signifying *hill* in the language of the country, and may thus be used as opposed to the Desht, or *plain*.

[7] Khirgâh.

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"Who are his inferior associates in this plot?" He replied, "Bâki Beg himself mentioned it to me just now, and I know not any one else." I said, "You must endeavour to learn who the other conspirators are, as it is probable that Syed Hussain Akber, Sultan Ali Chehreh, and other Begs and retainers of Khosrou Shah, are concerned in the business." In truth, Jehangîr Mirza, on this occasion, conducted himself perfectly well, and in a brotherly manner; and his proceedings, on this emergency, were the exact counterpart of my own at Kehmerd, when this same worthless man, by his machinations, attempted to stir up discord and hostility between us.

We marched from this station, and when I reached the next halting-place, I dispatched a body of soldiers, whose horses were still capable of service, under the command of Jehangîr Mirza, to attack and plunder the Aughâns[1] in that vicinity. At this stage, the horses of the army began to be completely worn out, and every day two hundred horses, or three hundred horses, were obliged to be left behind. Many brave partizans, and some of note, were reduced to march on foot. Shah Mahmûd Oghlakchi, who was one of the officers of my household, and a man of eminence, having lost all his horses, was forced to trudge it on foot. This continued to be the state of the horses of the army till we reached Ghazni.

Three marches afterwards, Jehangîr Mirza having plundered a party of Afghans, brought in a few sheep.

He arrives at Ab-istâdeh.

In one or two marches more, we reached Ab-istâdeh,[2] when a wonderfully large sheet of water presented itself to our view. Nothing could be seen of the plains on the opposite side. The water seemed to join the sky; the hills and mountains on the farther side appeared inverted, like the hills and mountains on the farther side of the *mirâge*;[3] while the hills and mountains near at hand appeared suspended between earth and heaven. In this spot are collected the waters arising from the inundations occasioned by the rains of spring, in the valley of Katteh-waz, the dale of Zûrmet, the river of Ghazni, with the meadow of Kara-bagh, and all the superfluous water of the spring season, that arises from the swelling of the rivers, and that remains after the purposes of irrigation are answered.

Its singular appearance.

When I came within one kos of Ab-istâdeh, a singular phenomenon presented itself. From time to time, between this water and the heavens, something of a red appearance was seen, like the ruddy crepuscule, which again by and by vanished, and so continued shifting till we had come near it. When we came close up, we discovered that this appearance was occasioned by immense flocks of wild geese,[4] not of ten thousand or twenty thousand, but absolutely beyond computation, and innumerable; and in their flight, as they moved their wings, their red feathers sometimes appeared and sometimes were hid. But it was not wild geese alone; innumerable flocks of every species of bird settled on the banks of this water, and the eggs of countless multitudes of fowl were deposited on every corner of its banks. A few

[1] The Afghans are also called Aughâns, a different pronunciation of the same word.

[2] The Standing-Water. This lake lies in north latitude 32° 35′, south-west from Ghazni.

[3] The Seirâb, or *mirâge*, is the appearance presented in desert countries, during the extreme heat of the sun, when a lake seems to be close at hand. The objects around are seen inverted in it as in a piece of water.

[4] Baghlan-kaz. The description would lead us to imagine it was a flock of flamingoes.

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Afghans who had come here, and were employed in gathering these eggs, on seeing us, fled, and threw themselves into the lake; but a party of my men pursued them for nearly a kos, and brought them back. As far as these went into the water, it was nearly of one uniform depth, reaching up to the horse's belly; indeed, the water, apparently in consequence of the levelness of the plain, did not seem to acquire any great depth. On reaching the banks of the river of the plain of Katteh-waz, which falls into Ab-istâdeh, we halted. It is in general a dry river, not having any running water in it. I have passed its channel many times, but never found any water in it, except on this occasion, when, in consequence of the rains of spring, it was so flooded, that I could find no ford to pass; for though it is not very broad, yet it was extremely deep. All the horses and camels were crossed over by swimming. Many of the soldiers tied up their baggage in bundles, which they pulled over to the other side with cords. After passing this torrent, we proceeded by the way of Kuhneh-Nâni,[1] and, passing the water-mound of Sirdeh,[2] we reached Ghazni. Jehangîr Mirza there entertained us, provided us with victuals, did the honours of the place for a day or two, and presented me with his peshkesh.

Arrives at Ghazni.

This year the greater part of the streams and rivers came down in flood, so violently that we could get no passage over the river of Deh-Yâkûb. I therefore made them carry a boat, which I caused to be constructed in a tank of water, and launch it in the river of Deh-Yâkûb, opposite to Kamari,[3] and by means of this vessel all the army was passed over. In this way, after surmounting the hill pass of Sejâwend,[4] we proceeded directly forward, and passing the Kamari river in boats, reached Kâbul, in the month of Zilhajeh.

Reaches Kâbul, May 1505.

A few days before our arrival, Syed Yûsef Beg had been carried off by a cholic, and departed to enjoy the mercy of God.

Misconduct of Nâsir Mirza.

Nâsir Mirza, as was formerly mentioned, after providing his people with some necessaries from his government, had obtained leave to stay behind in Kûsh-Gumbez, promising to follow me in two or three days. But we had no sooner separated, than, under pretence of quelling the refractory spirit of the men of Dereh-Nûr, though in reality the matter of complaint was very slight, he dispatched his whole army towards Dereh-Nûr. Fazli, who was the general of the army, did not keep up proper discipline, nor act with sufficient circumspection, considering the strength of the fort of Dereh-Nûr, that it was surrounded with rice-fields, and situated on the brow of a hill, as has been described. For in that mountainous tract, and in sight of the fortified hill, he divided his force and sent out a detachment to plunder. The men of Dereh-Nûr, immediately sallying forth, attacked the plunderers who were scattered for pillage, and routed them; and no sooner were they discomfited, than the rest of the army, unable to maintain their ground, also took to flight. Many were slain, and many horses and arms taken. Such will always be the fate of an army that has a general like Fazli.

[1] Old Nâni. There are two Nânis; one the Old Nâni, to the north of the lake of Ab-istâdeh, on a river that discharges itself into it. The other Nâni is a march south of Ghazni.

[2] Sirdeh lies south-east of Ghazni.

[3] Kamari and Deh-Yâkûb are both in the Tippeh of Bûtkhâk.

[4] Sejâwend, in the district of Logar, south-east of Kâbul.

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Whether it was from this circumstance, or whether some disaffection influenced Nâsir Mirza, he did not follow me, but staid behind. Another circumstance, which had some influence on his conduct, was that I had bestowed Alengâr on Yûsef, and Alisheng on Behlol, the two sons of Ayûb, than whom more wicked, more seditious, more arrogant or haughty persons, were nowhere to be found. They also were to have made some levies from their governments, and to have come along with Nâsir Mirza to join me; but as Nâsir Mirza did not come, they also staid behind, and were the favourite bottle companions and friends of Nâsir Mirza all that winter.

During the course of this winter he made one excursion against the Turkolâni Afghans, and ravaged their country. All the Aimâks, Ils, and Uluses, from the upper country, who had descended into Nangenhâr and Lamghanât, he attacked and drove up, and then encamped on the banks of the Bârân. While Nâsir Mirza was on that river, and in its neighbourhood, the tidings arrived of the defeat and slaughter of the Uzbeks, by the inhabitants of Badakhshân, and of the general rising of that country, which took place in the following manner.

Revolt of Badakhshân.

Sheibâni Khan, having intrusted Kundez to Kamber-bi, proceeded himself to Khwârizm. Kamber-bi, for the purpose of securing the submission of the inhabitants of Badakhshân, had sent into that country Mahmûd, the son of Muhammed Makhdûmi; but Mobârek Shah, whose ancestors had been Begs of the Kings of Badakhshân, having rebelled, cut off the heads of Mahmûd, the son of Makhdûmi, and of several more of the Uzbeks, and seizing on the fort of Zafer, formerly known by the name of Shâf-tiwâr, fortified himself in it. He was the person who gave this fortress the name of Zafer. Besides this, Muhammed Korchi, who was one of the Korchis [1] of Khosrou Shah, and at this time had the command of Khamelingân, likewise rebelled; and having slain the *Sader* (or Justiciary) of Sheibâni Khan, with a number of Uzbeks in Rusta, fortified himself in Khamelingân. An inhabitant of Ragh, too, whose forefathers had been nobles in the court of the kings of Badakhshân, at the same time rose in Ragh. Jehângîr Turkomân, who was one of the retainers of Wali, the brother of Khosrou Shah, and who, during the late confusions, had separated from his lord, having collected some fugitive soldiers, besides stragglers and Aimaks, drew off and revolted. Nâsir Mirza, on receiving this intelligence, inspired with the ambition of acquiring Badakhshân, at the instigation of certain senseless and short-sighted flatterers, passed over into that quarter by the route of Shibertû and Abdereh, accompanied by some bodies of these Ils and Uluses, who, on being expelled from the other side of the hills, had come hither and were moving about with their whole families and property.

Nâsir Mirza attempts to subdue it.

Khosrou Shah resolves to return.

Khosrou Shah, after flying from Ajer with Ahmed Kâsim, had proceeded with him to Khorasân; and having met with Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza and Zûlnûn Beg by the way, they all went together to Heri, and paid their court to Sultan Hussain Mirza. I alone was the cause that these men, who for a series of years had been at open enmity with the Mirza, and had subjected him to many insults, the old sores of which were still rank-

[1] The office of Korchis seems to have corresponded to that of armour-bearer. In the Persian service, however, the term was applied to a body of cavalry, the most honourable as well as ancient military force of the kingdom.

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ling in his heart, now all went in such a state of distress and humility, to present themselves before him. For had I not deprived Khosrou Shah of his army and retainers, and reduced him to his present helpless condition, and had not I taken Kâbul from Mokîm, Zûlnûn's son, they never would have thought of going to wait upon the Mirza. Badîa-ez-zemân was only as dough in the hands of the other two, and never attempted to swerve from their advice. Sultân Hussain Mirza received them all in a gracious manner, without reminding them of their offences, and made them a variety of presents. After some time Khosrou Shah asked permission to return to his own country, alleging that, if he were allowed to go, he could now reduce the whole of it to subjection. As, however, he was without arms, and without any means of success for such an enterprize, objections were made to his return. On perceiving this, he only persevered with the greater importunity to be allowed to take his leave. As his importunities increased, Muhammed Berenduk retorted on him sharply; "When you had thirty thousand men, and the whole country in your hands, what did you effect, that now you are so anxious to set out with five hundred men, and the country in the hands of the Uzbeks?" However judicious the remonstrances made to him were, as his destined end was drawing near, he refused to listen to them. The urgency of his representations increasing, he was at last permitted to take his departure; and, attended by three or four hundred men, he advanced directly to the confines of Dehâneh.

At this very juncture Nâsir Mirza had passed over to the same quarter. He had a conference with Nâsir Mirza in the territory of Dehâneh.[1] The chiefs of Badakhshân had invited Nâsir Mirza alone, and did not wish for Khosrou Shah's return; but all the efforts that Nâsir Mirza made to prevail on him to separate from him, and proceed to the hill-country, had no influence on Khosrou Shah, who saw the Mirza's motives. Khosrou Shah's plan was to employ Nâsir Mirza's name as a cover to his designs, and after acting in his name so as to get possession of these countries, to seize and put him to death. As, however, they could not come to an understanding, each of them put his adherents in array in the territory of Ishkemish,[2] and having clothed them in armour, and drawn them out ready for action, they separated from each other, and Nâsir Mirza proceeded towards Badakhshân; while Khosrou Shah, having collected a naked and disorderly rabble, to the amount of a thousand men, good and bad, went to lay siege to Kûndez, and took post at Khwâjeh Châtâk, one or two farsangs distant from that city.

Khosrou Shah advances to Kundez,

After Muhammed Sheibâni Khan had taken Sultan Ahmed Tambol in Andejân, he had advanced against Hissâr; upon which Khosrou Shah, without either battle or effort, had abandoned his territories and fled. Sheibâni Khan reached Hissâr, in which was Shirim Chihreh with some brave soldiers, who, although deserted by their superiors, who had fled the country, would not surrender the fortress, but made every exertion for its defence. Sheibâni Khan left Khamzeh Sultan and Mehdi Sultan to conduct the blockade of Hissâr, and himself proceeded against Kundez; he conferred the government of Kundez on his younger brother Mahmûd Sultan, and himself

[1] Dehâneh, or Dehâbeh, south from Balkh.

[2] South-east from Kundez.

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without delay marched for Khwârizm against Chîn Sûfi. He had not yet reached Samarkand, when his brother Mahmûd Sultân died in Kûndez, on which he gave the command in Kûndez to Kamber-bi of Merv. When Khosrou Shah arrived, Kamber-bi was in Kundez; and instantly dispatched messengers to Khamzeh Sultan and the other Sultans who had been left behind, to call them in to his aid. Khamzeh Sultan having himself advanced as far as Serâi,[1] on the banks of the river Amu, sent on his army to Kundez, under the command of his sons and Begs, who marched on to battle the instant they arrived. Khosrou Shah could not stand his ground, and his gross body was not sufficiently alert for flight; so that Khamzeh Sultan's men unhorsed him, and brought him in as a prisoner. They also slew Ahmed Kâsim, his sister's son, Shirim Chehreh, and a number of his best troops. They then carried Khosrou Shah to Kundez, where they struck off his head, which they sent to Sheibâni Khan at Khwârizm. Khosrou Shah had no sooner entered the Kundez territory, than, as he had predicted, the conduct and demeanour of his old followers and retainers, who had taken service with me, was visibly changed. Numbers of them began to draw off, and marched for Khwâjeh Riwâj and the country in its vicinity. The greater part of my force at this time consisted of his old retainers. Several Moghuls of note went off, and the rest had begun to form combinations together; the moment the news of his death arrived, the spirit of discontent was quenched, as when water is thrown on fire.

is defeated,

and put to death.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 911.

In the month of Moharrem,[2] my mother, Kutluk-Nigâr Khânum, was seized with the pustulous eruption, termed Khasbeh,[3] and blood was let without effect. A Khorasân physician, named Syed Tabîb, attended her; he gave her water-melons, according to the practice of Khorasân; but as her time was come, she expired, after six days' illness, on a Saturday, and was received into the mercy of God. Ulugh Beg Mirza had built a garden palace on the side of a hill, and called it Bagh-e-Nourozi (the Garden of the New Year). Having got the permission of his heirs,[4] we conveyed her remains to this garden; and on Sunday, I and Kâsim Gokultâsh committed them to the earth. During the period of mourning for my mother, the news of the death of the younger Khan, my uncle Ilâcheh Khan, and of my grandmother Isan Doulet Begum, also arrived. The distribution of food on the fortieth day after the Khanum's decease was near at hand, when the mother of the Khans, Shah Begum, my maternal grandmother, Miher Nigâr Khanum, the widow of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, with Muhammed Hussain

Death of Baber's mother.

[1] Probably the Saliserai so often mentioned in the history of Tamerlane.

[2] The Muhammedan year 911, began on 4th June 1505.

[3] Khasbeh with a *soad*, signifies a spotted fever; also the measles. With a *sîn*, a slow fever. The different copies which I have consulted have a *sîn*.

[4] It will be observed, from several instances in these Memoirs, that the Musulmans are most scrupulously cautious not to erect a burial-place in any ground gained by violence or wrong.

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Gurkam Doghlet, arrived from Khorasân. Our lamentation and mourning now broke out afresh. Our grief for the separations we had suffered was unbounded. After completing the period of mourning, food and victuals were dressed and doled out to the poor and needy. Having directed readings of the Koran, and prayers to be offered up for the souls of the departed, and eased the sorrows of our hearts by these demonstrations of love, I returned to my political enterprizes which had been interrupted, and by the advice of Bâki Cheghâniâni, led my army against Kandahâr. We had marched as far as the auleng (or meadow) of Kush-Nadir, where we had halted, when I was seized with a fever. It came most unseasonably. Whatever efforts they made to keep me awake, my eyes constantly fell back into sleep. After four or five days, I got somewhat better.

Great earthquake.

At this period there was such an earthquake that many ramparts of fortresses, the summits of some hills, and many houses, both in the towns and villages, were violently shaken and levelled with the ground. Numbers of persons lost their lives by their houses and terraces falling on them. The whole houses of the village of Pemghân[1] fell down, and seventy or eighty respectable householders were buried under the ruins. Between Pemghân and Bektob, a piece of ground, about a stone's throw in breadth, separated itself, and descended for the length of a bow-shot; and springs burst out and formed a well in the place that it had occupied. From Isterghâch[2] to the plain, being a distance of about six or seven farsangs,[3] the whole space was so rent and fractured, that in some places the ground was elevated to the height of an elephant above its old level, and in other places as much depressed; and in many places it was so split that a person might have hid himself in the gaps. During the time of the earthquake, a great cloud of dust rose from the tops of the mountains. Nûr-alla, the lutanist, happened to be playing before me on the mandolin, and had also another instrument with him; he instantly caught up both the instruments in his hands, but had so little command of himself, that they knocked against each other. Jehangîr Mirza was at Tibah, in the upper veranda of a palace built by Ulugh Beg Mirza. The moment the earth began to quake, he threw himself down, and escaped without injury. One of his domestics was in the same story, when the terrace of this upper floor fell on him. God preserved him, and he did not sustain the slightest harm. Many rising-grounds were levelled. That same day there were thirty-three shocks; and for the space of a month, the earth shook two or three times every day and night. The Begs and soldiers had orders to repair the rents and breaches in the walls and fortifications of the fortress. By great diligence and exertions, in twenty days or a month, all the parts of the walls that had been damaged or thrown down were repaired and rebuilt.

Expedition against Kandahâr.

My expedition against Kandahâr had been delayed by my sickness and the earthquake; but as soon as I had regained my health, and restored the defences of the fortress, I immediately resumed my former plan. When we halted below Shnîz,[4] we had notyet finally decided between marching against Kandahâr, and sending out de-

[1] Or Peghmân. It lies south, or south-west, from Kâbul.
[2] Istergâch has been already mentioned as north from Kâbul.
[3] Twenty-four or twenty-eight miles.
[4] Shniz is north of Shashgou, to the west of the road between that and Lora.

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tachments to scour the hills and plains. I called Jehangîr Mirza and the Begs to a council of war; when Jehangîr Mirza and Bâki Cheghâniâni warmly supporting the proposition for proceeding against Kilât, it was settled that we should move and attack it. On reaching Tazi, I gained information that Shîr Ali Chehreh and Kuchek Bâki Diwâneh, with some others, had formed the plan of deserting. I instantly had them seized; and as Shîr Ali Chehreh had been notoriously guilty of various seditious and mutinous practices, both while in my service, and when in the service of others, and in various countries, he was delivered over to the executioner. Having deprived the others of their arms and horses, I let them go.

Kilât taken by storm.

When we reached Kilât,[1] without having arrayed ourselves in armour, or erected any engines for an attack, we instantly made an assault. The conflict was severe. Kuchek Beg, the elder brother of Khwâjeh Kilân, was a most courageous and gallant man, and had many a time wielded his sword with great effect in my presence, as has already been mentioned in these Memoirs. He had clambered up a tower on the south-west of Kilât, and had nearly gained the top, when he was wounded in the eye with a spear; and he died of this wound two or three days after Kilât was taken. Kuchek Bâki Diwaneh, who had been seized while attempting to desert with Shîr Ali, here atoned for that act of treachery, being killed with a stone under the rampart, while attempting to enter. Two or three other persons of note were killed. The fight continued in this way till about the time of afternoon prayers; when, just as the assailants, who had fought bravely, and exerted all their vigour, were almost exhausted, the garrison demanded quarter, and surrendered. Zûlnûn Arghûn had bestowed Kilât on Mokîm, and two of Mokîm's partizans, Ferâkh Arghûn and Kara Bûlût, held it at this time on his part. They came out with their bows, quivers, and scymitars hanging round their necks, and I forgave them. It was not my wish to treat this family harshly; for had anything severe been practised among us at a time when such an enemy as the Uzbeks was close at hand, what would not have been said, both far and near, by those who either saw or heard of it? As this enterprize had been undertaken at the instance of Jehangîr Mirza and Bâki Beg, I gave up Kilât to the charge of the Mirza, but he would not accept of it; neither would Bâki Beg undertake to keep it, though he could offer no satisfactory excuse for declining; so that all our exertions and our success in the assault and taking of the place, were completely thrown away.

Baber returns to Kâbul.

Proceeding southward from Kilât, we plundered the Afghans of Sawa-Sang, Alatâgh,[2] and that neighbourhood, and then returned to Kâbul. The night that I arrived in Kâbul, I proceeded to the fortress, leaving my tents and horses at the Chârbâgh. That same night a Khezelchi thief came and stole from the Chârbâgh a bay horse of mine, caparisoned as it was, and one of my own sabres.

Bâki Cheghâniâni discontented.

From the time that Bâki Cheghâniâni had joined me on the banks of the Amu, no person about me had been in higher estimation or authority than himself. Whatever was done or said, was said or done by his ascendancy; although I had never expe-

[1] Kilât, east of Kandahâr, in the vale of Ternek, and now called Kilât-e-Ghilji.

[2] Ala-tagh is the Hulla Tagh of Mr Elphinstone's map, south-east of Kilât. Sawa-Sang may be Torkani (black stone).

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rienced from him that duty which was to have been expected, or that propriety of conduct which is indispensably necessary. Indeed, on the contrary, he had done many unjustifiable acts, and shown me many marks of disrespect. He was mean, sordid, malicious, narrow-minded, envious, and cross-tempered. He carried his meanness to such a length, that when he broke up from Termez, and came and joined me with his family and property, though his own flock of sheep amounted to thirty or forty thousand, and though every march numbers of them passed before our face, while my servants and retainers were tortured with hunger, he did not give us a single sheep; at last, when we reached Kehmerd, he then gave them fifty sheep! Although he had himself acknowledged me as his King, he used to have the nagarets beaten before his tent. He liked nobody, and could see no one prosper. The revenue of Kâbul arises from a Temgha[1] (or stamp-tax). This Temgha I bestowed on him; and made him at the same time Darogha of Kâbul and Penjhîr; gave him the property-tax levied from the Hazâras, and conferred on him the office of Captain of my Guards, with absolute power in my household. Though distinguished by such marks of favour, he was never either thankful or contented; but, on the contrary, cherished the most wicked and dangerous projects of treason, as has been mentioned. I never, however, upbraided him with them, nor mentioned them to him. He constantly affected great chariness, and asked leave to go away. I gave in to his dissimulation, and in a tone of apology, refused him the permission he solicited.

Has leave to retire.

Every day or two he returned again, and used again to begin asking his discharge. His dissimulation, and eternal requests for liberty to depart, at length exceeded all bounds; so that, wearied to death with his conduct and teazing, I lost patience, and gave him his discharge. Disappointed and alarmed at this, he was now in the utmost perplexity; but to no purpose. He sent to remind me that I had made an agreement with him, that I would not call him to account till he had been guilty of nine offences towards me. I sent him by Mûlla Bâba a list of eleven grievances, the justice of which he was forced to acknowledge one after another. He submitted, and having obtained leave, proceeded towards Hindustân with his family and effects. A few of his own retainers accompanied him as far as Kheiber, and then returned back. Having joined the caravan of Bâki Gagiâni, he passed by Nilâb. At this time Yâr-Hussain Deria Khan was in Kecheh-Kot. This man had converted into a Sanad the Firmân which he had received from me on leaving Kohat; and having enlisted in his service a number of followers, who were partly Afghans of the tribes of Dilazâk and Yusefzai, and partly men of the Jat[2] and Gûjer tribes, his sole occupation now was ravaging the country, and robbing on the high-ways. Having got notice of Bâki's approach, he occupied the road, and took prisoner Bâki himself, and every person that was along with him.

His death.

He put Bâki to death, and took his lady. Though I gave Bâki his discharge, and did him no harm, yet he was caught in his own evil, and taken in his own toils.

[1] All animals, goods, clothes, &c. brought into the country, are stamped or marked, and a tax collected.

[2] The Jats compose the greater part of the agricultural population over the west of India, down to the mouth of the Indus.

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Do thou resign to Fate him who injures thee;
For Fate is a servant that will not leave thee unavenged.

Baber attacks the Turkomân Hazâras.

This winter we remained encamped in the Chârbâgh, during one or two of the first falls of snow. Down to the time of my arrival in Kâbul, the Turkomân Hazâras had been guilty of numerous insults and depredations; I therefore determined to make an excursion against them, and having gone into the city, and taken up my residence in the palace of Ulugh Beg Mirza, called Bostân-Serâ, I set out from thence in the month[1] of Shâbân, with the intention of making a foray on the Turkomân Hazâras. A detachment was pushed on, which made a sudden attack on a small party of Hazâras at Jangelik, in the mouth of the valley of Khesh, and dispersed them. A few Hazâras had lain in ambush in a cave near the valley of Khesh. Sheikh Dervîsh Gokultâsh had been in many an action along with me, held the office of Korbegi,[2] and was distinguished for the strength with which he drew the bow, as well as the sureness of his aim. He had gone up close to the mouth of this den, without suspecting anything, when a Hazâra from within shot him with an arrow under the nipple, and he died the same day. The great body of the Turkomân Hazâras had erected their winter habitations in the valley of Khesh; we now pushed forward to fall upon them.

The valley of Khesh is a particular kind of glen. For about half a kos from its mouth there is a strait, which makes it necessary for the road to pass along the face of the hill. Below this road is a precipice of fifty or sixty gez[3] perpendicular descent. Higher up than this road runs a pathway, by which one horseman only can pass at a time. Having passed this strait, we proceeded forward the same day till between noonday and afternoon prayers, when, not having come upon the enemy, we halted. A fat Shûterlûk[4] belonging to the Hazâras was found, brought in, and killed. We ate part of its flesh roasted, part of it sun-dried. I never eat such fine-flavoured camel's flesh; many could not distinguish it from mutton.

Marching thence next morning, we began to approach the place where the Hazâras had taken up their winter quarters. It was about the end of the first watch, when a man came from the advance with information, that, in a narrow defile, the Hazâras had fortified and strengthened a ford with branches of trees, and had stopped the advance of our troops, who were now engaged with them. On hearing this, we instantly quickened our pace, and when we had advanced a little way, reached the place where the Hazâras had made their stand, and were in hot action. That winter the snow lay very deep, which rendered it dangerous to leave the common road. The banks of the stream, about the ford, were all covered with ice; and it was impossible to pass the river at any place off the road, on account of the ice and snow. The Hazâras had cut down a number of branches of trees, with which they had fortified the opposite landing-place. They ranged themselves both on horseback and foot, as well in the chan-

[1] Shâbân commenced on the 28th December 1505.
[2] Was armour-bearer, or perhaps provost-marshal.
[3] Upwards of a hundred feet.
[4] The Shûterlûk is a species of camel which has very little hair, and is used for carrying burdens.

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nel as along the banks of the river, and maintained the fight by discharges of arrows. Muhammed Ali Mobasher Beg, one of the new Amirs, whom I had distinguished by particular marks of favour, and who was a very brave and able man, and a deserving young officer, had neglected to put on his coat of mail; as he advanced rather near to the place where the road was blocked up by the branches, he was struck by an arrow in the kidneys, and expired on the spot. We had come up hurriedly, and many of us had not taken time to put on our armour. One or two arrows passed whizzing by, and missed us. Ahmed Yûsef Beg, in evident alarm, said every time, "You should not have come here unarmed—you must go back. I have observed two or three arrows graze close by your head."—I replied, "Be you bold: as good arrows have many a time passed my head." At this very moment, on our right, Kâsim Beg, with his band, discovered a place where the stream could be crossed, and having gained a footing on the opposite side, no sooner pushed on his horse to the charge, than the Hazâras, unable to keep their ground, took to flight. The party that had got in among them, followed them in close pursuit, dismounting and cutting numbers of them down. In reward for his bravery on this occasion, I bestowed Bangash on Kâsim Beg as a provision. Khatim Korbegi also signalized himself on this expedition, on which account I gave him the office of Korbegi, which had been held by Sheikh Dervîsh Gokultâsh. To Kepek Kuli Baba, for his good conduct, I gave Muhammed Ali Mobasher Beg's office. Sultan Kuli Chinâk went in pursuit of them, but it was impossible to leave the road on account of the quantity and depth of the snow. I myself accompanied the pursuers; we fell in with the sheep and herds of horses of the Hazâras, near their winter habitations. I collected, for my own share, to the number of four or five hundred sheep, and twenty or twenty-five horses. Sultan Kuli, and two or three other persons who were at hand, were joint sharers. I myself went twice on a plundering party. This was one of the times. The other was also against these very Turkomân Hazâras, when, on my return from Khorâsân, I led a foray against them, and brought off numbers of their horses and sheep. The wives and little children of the Hazâras escaped on foot to the snow-covered hillocks, and there remained. We were rather remiss in following them. The day, too, was far spent; we therefore went and halted at the huts of the Hazâras.

This winter the snow lay very deep. At this place, off the road, it reached up to the horses' cruppers; the picket[1] appointed for the night-watch round the camp, were obliged to remain on horseback till day-break, in consequence of the depth of the snow.

Next morning we began to move back, and passed the night in the winter huts of the Hazâras, within the valley of Khesh. Marching thence we halted at Jenglik. Yarek Taghâi and some others having lagged a little behind, I directed them to proceed and take the Hazâras who had shot Sheikh Dervîsh. These wretches, infatuated by the blood on their heads, still remained in the cave. Our people, on coming up, filled the cave with smoke, took seventy or eighty Hazâras, and passed a greater number under the edge of the sword.

[1] Cheghdâwel.

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On finishing this inroad against the Hazâras, we moved down the river Bârân, into the vicinity of Ai-toghdi, for the purpose of collecting the revenue of Nijrow. While I remained at Ai-toghdi, Jehangîr Mirza waited upon me from Ghazni. Goes to Ai-toghdi.

At this time, on the 13th of Ramzan, I was attacked with so severe a lumbago, that for forty days I was unable to move, and was obliged to be turned from one side to the other by my people. Among the glens of the valley of Nijrow, that of Bechghan is the chief, and is the principal district in the valley. The headman, Hussain Ghaibi Agha, and his younger brother, were noted for their rebellious and contumacious spirit. I dispatched a division against him, under the command of Jehangîr Mirza, whom I made Kâsim Beg accompany. The detachment went, attacked, and took by storm, a rough stone fort, or sanger, which had been thrown up, and inflicted on part of them the punishment they deserved. In consequence of the pain I suffered from my lumbago, they made a sort of litter, in which I was conveyed from the banks of the Bârân to the city, where I was lodged in the Bostân-Serâ, and spent there some part of that winter. My first complaint was not removed, when I was seized with boils on my right cheek, which I got lanced. I also used laxatives for this disorder. His illness. 7th Feb. 1506.

On getting better I moved into the Chârbâgh. Jehangîr Mirza came thither to pay his respects to me. Yûsef and Behlol, the sons of Ayub, from the time they had joined the Mirza, had been instigating him to seditious and treasonable practices. I did not on this occasion find Jehangîr Mirza what he had formerly been. In the course of a few days he set out from his quarters, put on his mail, and went off hastily for Ghazni. Having taken Kila Baki, and killed several of the men in it, he completely plundered the place. He then pushed on, accompanied by all his retainers of every description, and directed his route through the midst of the Hazâras towards Bamiân.[1] Almighty God knows that neither from me, nor any person dependent on me, did he receive any provocation by word or deed to occasion such violent measures. I afterwards learned that he assigned the following cause for his flight. At the time when Jehangîr Mirza came from Ghaznin, and Kâsim Beg and the rest of the Begs went out to meet him, the Mirza had thrown off a falcon at a Bûdineh, or quail. When the falcon had overtaken it, and was in the act of seizing it in his pounces, the quail dashed itself on the ground. There was a cry, "Has he taken it or not?" Kâsim Beg observed, "When he has reduced his enemy to such a plight, he will not let him off. No doubt, he will take him." This expression struck him, was misinterpreted, and was subsequently one of the causes of the Mirza's elopement. They also noted and treasured up one or two expressions still more idle and unmeaning than even this. In a word, having acted at Ghazni in the manner that has been mentioned, they passed through the midst of the Hazâras, and repaired to the Aimâks.[2] At that time the Aimâks had left Nâsir Mirza, but were in a state of hostilities with the Uzbeks, and lived in Yai, Asterâb, and the summer habitations in that quarter. Defection of Jehangir Mirza. Causes of it.

[1] Bamiân, or Bût-Bamiân, lies north-west from Ghazní, among the hills.

[2] The Aimâks inhabit the hill-country west of the Hazâras, towards Herât. This, however, appears to have been only one wandering tribe of them.

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Sultan Hussain Mirza resolves to oppose Sheibâni Khan. Summons Baber.

At this very juncture Sultan Hussâin Mirza having come to a determined resolution to check the progress of Muhammed Sheibâni Khan, summoned all his sons to attend him. He also sent Syed Afzel, the son of Syed Sultan Ali Khâb-bin (the dreamer), to summon me. It appeared to me expedient to march towards Khorasân on many accounts. One of these was, that when a mighty prince like Sultan Hussain Mirza, who filled the throne of Taimur Beg, had collected his sons and Amîrs from every quarter, with the intention of attacking so formidable an enemy as Sheibâni Khân, if others went on their feet, it became me to accompany them were it on my head; if others went against him with sticks, it was my business to go were it only with stones. Another consideration was, that Jehangîr Mirza having shown his hostility, it became necessary either to remove his animosity, or to repel his aggressions.

Sheibâni takes Khwârizm.

This year Sheibâni Khan besieged Hussain Sûfi in Khwârizm, which he took after a siege of ten months. In the course of this siege a number of desperate actions were fought, and the men of Khwârizm displayed many deeds of consummate bravery, and distinguished themselves by their gallant exertions; they discharged their arrows with so much force that often they pierced through both shield and mail, and frequently right through the double cuirass. For ten months was the siege protracted; when, there being no hope of succour from any quarter, some mean and dastardly wretches among the inhabitants, having lost heart, entered into an understanding with the Uzbeks, and introduced them into the fortress. Hussain Sûfi, on hearing the alarm, repaired to the spot, charged those who had scaled the walls, and while in the act of driving them out, was struck with an arrow, and died. This put an end to the contest, and the place was taken. The blessing of God rest on Hussain Sûfi, who never hesitated for a moment, in the midst of danger and distress, gallantly to expose his life at the call of duty.

Sheibâni Khan having committed Khwârizm to the care of Kuchek-bi,[1] himself repaired to Samarkand.

Death of Sultan Hussain Mirza.

In the latter part of this year, in the month of Zilhajeh,[2] Sultan Hussain Mirza, when he had collected an army for the purpose of acting against Sheibâni Khân, and had advanced as far as Baba Ilâhi, was called to the mercy of God.

His birth and extraction. 1438-9.

He was born in the year 842 at Heri, in the time of Shah-rokh Mirza. Sultan Hussain was the son of Mansûr, the son of Baikrâ, the son of Omer-Sheikh, the son of Amîr Taimur. Mansûr Mirza and Baikra Mirza never mounted the throne. His mother was Firôzeh Begum, a grand-daughter of Taimur Beg. Sultan Hussain Mirza was also the grandson of Mirânshah. He was of exalted birth, and of royal race by both parents. There were born of that marriage, two brothers and two sisters of the full blood, Baikra Mirza, Sultan Hussain Mirza, Aka Begum, and another sister, whom Ahmed Khan married. Baikra Mirza, though elder than Sultan Hussain Mirza, served under him, but did not attend in the Diwân. Except when in the Diwân, they were accustomed to sit on the same cushion. The younger brother bestowed on him

[1] It will be remarked, that several of Sheibâni's officers are called Bi, as Kamber-bi, Kuchek-bi, &c. This title of Bi is still given among the Uzbeks to the heads of families or clans.

[2] The 1st of Zilhajeh corresponds to the 25th April, 1506.

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the government of Balkh, which he held many years. He had three sons, Sultan Muhammed Mirza, Sultan Weis Mirza, and Sultan Iskander Mirza. Aka Begum was the Mirza's elder sister; she married Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the grandson of Mirânshah. She had one son named Kuchek Mirza, who at first entered into the service of his maternal uncle; but afterwards, renouncing the military life, devoted himself to letters. He is said to have become very learned, and had a genius for poetry. The following is one of his Rubais (quatrains):—

(*Persian.*) For a while I plumed myself on my virtuous life;
I vaunted myself on my adherence to the rules of piety:
When Love came, what became of Virtue and Devotion?
Thanks be to God that I have proved myself.

There is a coincidence between these lines and a quatrain of the Mûlla (Jami's). Latterly he went on the pilgrimage of Mekka. Bedkeh Begum was the Mirza's younger sister. She was given in marriage to Ahmed Khan,[1] the Khan of Haji Terkhân. She had two sons by him, who came to Heri, and were long in the Mirza's service.

His figure.

He had strait narrow eyes, his body was robust and firm;[2] from the waist downwards he was of a slenderer make. Although he was advanced in years and had a white beard, he dressed in gay-coloured red and green woollen clothes. He usually wore a cap of black lamb's skin, or a kilpak.[3] Now and then, on festival days, he put on a small turban tied in three folds,[4] broad and showy, and having placed a plume nodding over it, went in this style to prayers.

His manners and character.

On first mounting the throne, he took it into his head that he would cause the names of the twelve Imams[5] to be recited in the Khûtbeh. Many used their endeavours to prevent him. Finally, however, he directed and arranged everything according to the orthodox Sunni faith. From a disorder in his joints, he was unable to perform[6] his prayers, nor could he observe the stated fasts. He was a lively, pleasant man. His temper was rather hasty, and his language took after his temper. In many instances he displayed a profound reverence for the faith; on one occasion, one of his sons having slain a man, he delivered him up to the avengers of blood to be carried before the judgment-seat of the Kazi. For about six or seven years after he first ascended the throne, he was very guarded in abstaining from such things as were forbidden by the law; afterwards he became addicted to drinking wine. During nearly forty years that he was King of Khorasân, not a day passed in which he did not drink after midday prayers; but he never drank wine in the morning. His sons, the whole of the soldiery, and the town's-people, followed his example in this respect, and seemed to vie with each other in debauchery and lasciviousness. He was a brave and valiant man.

[1] Ahmed Khan, the son of Hâji Terkhân, chief of the Kozaks.—*Leyden.* The reading in the text is that of the other manuscripts. Hâji-terkhân is the proper name of Astrakhan.

[2] Literally, he was lion-bodied. [3] The Kilpâk is the Turkomân cap. [4] Seh-pich.

[5] This was a proof that he was then a Shia. The Khûtbeh is the prayer for the prince.

[6] The word *perform* may be excused in speaking of Musulman prayers, as a great part of them consists in ceremonial bendings and prostrations. Hence the disease in his joints made it difficult for Sultan Hussain Mirza to observe the injunctions of the law.

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He often engaged sword in hand in fight, nay, frequently distinguished his prowess hand to hand several times in the course of the same fight. No person of the race of Taimur Beg ever equalled Sultan Hussain Mirza in the use of the scymitar. He had a turn for poetry, and composed a Diwân. He wrote in the Tûrki. His poetical name was Hussaini. Many of his verses are far from being bad, but the whole of the Mirza's Diwân is in the same measure. Although a prince of dignity, both as to years and extent of territory, he was as fond as a child of keeping butting rams, and of amusing himself with flying pigeons and cock-fighting.

His wars and battles.

One of his exploits was on the banks of the river of Kûrkân,[1] when he plunged into the stream, passed it, and completely routed a party of Uzbeks. Another was, when Sultan Abûsaîd Mirza nominated Muhammed Ali Bakhshi to the command of three thousand horse, with instructions to proceed without halt, and attack him by surprise, Sultan Hussain Mirza advanced to meet them with only sixty men, fell upon them straightway, and fairly discomfited them. This was a gallant and most distinguished achievement of Sultan Hussain Mirza. On another occasion he had a battle with Sultan Mahmud Mirza at Asterâbâd, and defeated him. He had also another fight at Asterâbâd, when he beat Hussain Turkomân Saadlîmek. Another of his battles was after mounting the throne, when he engaged and routed Yâdgâr Muhammed Mirza in Khabârân. Another of his exploits was when, passing the bridge of the Murghâb,[2] he proceeded by forced marches, and surprised and took prisoner Yâdgâr Muhammed Mirza, who was lying in a state of intoxication in the Bagh-Tâghân (or Raven Garden),[3] after a debauch, and by this success gained the undisturbed possession of Khorasân. Another of them was at Chekman, in the vicinity of Andekhûd and Shaberghân,[4] where he encountered and defeated Sultan Mahmûd Mirza. Another of them was, when Ababeker Mirza came from Irâk, accompanied by the Turkomâns of the Black-sheep,[5] defeated Ulugh Beg Mirza in Takâneh and Khimâr, and took Kâbul, which he abandoned in consequence of the confusions in Irâk, passed by way of Kheiber, traversed the territory of Khûshâb[6] and Multân, and entered Sîvî,[7] from whence he proceeded and occupied Kermân; but being unable to retain it, he again entered the country of Khorasân, when Sultân Hussain Mirza came upon him by surprise, and took him prisoner. On another occasion, at the bridge of Chirâgh, he defeated Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, one of his own sons. At another time he raised an army, with which he besieged Kundez, but was forced to abandon the siege; on another occasion he besieged Hissâr, but not succeeding, he raised the siege. Another of his enterprizes was when he marched against Zûlnûn Beg's country; the Darogha of Bîst surrendered the place,[8] but he could effect nothing farther, and was obliged even to abandon Bîst and retreat. Sultan Hussain Mirza, though a great and warlike prince,

[1] Kurkân, Gurgân, or Jorjân, lies on the south-east of the Caspian.
[2] Pule-murghâb—perhaps the name of a village.
[3] At Herât.
[4] About 60 miles west from Balkh.
[5] Karakuelûk.
[6] East of the Sind.
[7] Siwistân.
[8] This transaction, and the one which follows it, have been already mentioned in the Memoirs. Bost, or Bîst, is the Kila Beast of Mr Elphinstone's map, on the left bank of the Helmend, below its junction with the Arghand-âb. This expedition of Sultan Hussain Mirza was against Zemin Dâwer, which is higher up on the opposite bank of the Helmend, and river of Siâhbend.

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accomplished nothing worthy of his dignity in these two or three enterprizes, and returned baffled. At another time, he engaged and defeated in the Auleng-Nîshîn his son Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, who had advanced, accompanied by Shah Shujâ Beg, the son of Zûlnûn Beg. On this occasion a singular coincidence occurred. Sultan Hussain Mirza, having divided his army, had sent the main body towards Asterâbâd. On the very day of the battle, the army that had been dispatched against Asterâbâd returned and joined him: and the very same day, Sultan Masaûd Mirza, from whom Hissâr had been wrested by Baiesangher Mirza, made his appearance from another quarter, and also joined Sultan Hussain Mirza.

His dominions.

His kingdom was that of Khorasân, which on the east has Balkh, on the west Bostam and Damghân, on the north Khwarizm, and on the south Khandahâr and Sîstân. After the fine city of Heri fell into his hands, his whole time was devoted, night and day, to revelry and enjoyment; and there was not one of his servants or dependents, who, in like manner, did not give himself up to pleasure and riot. The cares of ambition and the necessary toils of military discipline were consequently neglected. Hence, down to the time of his death, his dominions and servants went on diminishing, without getting any corresponding increase.

His children.

He had fourteen sons and eleven daughters who lived. The eldest of his sons was Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, whose mother was the daughter of Senjer Mirza of Merv.

Badia-ez-zeman Mirza.

Another was Shah Gherîb Mirza. Although his form was not prepossessing, he had a fine genius; and though his constitution was feeble, he had a powerful style. He assumed the poetical name of Ghûrbi, and composed a diwân. He wrote verses both in Persic and Tûrki. The following is his:—

Gherîb Mirza.

> I had a passing glance of a fairy face, and became inflamed to madness with her love;
> What is her name, where her abode, I know not.

Sultan Hussain Mirza gave Shah Gherîb the government of Heri for some time. He departed in his father's lifetime, leaving no son nor daughter.

Muzaffer Hussain Mirza.

Another was Muzaffer Hussain Mirza, who was the favourite son of Sultan Hussain Mirza, although there was nothing in his manners or conduct to justify such marked favour. In consequence of the decided partiality which he showed to this son, several of the others were induced to revolt. Khadîjeh Begum, who had been a concubine of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza's, was the mother of the two last-mentioned Mirzas. She had likewise a daughter by the Mirza, named Ak Begum.[1]

Abul Hassan and Kepek Mirzas.

Another of his sons was Abul Hassan Mirza. Another was Kepek Mirza,[2] as he was generally called, but his name was Muhammed Mokhsin Mirza. The mother of these two was Latîfeh Sultan Aghâcheh.

Abu Terâb Mirza.

Another was Abu Terâb Mirza, who in early life was highly extolled for his rapid acquirements. When his father's illness increased and became extreme, having heard something to alarm him, he went to Irâk, accompanied by his younger brother, Muhammed Hussain Mirza. He there renounced the profession of arms, and betook himself to that of a dervîsh. I never heard of him afterwards. He had one son, Sohrâb

[1] The Fair Princess.—*Leyden.*

[2] Kepek Mirza, from being round-shouldered.—*Leyden.*

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Mirza, who was in my service when I defeated Khamzeh Sultan, Mehedi Sultan, and the other Sultans, and took Hissâr. This young man was blind of one eye. He was singularly ill-favoured, and his manners corresponded with his looks. Having been guilty of something extremely reprehensible, he found it impossible to remain in my employment, and repaired to Asterâbâd, where Najem Sâni inflicted on him condign punishment for his misdeeds.

Muhammed Hussain Mirza.

Another son was Muhammed Hussain Mirza. He and Shah Ismâel[1] were once imprisoned in the same place in Irâk, at which time he became one of Shah Ismâel's disciples, and from that period was a rank heretic.[2] Although his father, his elder brother, and his younger brothers, were all orthodox Sûnnis, he continued a blind and confirmed Rafzi (heretic) till his death in Asterâbâd. His character stood high as a brave and courageous warrior; but I never heard any of his exploits that deserve to be recorded. He had a genius for poetry; the following is his:—

(*Persian.*)—In the pursuit of what game dost thou range thus dust-defiled?
From the ardours of whose warm heart art thou thus bathed in perspiration?

Feridûn Hussain Mirza.

Another was Feridûn Hussain Mirza. He was a powerful archer, and an excellent marksman. They say that his *gûrdehieh* (or double-stringed bow) required forty mans[3] weight to make the ears meet. He was himself a man of bravery, but not fortunate in battle. He was beat wherever he engaged. At Rebât-e-Dodez, Feridûn Hussain Mirza, and his younger brother Ebn Hussain Mirza, engaged Taimur Sultan and Ubeid Sultan, and were defeated. On that occasion, Feridûn Hussain Mirza distinguished himself by his strenuous exertions. At Damghân, Feridûn Hussain Mîrza and Muhammed Zemân Mirza[4] fell into the hands of Sheibâk Khan. He killed neither of them, but set them at liberty. Afterwards, when Shah Muhammed Diwaneh fortified Kilât[5] for a siege, he repaired thither; and when the Uzbeks took Kilât, was made prisoner, and put to death. These three last-mentioned princes were all by Mingeli-bi Aghâcheh, an Uzbek concubine of the Mirza's.

Haider Mirza.

Another was Haider, whose mother was Paiendeh Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza. In his father's lifetime he for some time enjoyed the government of Meshhid and Balkh. At the siege of Hissâr, Sultan Hussain Mirza betrothed this son to the daughter of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza by Khanzâdeh Begum, concluded a peace, and raised the siege of Hissâr. By her he had one daughter, called Shâd Begum, who lived to grow up. She latterly came to Kâbul, and was given to Aadel Sultan. Haider Mirza also departed this life before his father.

Muhammed Maasûm Mirza.

Another was Muhammed Maasûm Mirza, to whom Kandahâr was given by his father, Sultan Hussain Mirza. On that occasion a daughter of Ulugh Beg Mirza was betrothed to this son. After she was brought to Heri he made a grand festival, and

[1] Shah Ismâel was the founder of the Sefvi dynasty in Persia. He was a rigid Shia, and a man of great learning and piety.
[2] That is, he became a Shîa.
[3] If the Tabrîz man, this would be about 290 pounds.
[4] A son of Badia-ez-zemân Mirza.
[5] This is the Kilât in Khorasân, famous as the birth-place of Nâdir Shah.

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erected a magnificent pavilion[1] for the occasion. Though he bestowed Kandahâr on this prince, yet everything that was done, be it black or be it white, was done by Shah Beg Arghûn; the Mirza had neither power nor influence in the matter; for which reason he would not continue at Kandahâr, but returned to Khorasân, where he died in his father's lifetime.

Another was Farekh Hussain Mirza, who did not reach any great age, and did not survive his younger brother Ibrâhim Hussain Mirza. Farekh Hussain Mirza.

Another was Ibrâhim Hussain Mirza, whose talents were thought respectable. He was eternally drinking the wine of Heri to excess, and died of hard drinking in his father's lifetime. Ibrâhim Hussain Mirza.

Another was Ebn Hussain Mirza, who, with Muhammed Kâsim Mirza, will be mentioned in the sequel. The mother of these five Mirzas was Papa Aghâcheh, who was a concubine. Ebn Hussain Mirza, and Muhammed Kâsim Mirza.

His eldest daughter was Sultanim Begum, who had no brother or sister of the full blood. Her mother, Juli Begum, was the daughter of one of the Begs of the Azaks. Sultanim Begum was very eloquent and ingenious, but her remarks in conversation were frequently rude and ill-timed. Her elder brother gave her in marriage to Sultan Weis Mirza, the son of Miângi Baikra Mirza, by whom she had one son and one daughter. This daughter was given to Isan Kûli Sultan, the younger brother of Dilbars Sultan, one of the Shâbân Sultans. Sultan Muhammed Mirza, on whom I have conferred the government of Kanûj, is the son of this marriage. Sultanim Begum set out along with her grandson for Hindostân, but expired at Nilâb on the journey. Her attendants returned back with her remains, while her grandson continued his route and joined me. Sultanim Begum.

Again, by Paiendeh Sultan Begum, Sultan Hussain Mirza had four daughters. The eldest of them was Ak Begum, who was married to Muhammed Kâsim Arlat, the grandson of Begah Begum, Baber Mirza's[2] younger sister. By him she had one daughter, named Karakûz Begum, (the black-eyed princess,) who was married to Nâsir Mirza. The second of the daughters was Kechek Begum. Sultan Masaûd Mirza was extremely attached to her, but whatever efforts he made, Paiendeh Sultan Begum, having an aversion to him, would not consent to the match. She was afterwards married to Mûlla Khwâjeh, who was of the family of Syed Ata. The third sister, Begah Begum, and the fourth, Agha Begum, were given to Baber Mirza,[3] and Sultan Murâd Mirza, the sons of his younger sister Rabîat Sultan Begum. Ak Begum. Kechek Begum. Begah Begum, and Agha Begum.

By Mangeli-bi Aghâcheh he had two daughters; the elder was given to Syed Abdalla Mirza, who was descended of the Syeds of Andekhûd, and the grandson, by a daughter, of Baikra Mirza. She had one son named Syed Berkeh. When I took Samarkand, he came and entered my service. He afterwards went to Urgenj,[4] and aspired to the sovereignty. The Kezelbashes[5] slew him in Asterâbâd. The name of

[1] Châr-tâk.

[2] Probably Baber Mirza, the grandson of Shahrokh Mirza, who was for several years King of Khorasân, and whose transactions in Khorasân, Persia, and Mâweralnaher, make a great figure in the history of the times. This able prince died in 1457.

[3] This is evidently a different Baber Mirza from the one last-mentioned.

[4] In Khwârizm.

[5] The Kezelbashes, or red bonnets, are the Persians, so called from a red cap worn by their soldiers.

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Fatimah Sultan. the other daughter was Fatimah Sultan. She was married to Yâdgâr Muhammed Mirza, who was of the line of Taimur Beg.

Sultan Nizâd Begum. By Papa Aghâcheh he had three daughters. The eldest was Sultan Nizâd Begum. Sultan Hussain Mirza gave her in marriage to Sekander Mirza, the younger son of his elder brother.

Begum Sultan. The second daughter was Begum Sultan, who was bestowed on Sultan Masaûd Mirza, after the loss of his eyesight. By him she had one son and one daughter. The daughter was taken charge of, and brought up by Apâk Begum, one of Sultan Hussain Mirza's ladies. She came to Kâbul from Heri, and Apâk married her to Syed Mirza. After the Uzbeks had put to death Masaûd Sultan, Begum Sultan set out with her son, for Mekka. I have received information that she and her son are now in Mekka. The third daughter was married to one of the Syeds of Andekhûd, well known under the name of Syed Mirza.

Aisha Sultan. He had one other daughter, called Aisha Sultan, by a concubine. Her mother was Zobeidah Aghâcheh, the grand-daughter of Hussain Sheikh Taimur, of the race of the Shâbân Sultans. This daughter was given in marriage to Kâsim Sultan. By him she had one son, Kâsim Hussain, who came to Hindostân, entered into my service, and was in the holy war against Rana Sanka. I gave him the government of Bedâûn. After Kâsim Sultan, she married Buran Sultan, one of his relations, by whom she had another son named Abdallah Sultan, who is at present in my service, and although young, acquits himself very respectably.

His wives and concubines. Begah Sultan Begum. The first wife whom he married was Begah Sultan Begum, the daughter of Senjer Mirza of Merv. By her he had Badîa-ez-zeman Mirza. She was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted Sultan Hussain Mirza beyond endurance, till the Mirza, driven to extremities by her insufferable humour, divorced her. What could he do? The Mirza was in the right;

(*Persian.*)—A bad wife in a good man's house,
Even in this world, makes a hell on earth.[1]

May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Moslem; and God grant that such a thing as an ill-tempered, cross-grained wife, be not left in the world!

Juli Begum. Another of his wives was Juli Begum, the daughter of one of the chiefs of the Azâks, by whom he had Sultanim Begum.

Sheher-bânu Begum. Another was Sheher-bânu Begum, the daughter of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, whom he married after he ascended the throne. At the battle of Chekmân, when all the Mirza's ladies descended from their litters and mounted on horseback, this princess, relying on her younger brother,[2] did not leave her litter nor take to horse. This was reported to the Mirza, who thereupon divorced her, and married her youngest sister, Paiendeh Sultan Begum. After the Uzbeks took Khorasân, Paiendeh Sultan Begum went to Irâk, where she died in distress.

Paiendeh Sultan Begum.

Khadijeh Begum. Another was Khadîjeh Begum, who had been a concubine of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, and born him one daughter, who was named Ak Begum (or the Fair Lady). After the defeat of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza in Irâk, this lady came to Heri, where

[1] From the Gulistân of Sadi.

[2] The battle of Chekmân was fought between Sultan Hussain Mirza, and Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, and the brother of Sheher-bânu Begum.

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Sultan Hussain Mirza took her, and being passionately fond of her, raised her from the rank of concubine to that of Begum. She finally managed him entirely according to her will and pleasure. It was by her intrigues that Muhammed Momin Mirza[1] was put to death. She was the chief cause of the rebellions of Sultan Hussain Mirza's sons. She regarded herself as a personage of profound sense, but was in truth a foolish, talkative woman She was, besides, heretical in her religious opinions. She had two sons, Shah Gherîb Mirza and Mozaffer Hussain Mirza.

Another of his wives was Apâk Begum, by whom he had neither son nor daughter. Papa Aghâcheh, who was so much attached to her, was her foster sister; having no children herself, she brought up the sons of Papa Aghâcheh as her own. She attended the Mirza with very tender care during his illnesses; indeed, no lady of his family equalled her in dutiful attentions. The year that I came to Hindustân she arrived from Heri. I showed her all the respect and kindness in my power. While I was besieging Chanderi, I learned that, at Kâbul, she had departed to the mercy of God. Apâk Begum.

Of Sultan Hussain Mirza's concubines, one was Latîf Sultan, by whom he had Abul Hassan Mirza, and Kepek Mirza. His concubines. Latîf Sultan.

Another of them was Mengeli-bi Aghâcheh, who was an Uzbek, and one of Sheherbânu Begum's people. She was the mother of Abu Terâb Mirza, of Muhammed Hussain Mirza, and of Feridûn Mirza. She had also two daughters. Mingeli-bi Aghâcheh.

Another of them was Papa Aghâcheh, the foster-sister of Apâk Begum. The Mirza having seen and liked her, took her; and she was the mother of five sons and four daughters, as has been mentioned. Papa Aghâcheh.

Another was Begi Sultan Aghâchech, by whom he had neither son nor daughter. Begi Sultan Aghâcheh.

He had many other concubines and women: those whom I have mentioned were the most eminent of his wives and concubines. There was no prince of his time who could be compared to Sultan Hussain Mirza in power, nor any city of Islâm like Heri; yet it is remarkable, that of his fourteen sons,[2] only three were legitimate. The consequences of vice and debauchery manifested their baleful influence on himself, his sons, his tribes, and hordes (ils and ulûses). It was one of the judgments which they drew down, that, of so large a family, in seven or eight years, not a trace or vestige remained, except only Muhammed Zeman Mirza.[3]

With regard to his Amîrs, one of them was Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs, who was descended of Jâkû Birlâs; his genealogy runs thus:—Muhammed Berendûk,[4] the son of Jehân-shah, the son of Jâkû Birlâs. He was first a Beg in the service of Baber Mirza, and was afterwards in high favour with Sultan Abusaîd Mirza,[5] who gave Kâbul to him and Jehangîr Birlâs, and appointed him governor to his son Ulugh Beg Mirza.[6] After the death of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, Ulugh Beg Mirza formed designs to rid himself of the two Birlâs; but they, having discovered his plans, placed him under custody, moved away with their ils and ulûses, and marched for Kundez. On reach- His Amîrs. Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs.

[1] This young prince was the son of Badia-ez-zemân Mirza, the eldest son of Sultan Hussain Mirza.

[2] Badia-ez-zemân Mirza, Shah Gherib Mirza, and Mozaffer Hussain Mirza.

[3] This prince was in Baber's service in India.

[4] In the margin of the Tuzuk is the following note,—Muhammed Feridûn ben Muhammed Keli Khan ben Mirza Ali ben Berendûk Birlâs.—*Leyden.*

[5] The grandfather of Baber. [6] Afterwards King of Kâbul.

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ing the top of Hindû-kûsh, they sent back the Mirza in the handsomest manner to Kâbul; while they themselves proceeded on to Khorasân to Sultan Hussain Mirza, who gave them the most favourable reception. Muhammed Berendûk Beg was a very prudent and wise man, and incomparably the first in distinction at the court of Heri. He was extremely fond of his hawks, insomuch, that if he at any time learned that one of his hawks was dead or lost, he used to take the name of one of his sons, and say, "Had such a son died, or such an one broken his neck, I would have thought nothing of it in comparison with the death or loss of such a hawk."

Mozaffer Birlâs.

Another of his Amîrs was Mozaffer Birlâs, who attended him in all his wars. I know not in what manner he contrived to ingratiate himself so much with the Mirza, but that prince loaded him with favours. Such was the Mirza's familiarity with him, that in his first campaigns they entered into an agreement, that whatsoever country should be conquered, four parts should belong to the Mirza and two to him. A strange agreement! How could it possibly answer for a monarch to adopt a servant as the partner of his sovereignty? Such an agreement could never have answered even with his own brother or son. How could it succeed with one of his Amîrs or Captains? After he had mounted the throne he became ashamed of this compact, but to no purpose. This wrong-headed man, singularly distinguished as he had been by the Mirza's favour, only presumed the more on it, and behaved factiously. The Mirza, not being able to retain him within the limits of his duty, is said finally to have poisoned him. The omniscient God knows with truth what befell him.

Ali Shîr Nawâi.

Another of them was Ali Shîr Beg Nawâi, who was not so much his Amîr as his friend. In their youth they had been schoolfellows, and were extremely intimate. I know not for what offence he was driven from Heri by Sultan Abusaîd Mirza; but he went to Samarkand, where he remained for several years, and was protected and patronised by Ahmed Haji Beg. Ali Shîr Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners; and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune: but this was not the case; they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same refined manner when he was in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shîr Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Tûrki language, no man has written so much and so well. He composed six mesnevis in verse, five in imitation of the Khamsah[1] (of Nizâmi), and one in imitation of the Mantik-ut-teir[2] (the Speech of the Birds). This last he called Lissân-ut-teir (the Tongue of the Birds). He also composed four diwâns of ghazels (or odes), entitled, The Singularities of Infancy, The Wonders of Youth, The Marvels of Manhood, and The Benefits of Age.[3] He likewise composed several other works, which are of a lower class and inferior in merit to these. Of that number is an imitation of the Epistles of

[1] The Khamsah, or Five Poems of Nizâmi, are the *Mokhzin-e-asrâr*, or Magazine of Secrets; *Khusrou-Shirîn*, the Loves of Khosrou and Shirin; *Leili-Mejnun*, the Loves of Leili and Mejnun; *Sekander-nameh*, the Alexandriad; and the *Khirid-nameh*, Aristotle's Instructions to Alexander. Some copies have the *Heft-Paiker*, or Seven Statues, instead of the Khirid-nameh. Nizâmi, who was one of the most eminent poets of Persia, died about A.D. 1180.

[2] The *Mantik-ut-teir* was written by the celebrated Sheik Ferîd-ed-dîn Atâr, better known in Europe as the author of a Pend-nâmeh.

[3] Gherâib-û-Sigher, Newader-û-Shehâb, Bedaia-ul-Waset, and Fewaid-ul-Keber.

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Moulâna Abdal-rahman Jâmi, which he partly wrote and partly collected. The object of it is to enable every person to find in it a letter suited to any business on which he may desire to write. He also wrote the Mizân-al-Auzân (the Measure of Measures) on Prosody, in which he is very incorrect; for, in describing the measures of twenty-four rûbais (quatrains), he has erred in the measures of four; he has also made some mistakes regarding other poetical measures, as will be evident to any one who has attended to the structure of Persian verse. He besides completed a diwân[1] in Persian, and in his Persian compositions he assumed the poetical name of Fâni.[2] Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but the greater part of them are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music; they are excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of ingenuity and talent than Ali Shîr Beg. Usta Kûli Muhammed, the celebrated Sheikhi, and Hussain Aûdi, who were so distinguished for their skill in instrumental music, attained their high eminence and celebrity by the instructions and encouragement of Ali Shîr Beg. Ustâd Behzâd and Shah Muzaffer owed the extent of their reputation and fame in painting to his exertions and patronage; and so many were the excellent works which owed their origin to him, that few persons ever effected anything like it. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family: he passed through the world single and unencumbered. At first he was keeper of the signet; in the middle part of his life he was invested with the dignity of Beg, and held the government of Asterâbâd for some time. He afterwards renounced the profession of arms, and would accept of nothing from the Mirza; on the contrary, he annually presented him with a large sum of money as an offering. When Sultan Hussain Mirza returned from the Asterâbâd campaign, the Beg came out of the city to meet him; between the moment of the Mirza's saluting him and his rising, he was affected with a sudden stroke, which prevented his getting up, and he was obliged to be carried off. The physicians were unable to render him any assistance, and next morning he departed to the mercy of God. One of his own couplets was highly applicable to his situation:—

(*Türki.*)—I perish of a mortal disease, though I know not what it is;
In this disease, what remedy can physicians administer?

Another of Sultan Hussain's Begs was Wali Beg, who was of the race of Hâji Seif-ed-din Beg. He was one of the Mirza's principal Begs, but did not long survive that Prince's accession to the throne. Wali Beg.

Another of them was Sheikh Hassan Taimur, who had been in high favour with Baber Mirza, by whom he was elevated to the rank of Beg. Sheikh Hassan Taimur.

Another of them was Neviân Beg. His father was of the Syeds of Termez, and his mother was of the same extraction. Sultan Abusaîd Mirza patronised him greatly, and he was the Beg who stood highest in the confidence of Ahmed Mirza.[3] When Neviân Beg.

[1] The Persian diwân is a series of poems, in which each letter of the alphabet in its turn furnishes the rhyme.

[2] Every Persian poet has a *takhellus*, or poetical name, which he introduces into the last couplet of each ode.

[3] One of Sultan Abusaîd's sons, and king of Samarkand.

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he went to Sultan Hussain Mirza, he was received by him with marked favour and promoted. He was a profligate, jolly, drinking, debauched libertine. Hassan Yâkub, from having been in his father's service, was frequently called Hassan Neviân.

Jehangîr Birlâs. Another was Jehangîr Birlâs, who was for some time joint governor of Kâbul with Muhammed Burendûk. He afterwards went to the court of Sultan Hussain Mirza, and was graciously received. His manners and deportment were remarkable for elegance and politeness. He was of a gay lively temper, and a great favourite of Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza. He never forgot that Prince's attachment to him, and always spoke of him in terms of praise.

Mirza Ahmed Ali Fârsi. Another was Mirza Ahmed Ali Fârsi.

Abdal Khâlik Beg. Another was Abdal Khâlik Beg, whose grandfather, Firoz-Shâh Beg, having received high marks of favour from Shahrokh Mirza, this nobleman was from him called Abdal Khâlik Firoz-Shâhi. He held the government of Khwârizm for some time.

Ibrâhim Duladâi. Another of them was Ibrâhim Duladâi, who was profoundly skilled in the revenue accounts, and in the course of public business. He was a second Muhammed Berendûk.

Zûlnûn Arghûn. Another was Zûlnûn Arghûn, a brave man. He distinguished himself above all the other young warriors, in the presence of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, by his use of the scymitar, and afterwards, on every occasion on which he went into action, he acquitted himself with distinction. His courage is unimpeached, but certainly he was rather deficient in understanding. He left the service of our Mirzas, and betook himself to Sultan Hussain Mirza, who conferred on him the government of Ghûr and the Nukderi country. With only seventy or eighty followers, he performed several very gallant exploits in that quarter. With but a handful of men he bravely vanquished and reduced large and numerous bodies of Hazâras and Nukderis; and these tribes were never so effectually settled and kept in order by any other person. Some time afterwards he also got the Zemîn-Dâwer.[1] His son Shah Shuja Arghûn, though a boy, accompanied his father in his expeditions, and sword in hand displayed great valour. Sultan Hussain Mirza, to gratify the father's feelings, gave Kandahâr to be held by the father and son in common. Afterwards, however, this father and son stirred up dissension between their sovereign and his son, and were the cause of dangerous rebellions. In the same year in which I took Khosrou Shah, and separated him from his adherents and retainers, I likewise took Kâbul from Mokîm, the youngest son of Zûlnûn Arghûn; in consequence of which, Zûlnûn and Khosrou Shah, being both reduced to great difficulties, repaired to Sultan Hussain Mirza's court. After the demise of Sultan Hussain Mirza, Zûlnûn rose to very high rank, and the countries on the Damenkoh (skirts of the mountains) of Heri, such as Ubeh and Chakhcherân,[2] were given to him. He was Badîa-ez-zemân's prime adviser, as Muhammed Berendûk Birlas was Mozaffer Mirza's. Though a man of courage, he was ignorant, and somewhat crazed.

[1] The country of Zemîn-Dâwer lies west of Kandahâr, on the right bank of the Helmend, reaching from Sirbesha, under the Hazâra hills, to the Helmend.

[2] Ubeh lies about one degree east of Herât; Chakhcherân lies four degrees east by south among the Hazâra hills.

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Had it not been for this craziness and ignorance, he never would have made himself the dupe of such gross flattery, and exposed himself to scorn in consequence. The story is this: When he was prime minister, and in the chief confidence at Heri, several Sheikhs and Mûllas came and told him that they had had an intercourse with the spheres, and that the title of Hezeber-ulla (the Lion of God) had been conferred on him; that he was predestined to defeat the Uzbeks, and make them all prisoners. He, implicitly believing all this flattery, tied a kerchief round his neck, and returned thanks to God. When Sheibâk Khan fell upon the Mirzas in the territory of Badghîs, prevented their junction and discomfited them, Zûlnûn was in Kara Rebât with a hundred or a hundred and fifty men, and relying on this prediction, boldly kept his ground, and made head against Sheibâk Khan. No sooner had Sheibâk's numerous troops come up, than this small body was surrounded and taken on the spot. Zûlnûn was made prisoner and put to death. He was a pious and orthodox believer, never neglected saying the appointed prayers, and frequently repeated the supererogatory ones. He was madly fond of chess; if a person played at it with one hand, he played at it with his two hands.[1] He played without art, just as his fancy suggested. He was the slave of avarice and meanness.

Derwîsh Ali Beg.

Another of the nobles was Derwîsh Ali Beg, who was the younger brother of the full blood of Ali Shîr Beg, and for some time held the government of Balkh, which he managed creditably. He was, however, a muddle-brained, wrong-headed, dull man. Sultan Hussain Mirza, when he first advanced against Kundez and Hissâr, was baffled through his stupidity, and forced to retreat; on which account he was dismissed from his government of Balkh. In the year 916, when I went to Kundez, he joined me. He was a buffoon, and a silly fellow, as unfit for the exercise of dignified authority, as incapable of the virtues of social life. The favour which he experienced was entirely on account of his brother Ali Shîr Beg. 1510.

Moghul Beg.

Another of them was Moghul Beg, who for some time possessed the government of Heri, and afterwards got that of Asterâbâd. From Asterâbâd he fled to Irâk to Yâkub Beg. He was of a low turn, and eternally gambling with dice.

Syed Beder.

Another was Syed Beder, who was a man of great strength, and of very sweet manners. He was highly skilled in the elegant arts, and danced singularly well, exhibiting dances of the most uncommon sort, of which he was generally himself the inventor. He was always in the Mirza's immediate service, was his boon companion, and his comrade in his drinking-bouts.

Sultan Juneid Birlâs.

Another was Sultan Juneid Birlâs, who latterly went into the service of Sultan Ahmed Mirza. This is the Sultan Juneid Birlâs whose father is at present associated with him in the government of Jonpûr.

Sheikh Abusaîd Khan.

Another was Sheikh Abusaîd Khan Der-mian (in the midst). I do not know whether it was from having brought the Mirza a horse *in the middle* of a fight, or from warding off the blow of an enemy by interposing *between* him and the Mirza, that he gained this appellation.

Behbûd Beg.

Another was Behbûd Beg, who at first served in the band of young soldiers. As

[1] This is an idiom expressive of his great keenness.

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he did good service in the Mirza's expeditions, in reward of it, his name was inscribed on the Temgha and Sikka.[1]

Sheikhem Beg. Another was Sheikhem Beg. As he bore the poetical name of Soheili, he was generally called Sheikhem Soheili.[2] He composed a sort of verses, in which both the words and sense are terrific, and corresponding with each other. The following is one of his couplets :—

"During my sorrows of the night, the whirlpool of my sighs bears the firmament from its place ;
The dragons of the inundation of my tears bear down the four quarters of the habitable world."

It is well known that, on one occasion, having repeated these verses to Moulâna Abdal Rahmân Jâmi, the Mûlla said, "Are you repeating poetry, or terrifying folks?" He composed a Diwân, and was likewise the author of various Mesnevis.

Muhammed Wali Beg. Another was Muhammed Wali Beg, the son of the Wali Beg who has been mentioned. He latterly became a great Beg in the Mirza's court; but notwithstanding his high rank, he never abated of his service, but day and night was constantly at court; insomuch that he even paid his allowances to his retainers, and made his distributions of food, at the palace. One who pays such assiduous court, is sure to meet with corresponding favour. It is a heavy calamity now-a-days, when one who gets the name of Mîr invites and calls in to him five or six scabbed, blind fellows, to create trouble and confusion in the palace. But where is the other kind of service to be found? The present practice of the Begs only serves to evince their want of liberality. The food and distributions of victuals made by Muhammed Wali Beg, on the contrary, were always respectable. He kept his servants in a good style, and in handsome attire. He bestowed much with his own hand on the poor, and on mendicants. He was, however, a foul-mouthed, bad-tongued man. When I took Samarkand in the year
A. D. 1511. 917, Muhammed Wali Beg, and Derwîsh Ali Kitâbdâr (the librarian), were with me. At that time he had been struck with a palsy, and had no remains of anything agreeable either in his language or manners. He did not seem equal to the favours that had been shown him; and probably the assiduity of his service had assisted in elevating him to his high rank.

Bâba Ali. Another of Sultân Hussain Mirza's nobles was Bâba Ali, the Ishek-Agha (or Master of Ceremonies). He was at first in the service of Ali Shîr Beg, but afterwards, on account of his bravery, he was taken into the Mirza's service, and appointed Ishek-Agha. He attained the rank of Beg. Yûnis Ali, who is now a Beg with me, and in my intimate confidence, and who hereafter will be mentioned, is a son of his.

Bedereddîn. Another was Bedereddîn, who first served with Mîrek Abdalrahîm, the Sedder (or Justiciary) of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza. He was a very alert and nimble man; it is said that he could leap over seven horses at once. He and Bâba Ali were intimate friends.

Hassan Ali Jelâir. Another was Hassan Ali Jelâir. His proper name was Hussain Ali Jelâir; but he was generally called Hassan Ali. His father, Ali Jelâir, was in the service of Baber Mirza, by whom he was raised to the rank of Beg. Afterwards, when Yâdgâr Mu-

[1] That is, on the royal seal or stamp, and on the coin. This seems a singular compliment to a subject not of the highest rank.

[2] His name was Mîr Ahmed Soheili. The Anvâre Soheili is dedicated to him.

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hammed Mirza took Heri, there was no man in higher estimation in his service than Ali Jelâir. Hassan Ali Jelâir was Grand Falconer[1] to Sultan Hussain Mirza. He was a poet, and assumed the poetical name of Tofeili. He wrote many beautiful Kasîdehs, and was the most eminent of his age in that species of composition. When I took Samarkand, in the year 917, he joined me, and was in my service five or six years. He addressed to me some very fine Kasîdehs; he was an extravagant, shameless man, and kept catamites; he was everlastingly playing at draughts, or at dice. A. D. 1511.

Another was Khwâjeh Abdalla Marwârid, who was at first Sedder;[2] but afterwards entered the service, and becoming a retainer and courtier, was raised to the dignity of Beg. He was a man full of accomplishments; and no person could match him in playing on the Kanûn (or Dulcimer). The mode of shaking on this instrument is his invention. He excelled in writing the various hands, and in particular wrote the Taalîk character in a very beautiful and superior manner. He was well versed in the epistolary style of composition.[3] He was a very pleasant companion, and was also a poet. He assumed the poetical name of Biâni, but his poetry fell far below his other merits, though he was an excellent critic in poetry. He was profligate and debauched. From excess of sensual indulgence, he was attacked with boils all over his body, and lost the use of his hands and feet. After enduring various and exquisite pain and torture for several years, he was finally carried off by this disease. Khwâjeh Abdalla Marwârid.

Another was Muhammed Syed Urûs. His father was Urûs Arghûn, who, when Sultan Abusaîd Mirza seized the throne, was a Beg of the first rank, and his prime adviser. At that time many brave young men signalized their courage. One of the most eminent of them was this Muhammed Syed Urûs. His bow was strong, and his arrow long, and its range was far, and its aim sure. He for some time held the government of Andekhûd. Muhammed Syed Urûs.

Mîr Ali, the Mîr Akhur (or Master of the Horse), was another. This was the man who sent a person to Sultan Hussain Mirza, and brought him to fall upon Yâdgar Muhammed Mirza, when off his guard, and defenceless. Mîr Ali.

Another was Syed Hussain Ughlâkchi, the son of Syed Ughlâkchi, and elder brother of Syed Yûsef Beg. He had a son named Mirza Fârekh, a man of great acquirements and talents, who joined me when I took Samarkand in 917. He was a poet, and though he wrote little, he wrote that little well. He was well acquainted with the use of the astrolabe, and the science of astronomy. He was also an agreeable friend and companion. He was rather addicted to wine, and was riotous in his cups. He fell in the battle of Ghajdewân.[4] Syed Hussain Ughlâkchi.

Another was Tengri Berdi, of the Semânchi tribe. He was an honest, brave man, and an accomplished swordsman. By a well-conducted surprise, he seized and car- Tengri Berdi.

[1] Kosh-Begi.

[2] The Sedder, or Chief Justice, is properly an ecclesiastical law appointment. This nobleman laid aside his legal character, and entered into the military and political department.

[3] The Persian style of letter-writing is very artificial. Great care must be taken to address each man according to his proper rank or situation. The style, too, differs very much from that of common conversation. Hence it is regarded as a particular art.

[4] This was the great battle fought in October 1514, in which Baber and his Persian auxiliaries were defeated and driven out of Bokhâra.

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ried off, from the gates of Balkh, Nazir Behâder, Khosrou Shah's head man, as has been mentioned.

Sultan Hussain Mirza's other Begs.

There were, besides, several Turkomân Begs, who had come and joined the Mirza, and had been well received by him. Of the first comers, one was Ali Khan Baiendûr. Asod Beg, and Tehemtin Beg, who were brothers, were also of the number. It was the daughter of this Tehemtin Beg whom Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza married, and had by her Muhammed Zemân Mirza. Another was Ibrâhim Chaghatâi; another Amîr Omer-Beg, who was afterwards in Badîa-ez-zemân's service. He was a brave, plain, honest man. A son of his, named Abul Fateh, came to me from Irâk, and is still with me; he is a lazy, inactive, good-for-nothing fellow. Such a father to have such a son!

Of the later comers, who joined him after Shah Ismâel had conquered Irâk and Azerbâejan, one was Abdal Bâki Mirza. He was of the race of Taimur Beg, by the Mirânshâhi branch. From the very first, though of such illustrious extraction, when he came into those countries, he laid aside all pretensions to sovereignty, and entered into the service of the kings of the country, by whom he was treated with great favour. The paternal uncle of this Abdal Bâki Mirza, named Taimur Osmân, was a nobleman of high estimation and consequence with Yâkub Beg. On one occasion, having marched with a large army, it was supposed that he had moved to invade Khorasân. Immediately on Abdal Bâki Mirza's arrival at court, he met with a gracious reception from Sultan Hussain Mirza, who made him his son-in-law by giving him in marriage Sultânim Begum, who was the mother of Muhammed Sultan Mirza.

Another of the later comers was Murâd Beg Baiendûr.

The Seder Mîr Sir-Berehneh.

As for the heads of the Sedder,[1] one was Mîr Sir-Berehneh (the bare-headed Mîr). He was from a village in Andejân. He affected to be a Syed. He was of an amiable disposition, an agreeable companion, and elegant in his conversation. Among the men of letters and poets of Khorasân, his judgment and opinion were reckoned of the greatest weight and a law. He wasted his life in an attempt to rival the story of Amîr Khamzeh,[2] and in composing a far-fetched, long-winded, improbable tale, an employment altogether absurd, and quite unworthy of his genius.

Kemâled-dîn Hussain Kârizgâhi.

Another of them was Kemâled-dîn Hûssain Kârizgâhi, who, though not a Sûfi, affected Sûfi principles. Many who affected these Sûfi principles gathered about Shîr Ali Beg, pretended to raptures and ecstasies, and studied the doctrines of the sect. Of all these this man had made the greatest progress in these mystical fancies, which probably was the reason of the distinctions that he had received, as he showed no ability in anything else. He composed one work, the *Mijâlis-ul-ashâk* (the Assembly of Lovers), which he ascribes to Sultan Hussain Mirza. It is very dull, full of fiction, and of tasteless fiction, and contains passages so profane, that they subjected him to the imputation of infidelity. He has, for example, represented some of the prophets,

[1] The Sedder, or chief court of justice in Persia, is superseded at the present day by that of the Sheikh-al-islâm. The various offices in Persia are extremely fluctuating, both as to their names and duties, which makes it difficult to assign their exact meaning and extent at different periods.

[2] The story of Amîr Khamzeh is a wild story in the Persian language, and filled with tales that shock all probability.

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and many saints, as engaged in amours, and has provided each of them with a lover and a friend. It was certainly a strangely absurd thing, after, in the preface, ascribing the work to Sultan Hussain Mirza as its author, in the body of the work to introduce odes and pieces of poetry known to be written by Kemâled-din Hussain, by saying, that "they are by the writer of this work." It was in consequence of the flattery of this same Kemâled-dîn Hussain that Zûlnûn Arghûn got the name of Hezeber-ulla (the Lion of God).

Vazîrs. Majd-ed-dîn Muhammed.

Of the Vazîrs of Sultan Hussain Mirza, one was Majd-ed-dîn Muhammed, the son of Khwâjeh Pir Ahmed Khawâfi, who was the chief counsellor in the Diwân[1] of Shahrokh Mirza. Before his time, Sultan Hussain Mirza's Diwân was conducted without regularity or method, and the greatest disorder and waste prevailed. The subjects suffered from exactions, and the soldiers were not satisfied. At the time when Majd-ed-dîn Muhammed held the office of Perwânchi[2] (or issuer of the royal firmâns), he went by the name of Mirek; the Mirza happened on one occasion to want a little money, and sent for the officers of the Diwân, who told him that there was none, and that none could be got. Majd-ed-dîn, who was present, smiled; the Mirza asked him the reason, and retired with him; when Majd-ed-dîn told him his whole mind, and added, "If your majesty will make an agreement with me, by consenting to give me full power, and not to deviate from my plans, I will undertake, in a very short time, to make the subjects comfortable, the army satisfied, and the treasury full." The Mirza entered into the agreement with great willingness, placed the whole revenues of Khorasân entirely under his management, and gave him the unlimited direction of everything. Majd-ed-dîn, on his part, spared no pains nor labour, exerted his utmost ability, and in a short time made both the peasantry and soldiery contented and happy, while he, at the same time, replenished the treasury, and rendered the country flourishing and populous. He, however, conducted himself with envious hostility towards Ali Shîr Beg, and the Amirs who were in his interest, as well as towards all men who were in office; on which account all of them were ill disposed towards him, and their endeavours to ruin him finally effected his overthrow, and got him dismissed, when Nizâm-ul-mûlk was made Diwân in his place. In a short time, Nizâm-ul-mûlk was in his turn seized and put to death, when Khwâjeh Afzal was brought from Irâk and appointed Diwân. At the time when I came to Kâbul, Khwâjeh Afzal had been made a Beg, and held the seal of the Diwân.

Khwâjeh Atâ.

Another was Khwâjeh Atâ, who, although he was not, like those who have been mentioned, of the first rank nor Diwân, yet, in the whole extent of the Khorasân dominions, nothing was done without his advice. He was a man of piety, strictly observant of the accustomed prayers, and devoted to religious exercises. He was, besides, diligent in business. Such were the principal advisers and ministers of Sultan Hussain Mirza.

Theologians and Metaphysicians.

The age of Sultan Hussain Mirza was certainly a wonderful age, and Khorasân,

[1] The Vazîr was a sort of minister of finance. The Diwân was the office of revenue receipts and issues.
[2] A sort of chancellor.

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particularly the city of Heri, abounded with eminent men of unrivalled acquirements, each of whom made it his aim and ambition to carry to the highest perfection the art to which he devoted himself. Among these was the Moulâna Abdal Rahman Jâmi,[1] to whom there was no person of that period who could be compared, whether in respect to profane or sacred science. His poems are well known. The merits of the Mûlla are of too exalted a nature to admit of being described by me; but I have been anxious to bring the mention of his name, and an allusion to his excellencies, into these humble pages, for a good omen and a blessing.

Jâmi.

Another was the Sheikh-ul-Islâm, Seif-ed-dîn Ahmed, who was descended of the stock of Mûlla Sâad-ed-dîn Taftazâni, which for several generations had occupied the situation of Sheikh-ul-Islâm in the kingdom of Khorasân. He was eminent for his knowledge, and particularly versed in the sciences of the Arabs,[2] and the sciences dependent on theology. He was a man of great piety, and devoted to religion. Though of the sect of Shâfi,[3] he cherished persons of every persuasion. It is said, that for nearly seventy years he had never omitted the appointed prayers in the public worship. Shah Ismâel, when he took Heri, put him to death, and he was the last of his family.

Seif-ed-dîn Ahmed.

Another was Moulâna Sheikh Hussain. Although he was in his greatest eminence and celebrity in the time of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, yet, as he continued to flourish in the reign of Sultan Hussain Mirza, he is mentioned here. He was profoundly skilled in philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics. He had the faculty of extracting a great deal of meaning from a very few words, and of commenting with great subtilty on them. In the time of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, he enjoyed a high degree of influence and intimacy with that prince, and was consulted on all affairs of national importance. Nobody performed the office of Mohtesib[4] with more ability. In consequence of the great favour in which he had been with Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, this incomparable person was but harshly treated in the time of Sultan Hussain Mirza.

Moulâna Sheikh Hussain.

Another was the Mûlla-zâdeh Mûlla Osmân, who was from the village of Cherkh, which lies in the Tumân of Lohuger,[5] one of the Tumâns of Kâbul. As, in the time of Ulugh Beg Mirza, when only fourteen years of age, he had commenced giving instructions as a teacher, he was denominated the Mother-born Mûlla. When he was on his journey from Samarkand to Mekka, as he was passing through Heri, Sultan Hussain Mirza stopped him by the way, and detained him at his court. He was a man of most extensive knowledge. There was not in that age any one who equalled him in the extent of his acquirements. Many affirmed that he had attained the degree

Mûlla Osmân.

[1] No moral poet ever had a higher reputation than Jâmi. His poems are written with great beauty of language and versification, in a captivating strain of religious and philosophic mysticism. He is not merely admired for his sublimity as a poet, but venerated as a saint.

[2] The sciences of the Arabs are those connected with grammar and rhetoric.

[3] The Shâfi is one of the four orthodox sects.

[4] The Mohtesib takes cognizance of all offences against good morals, such as drinking, gambling, intriguing; whence he is often alluded to with terror by the jovial poets of Persia. He had also the superintendence of the markets.

[5] Or Logar.

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of Ijtehad,[1] but he never pretended to it. It was he who said, "When a man has heard anything, how can he forget it?" He had a most retentive memory.

Another was Mîr Jemâleddin Moheddis (or the Traditionalist), who, in the science of tradition, was unequalled in all the country of Khorasân. He is of a very advanced age, and is still alive at the present date. Jemâleddin Moheddis.

Another was Mîr Murtâz, who was well versed in the sciences of practical philosophy and of metaphysics. He received the name of Murtâz (the Ascetic) from the frequency of his fasting. He was madly fond of the game of chess; to such a degree, indeed, that when he met with two persons who understood the game, while he played with one of them, he used to lay hold of the skirts of the other's clothes to prevent his going away. Mîr Murtâz.

Another of them was Mûlla Masaûd, who was of Sherwân. Mûlla Masaûd.

Another was Abdal Ghafûr of Lar, who was both the scholar and disciple of Moulâna Abdal Rahman Jâmi. He had read many of the Mûlla's works, under his immediate guidance,[2] and wrote a sort of exposition or commentary on the *Nefkhat*[3] (or Breeze of Affection) of that author. He was extremely versed in the profane sciences, besides having made great proficiency in mystical knowledge. He was a remarkably unassuming and unceremonious man. If any person had but the name of a Mûlla, he was never ashamed to take out a section of any work, and enter into discussion with him; and if any dervîsh was mentioned to him as being in a particular place, he was never satisfied till he had sought him out and seen him. When I visited Khorasân, Mûlla Abdal Ghafûr was sick; and when I went and circumambulated the Mûlla's shrine (Jâmi's), I at the same time went and inquired after the health of Mûlla Abdal Ghafûr. He was at that time in the Mûlla's[4] College. A few days afterwards, he died of the disease of which he was then ill. Abdal Ghafûr.

Another of them was Mir Ata-ûllah of Meshhid, who was well versed in Arabic literature. He wrote a treatise in Persian, on the Kâfiah (rhyme or versification), which is extremely well composed; but has this fault, that all his examples are taken from his own verses, and he introduces each example by saying, "as is to be observed in this couplet of mine." He wrote another very excellent work on the kinds and measures of verse, which he called Badâi-û-Sinaa (the wonders of metre). He was not quite orthodox in his religious opinions. Mîr Ata-ullah.

Another was Kâzi Ekhtiâr, who executed the duties of Kazi with great propriety. Kâzi Ekhtiâr.

[1] The rank of Mujtehid, which is not bestowed by any individual or class of men, but which is the result of slow and imperceptible opinion, finally prevailing and universally acknowledged, is one of the greatest peculiarities of the religion of Persia. The Mujtehid is supposed to be elevated above human fears and human enjoyments, and to have a certain degree of infallibility and inspiration. He is consulted with reverence and awe. There is not always a Mujtehid necessarily existing.—See Kœmpfer, *Amœnitatis Exoticæ*.

[2] The works of the Mûlla Jâmi were extremely refined and mystical. To have the advantage of reading them over in the author's presence, to receive the benefit of his explanatory comments and remarks, was therefore of the first importance.

[3] This is a poem of Jâmi's, written on the principle of the Sûfis, or Mystic Latitudinarians.

[4] I have now by me a small Persian manuscript, containing anecdotes of Jâmi, by his friend Moulâna Abdal Ghafûr Lâri.

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He wrote a treatise, in Persian, on Jurisprudence.[1] It is an excellent treatise. He formed a collection of passages, for the purpose of elucidating and explaining the texts of the Korân.[2] When I met the Mirzas at Murghâb, Kazi Ekhtiâr and Muhammed Mîr Yûsef accompanied them, and they were introduced to me. The conversation turned on the Baberi character. I sent for the letters, and wrote them, and at that same meeting he read the characters, comprehended the rules of writing, and wrote a little.

Muhammed Mîr Yûsef.

Another was Muhammed Mîr Yûsef, the scholar of the Sheikh-ul-Islâm, and afterwards his successor. In many parties, Kazi Ekhtiâr had the upper place; and in others, Muhammed Mîr Yûsef. He finally was so much carried away and infatuated by his fondness for soldiership and generalship, that, except where these two matters were concerned, one could discover neither learning in his conversation, nor sense in his communications. Although he had neither good fortune nor talents in either of these pursuits, he, in the end, on their account, gave to the wind his wealth, his life, his family, and his reputation.[3]

The Poets.

Jâmi.

Soheili.

Tofeili.

Of the poets of Sultan Hussain Mirza's court, the most distinguished and the most eminent by far, was Moulâna Abdal Rahman Jâmi. Sheikhem Soheili, and Hassan Ali Tofeili Jelâir, whose names and characters have been mentioned in the short account which has been given of Sultan Hussain Mirza's principal Begs and courtiers, were also distinguished as poets.

Asefi.

Another of the poets was Asefi, who was the son of a Vazîr, whence he obtained the poetical name of Asefi.[4] His poems want neither colouring of style, nor sentiment, although not possessed of passion or enthusiasm. He had a pride in saying, "I have never composed any of my odes[5] with the intention of collecting them." This was probably mere affectation. His odes were collected by his friends, and those about him. He wrote few poems except odes. When I went to Khorasân, he waited on me.

Binâi.

Another of them was Binâi of Heri, whose father's name was Ustâd Muhammed Sebz Bina, whence he himself derived his poetical name. His odes possess both colouring of style, and enthusiasm, and he composed a Diwân. He also wrote Mesnevis, among which there is one on the qualities of fruits, in the *Matakarib* measure. It is a sorry composition, of no value. Another of them was a short Mesnevi in the *Khafif* measure; and another of greater extent, also in the *Khafif* measure; this last he completed in his latter days. At first he was unacquainted with the science of music, and Ali Shîr Beg had taunted him with his ignorance; but, one year, the Mirza having spent a winter at Merv, whither he was accompanied by Ali Shîr Beg, Binâi remained

[1] Fakieh.

[2] Beher Mazmûn.

[3] It is singular that Baber, in this minute mention of the men who adorned the court of Sultan Hussain Mirza, makes no mention of Mîr-Khâwend Shah, or Mirkhond, the celebrated historian, and, if we perhaps except Jâmi, the most eminent man of his time. After a youth of pleasure, he was induced by his friend and patron, Ali Shîr, to devote himself to history; and while he lived in the Khânekeh Kholasia, in habits of constant intercourse with that distinguished encourager of letters, composed the eight volumes of the *Rozet-es-sefâ*, or Pleasure-Garden. He died A.D. 1498, eight years before Baber visited Herât. His son Khâwend, or Khwând-Emir, or Khond-Emir, also an excellent historian, the author of the Kholâsat-ulakhbar, &c. visited Baber at Agra in 1528.

[4] Asef being Suliman's famous vizir.—*Leyden.*

[5] Ghazel.

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behind at Heri, applied himself to the study of music, and made such rapid progress, that, before the summer, he was even able to compose some pieces. In the summer when the Mirza returned to Heri, he sang in his presence, and that to music of his own composition, to the great astonishment of Ali Shîr Beg, who complimented him on the occasion. He composed several pieces of music, one of which is denominated the Nuh-reng (or nine measure). The parts of this Nuh-reng, and of the Yeldai Naksh (or midwinter-night's air), have their modulations in tenor. He was a decided rival and opponent of Ali Shîr Beg, whence he suffered much trouble and molestation; and finally, being unable to maintain his ground, went to Irâk and Aderbaejân to Yâkub Beg, by whom he was well received, and became his companion in all his parties. After the death of Yâkub Beg, he was obliged to leave those countries, and returned to Heri. He still retained his humour and his spirit of opposition, of which the following, among other instances, is related. One day at a chess-party, Ali Shîr Beg happening to stretch out his foot, it touched the hinder parts[1] of Binai; on which Ali Shîr Beg said, in a joking way, "It is a sad nuisance in Heri, that you cannot stretch out your foot without coming in contact with the backside of a poet."—"Nor draw it in again," said Binâi, "without coming in contact with a poet's backside." At last his sarcasms drove Binâi from Heri, and he went to Samarkand.[2] As Ali Shîr Beg was the author and patron of many and useful inventions, every man who made any discovery or invention in his art or profession, in order to give it credit or currency, called it *the Ali Shîri*. Some carried their imitation of him to such an excess, that Ali Shîr Beg having tied a handkerchief round his head, on account of an ear-ache, that style of tying a handkerchief came to prevail, under the name of the *Ali Shîri fashion*. When Binâi left Heri for Samarkand, as he was setting out, he ordered rather an uncommon sort of pad for his ass, and called it *the Ali Shîri*. The *Ali Shîri pad* became common, and is now well known.

Seifi Bokhâri.

Another was Seifi Bokhâri, who was a tolerable Mûlla. He used to point to the numerous volumes he had read, as a proof of his undoubted claim to the title. He composed a Diwân. There is another Diwân of his which he composed for the use of tradespeople. He wrote many fables, but left no Mesnevi, as may be gathered from the following verses:—

(*Persian.*) Although the Mesnevi be deemed the test of a poet's orthodoxy,
I take the Ghazel as my creed;
Five couplets that afford delight,
I hold better than many Khamsehs.[3]

He left a Persian Prosody, which is very brief in one respect, and prolix in another. It is brief as it has omitted to treat of several useful and difficult subjects; and prolix in as much as such subjects as are plain and clear, are treated of in their minutest par-

[1] It is to be recollected, that the Asiatics sit on the ground, on a carpet, with their feet drawn up under them.

[2] Here Dr Leyden's translation ends. One other fragment which he translated, will be found under the year 925.

[3] A Khamseh is a collection of five poems written in the Mesnevi style. Several Persian poets have composed Khamsehs.

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ticulars, down to their points and discriminating marks. He was addicted to wine, and troublesome in his cups. He was remarkable for the force with which he could inflict a blow with his fist.

Abdalla Mesnevigoi. Another was Abdalla Mesnevigoi (the Mesnevi writer), who was of Jâm. He was the nephew of the Mûlla[1] by his sister. He took the poetical name of Hâtefi. He wrote some Mesnevis in emulation of the Khamsehs. He also composed the Taimur-nameh in rivalry to the Heft-Paiker (or seven statues). Of his Mesnevis, the best known is the Leili-Mejnûn, though its excellence does not equal its reputation.

Mîr Hussain Maamâi. Another was Mîr Hussain Maamâi (the Enigmatist). None perhaps ever equalled him in his conundrums and riddles. His whole time was spent in devising enigmas. He was a humble, unpretending, and, in his way, incomparable man.

Mûlla Muhammed Badakhshi. Another was Mulla Muhammed Badakhshi, who was from Ishkemish. Ishkemish is not in Badakhshan,[2] which makes it odd that he should have taken the poetical name of Badakhshi. His poems are not equal to those of the poets whose names I have mentioned.[3] Though he has written a treatise on Enigmas, his enigmas are not particularly good; but he was a pleasant companionable man. He waited on me when I was at Samarkand.

Yûsef Badiaaî. Another was Yûsef Badîaaî, who was from the country of Ferghâna, and composed very respectable Kasîdehs.[4]

Ahi. Another was Ahi, who wrote pretty good Ghazels.[5] He latterly went and lived with Ebn Hussain Mirza. He composed a Diwân.

Muhammed Salikh. Another was Muhammed Salikh. He wrote sweet Ghazels, but their correctness is not equal to their sweetness. He also composed verses in the Tûrki tongue, and good ones. He finally went to the Khan's court, and was received with every kind of favour. He wrote a Tûrki Mesnevi, which he addressed to Sheibâni Khan, in the measure of *Remel-masadas-Majnûn*,[6] which is that of the *Sabkheh*[7] (of Jâmi). It is very dull and flat. One soon gets tired of reading Muhammed Salikh's poems. One good couplet of his is the following:—

Tembal (lubber) has gained the land of Ferghâna;
He converts Ferghâna into a Tembal-Khaneh (lubberland).

The country of Ferghâna is also called Tembal-Khaneh. I am not quite certain, however, that this couplet is to be found in his Mesnevi. He was wicked, tyrannical, and unfeeling.

Shah Hussain Kâmi. Another was Shah Hûssain Kâmi. His poems are very fair. He composed Ghazels, and also wrote a Diwân.

Hilâli. Another was Hilâli, who is still alive. His Ghazels are correct and elegant, but leave little impression behind. He also wrote a Diwân, and a Mesnevi entitled Shah-

[1] Jâmi. Jâm is a considerable city in Khorasân, from which that poet had his name.
[2] It lies south of Kundez.
[3] One of his couplets on the succession of good and bad fortune is striking; "The fortune of men is like a sand-glass; one hour up, the next down."—See D'Herbelot, in his Article.
[4] The Kasideh is a particular species of Ode. [5] Also a kind of Ode.
[6] This is a particular measure of Persian verse.
[7] The Sabkhet-ul-ubrar, or Rosary of the Virtuous, is a mystic poem of Jâmi's.

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va-Dervish (the king and the Dervish), in the Khâfîf measure: although many verses in it are excellent, yet the general plan of this poem and its structure are exceptionable and vicious. Former poets who have treated of love stories, have made a man the lover and a woman the mistress. Hilâli has made the Dervish the lover, and the king the object of his passion. The upshot of the verses in which he describes the words and actions of the king is, that he makes the king a catamite, and an abandoned creature. So that the moral example afforded by this Mesnevi of his is, that of a young man, a king, acting the part of a prostitute and catamite, which surely is no commendable or decent thing. He had a most retentive memory, and remembered thirty or forty thousand couplets. It is said that his recollection of most of the verses of the different Khamsehs was of great service to him, in regard to prosody and rhyming.

Another was Ahili, who could neither write nor read. His poems are excellent. He also composed a Diwân. Ahili.

Although there were many beautiful penmen,[1] yet the person who excelled all others in the Nastâlik character was Sultan Ali Meshhidi. He copied many books for the Mirza and Ali Shîr Beg. He every day copied thirty couplets for the Mirza, and twenty for Ali Shîr Beg. Penmen.

Of the painters or limners, the most eminent was Behzâd. He was a very elegant painter, but did not draw young beardless faces well. He made the neck[2] too large. Bearded faces he painted extremely well. Painters. Behzâd.

Another was Shah Mozeffer. He took likenesses very beautifully, but he did not live long, and died when he was rising to eminence. Shah Mozeffer.

Of the musicians, there was none performed on the *Kanûn*[3] in a style to be compared with Khwâjeh Abdalla Merwârîd, as has been observed. Another was Kûl Muhammed Udî (the lutanist). He also performed well on the guitar. He added three strings to it. No vocal or instrumental performer ever composed so many and such excellent overtures.[4] Musicians. Kûl Muhammed.

Another was Sheikhi Nâyi (the flute-player). He also played well on the lute and guitar.[5] From the age of twelve or thirteen, he played well on the flute.[6] On one occasion he played an air beautifully before Badia-ez-zemân Mirza on the flute. Kûl Muhammed attempted, but was unable to play it on the guitar. He said, "The guitar is an imperfect instrument." Sheikhi immediately took the guitar out of Kûl Muhammed's hand, and played the same air completely and delightfully upon it. They tell of Sheikhi, that he was so accomplished in music, that on hearing any air whatever, he said, "Such a tune of such a person resembles this." He did not compose much. They preserve two or three of his airs.[7] Sheikhi Nâyi.

Another was Shah Kuli Ghecheki (the performer on the ghechek or guitar). He was a native of Irâk, who came into Khorasân, and rose to fame by his excellence as a composer.[8] He composed many tunes, preludes, and airs.[9] Shah Kuli Ghecheki.

[1] In the eastern countries in which no printing is used, the art of penmanship is a source of much higher distinction than in Europe at the present day.
[2] *Ghebgheb* also signifies the double-chin. [3] *Kanûn* is their largest stringed instrument.
[4] Pishrou. [5] *Ud* or *Aud*, and Ghechek. [6] Nai. [7] Naksh. [8] Sâz-meshq.
[9] Naksh va pishru va karha.

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Hussain Udi.

Another was Hussain Udi (the lutanist), who played with great taste on the lute, and composed elegantly. He could play, using only one string of his lute at a time. He had the fault of giving himself many airs when desired to play. On one occasion Sheibâni Khan desired him to play. After giving much trouble he played very ill, and besides, did not bring his own instrument, but one that was good for nothing. Sheibâni Khan, on learning how matters stood, directed that, at that very party, he should receive a certain number of blows on the neck. This was one good deed that Sheibâni Khan did in his day; and indeed the affectation of such people deserves even more severe animadversion.

Gholâm Shâdi.

Gholâm Shâdi was also a musical composer. He was the son of Shâdi the singer. Though a performer, yet he did not play so as to deserve to be ranked with the performers who have been mentioned. He composed sweet airs,[1] and some finished pieces; there were few compositions of that day that could be compared to his. At last Sheibâni Khan sent him to Muhammed Amîn Khan Kara Khâni, since which, I have not heard of him.

Mir Azû.

Another was Mîr Azû. He was not a performer, but composed. Though his productions[2] are few, yet they are exquisite of their kind.

Binâi.

Binâi was likewise a composer. He left many excellent nekshes and sûts.[3]

Pehlewân Muhammed Busaid, the wrestler.

Another peerless man was Pehlewân Muhammed Busaid. He was unequalled as a wrestler. He was a poet too, and likewise composed various musical sûts and nekshes. He composed one beautiful (air or) neksh in the Chargâh key.[4] He was an agreeable man in society. The degree of excellence which he reached in athletic exercises was quite wonderful.

Badi-ez-zemân and Mozeffer Hussain made joint kings.

When Sultan Hussain Mirza expired, Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza and Mozeffer Hussain Mirza were the only Mirzas at hand. As Mozeffer Hussain Mirza was his favourite son, and as Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs, the Emir and minister in chief credit, was that prince's atkeh (or tutor), and as, besides, his mother Khadîjeh Begum had the most influence of all the Mirza's wives, the greater part of the people who were about the Mirza gathered round Mozeffer Hussain Mirza, and looked up to him as his father's successor. Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza being alarmed at this, intended not to go to head-quarters. Mozeffer Mirza and Muhammed Beg, however, having mounted and gone to wait upon him, removed all uneasiness from his mind, and prevailed upon the Mirza to accompany them thither. Sultan Hussain Mirza was conveyed in a royal style, and with all due pomp, to Heri, where they interred him in his own college. At this time Zûlnûn Beg was likewise on the spot. Muhammed Berendûk Beg, Zûlnûn Beg, and other Amîrs, who had been with Sultan Hussain Mirza, and had accompanied the Mirzas, having now met and consulted together, finally resolved to

[1] The terms used are *sût* and *naksh*. [2] Kar. [3] Particular kinds of musical pieces.

[4] I have not been able to translate, with any degree of certainty, the musical terms used in the preceding pages. *Perdeh*, I understand to be a mode,—*pishrou*, a prelude,—*neksh*, *kar*, and *sût*, are tunes of various kinds. The same uncertainty prevails as to the musical instruments:—*Aûd* is applied to any stringed instrument. The *kanun* is an instrument with many strings, and is generally placed on the ground when it is played on. The *ghechek* resembles our guitar, but has a large round bulb. *Nâi* is a pipe or flute.—See Kæmpfer's *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, p. 740.

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place Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, with Mozeffer Hussain Mirza, on the throne of Heri, as joint kings. At the court of Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, Zûlnûn Beg was prime minister, and Muhammed Berendûk Beg held the same office in the court of Mozeffer Hussain Mirza. On the part of Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, Sheikh Ali Toghai was Darogha of the city; as Yûsef Ali Gokultâsh was on the part of Mozeffer Mirza. This was a strange arrangement. A joint kingship was never before heard of. The well-known words of Sheikh Sâdi in the Gulistân are very applicable to it: "Ten Derwishes can sleep on one rug; but the same climate of the earth cannot contain two kings."

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 912.

Baber marches for Khorasân.

In the month of Moharrem,[1] I set out for Khorasân, in order to oppose the invasion of the Uzbeks, and advanced by way of Ghûrbend and Shibertû. As Jehangîr Mirza had taken some disgust and fled from the country of Ghazni, I judged it proper, for the purpose of reducing the Aimâks to order, and to prevent the disaffected from rising in revolt, to separate from our baggage and camp-followers in Ushter-Sheher,[2] (leaving Wali Khâzin and Doulet Kedem to guard and bring them on,) and to push forward with the great body of the army, in light array, with all practicable speed. That same day we reached the fort of Zohâk. Having proceeded thence by the Kotal or hill pass of Gûmbezek, and descended by Saekân,[3] we surmounted the Dendan-Sheken pass,[4] and encamped in the valley of Kehmerd. I sent on Sultan Muhammed Dûldâi, and Syed Afzel Khâb-bîn,[5] with a letter to Sultan Hussain Mirza, to inform him of my approach from Kâbul.

Jehangîr Mirza having lagged behind his men, when he came opposite to Bamiân, went to see it, accompanied by twenty-three attendants. On approaching the place he observed the tents of my household,[6] which had been left behind, and thinking that I was along with them, set off full speed, returned back to his camp, and without suffering himself to be delayed by any consideration whatever, marched away, never looking behind him till he had reached the territory of Yeke-Auleng.[7]

Sheibâni Khan besieges Balkh.

Meanwhile Sheibâni Khan had laid siege to Balkh. Sultan Kalinjak commanded in the place. Sheibâni Khan sent out two or three Sultans, with three or four thousand men, to plunder the country of Badakhshân. At that time Mobârek Shah Vazir had gone and joined Nâsir Mirza.[8] Although formerly there had been some discussions and bad blood between them, they had now in concert collected an army, and were

[1] Moharrem, A. H. 912, begins on 24th May 1506, the year in which the Khanate of Kipchâk ceased, and the country was divided. The conquests of the Uzbeks in Mâweralnaher and Khorasân probably derived great support from the wandering tribes, driven on that occasion from their own settlements; just as the influx of barbarians into the Roman empire, in its decline, arose from a similar cause.

[2] This place lies to the west of Kâbul.

[3] Or Saeghân. These places are between Bamiân and Kehmerd.

[4] Teeth-breakers. [5] The Dreamer. [6] Urûk.

[7] Yeke-Auleng is situated about thirty or thirty-five miles west from Bamiân, among the hills.

[8] Baber's brother.

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Nâsir Mirza defeats a party of Uzbeks.

encamped below Kishem,[1] in Shakhdân, when the Uzbeks, towards morning, came by surprise on Nâsir Mirza. Nâsir Mirza drew off his men to the summit of a rising ground, and having rallied his troops, and blown his trumpets, attacked the Uzbeks at the moment they were advancing, and put them to the route; the Kishem river, which they had crossed in their advance, was now swollen. Many of them were slain by the sword and by arrows, numbers were taken prisoners, and many perished in the river. Mobârek Shah Vazîr was encamped higher up than the Mirza, towards Kishem. The Uzbeks, who had divided, in order to attack them both at the same time, had put his troops to flight, and forced them to take refuge on a rising ground. When Nâsir Mirza had defeated those opposed to him, he learned this situation of things, and marched to attack the other division. The Amîrs of the hill-country too, having collected their whole strength of horse and foot, poured down from above, and joined him. In these circumstances, the Uzbeks found themselves unable to stand their ground, and took to flight. Of this body too, many were made prisoners, many were slain by arrows and the sword, and others perished in the river. Perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred Uzbeks fell. This was a good exploit of Nâsir Mirza. One of his men brought us the news when we were in the valley of Kehmerd.

Baber advances by Sâf and Gurzewân.

While we continued in that neighbourhood, my troops went out to forage, and collected grain from Ghuri and Dehneh. In this same valley of Kehmerd, I received letters from Syed Afzel and Sultan Muhammed Dûldai, whom I had sent into Khorasân, containing intelligence of the death of Sultan Hussain Mirza. Nevertheless, I continued to advance to Khorasân, from a regard to the reputation of our family, though I had also other motives for advancing. Having passed through the valley of Tûb[2] and Mandaghan, and by the hill-passes[3] of Balkh-âb, we ascended the hill-country of Sâf. Here, having learned that the Uzbeks were plundering Sân and Charyek,[4] I dispatched Kasim Beg with a body of troops to chastise the marauders. He fell in with them, gave them a complete defeat, and brought back a number of their heads.

As some of our men had been sent out to get information of Jehangîr Mirza and the Aimâks, I remained for some days in the Ilagh[5] of the hill of Sâf, waiting for their return. In this neighbourhood there are numbers of deer. I hunted once. In a few days all the Aimâks came out and acknowledged me. Though Jehangîr Mirza had sent different persons to the Aimâks, and on one occasion had deputed Emâdeddîn Masaûd to work upon them, they could not be induced to go over to him, but joined me; so that at length the Mirza was compelled, from sheer necessity, to leave the mountain of Sâf, and to come down to the valley of Pai, to meet me and make his submissions. As I was occupied with the troubles of Khorasân, I did not see the Mirza, and did not care about the Aimâks. Having passed by Gurzewân,[6] Almâr, Kysar, and Chi-

[1] Probably Kishem-âbâd, about twenty-five miles from Doshi.

[2] Tûb, or Tob, lies between Ajer and the Balkh-âb, or Dehâsh river.

[3] These passes lie rather more than a degree west of Kehmerd, on the Balkh river.

[4] Probably Charek, on the road from the Balkh-âb passes to Herât, about two degrees west from the former, among the hills.

[5] Probably the same as *ailâk*, summer quarters.

[6] Gurzewân lies among the hills, at the sources of the Murghâb river. Almar and Chichektû lie north of the hills on the road from Balkh to Herât. The Kysar river flows about twenty miles to the east of the Murghâb, and is passed on the same line of road.

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chektû, and proceeded by Ulûm Fakhreddîn, we reached a place called the valley of Bâm in the dependence of Badghîs.[1] As the world was all in disorder, every one pillaging and usurping from another, my people took some plunder from the cultivated country, as well as from the Ils and Uluses. We imposed a contribution on the Tûrks and Aimâks of that quarter, and levied part of it. In the course of a month or two, we perhaps levied three hundred kepki tumâns.[2]

The Mirzas of Khorasân unite.

A few days before my arrival, a plundering detachment of the Uzbeks had been attacked in Pendûh and Maruchâk,[3] by a light armed force sent from Khorasân by Zûlnûn Beg, and completely routed. A number of the Uzbeks were slain. Badîa-ezzemân Mirza, Mozeffer Hussain Mirza, Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs, and Zulnun Arghûn, with Shah Beg, Zûlnûn's son, having at length come to the resolution of marching against Sheibâni Khan, who was besieging Sultan Kalenjak in Balkh, dispatched messengers to invite all the sons of Sultan Hussain Mirza to join them, and marched out of Heri in prosecution of this enterprize. By the time they reached Badghîs, Abul Mohsin Mirza advanced from Merv, and joined them at Chehil-dokhterân. Ebn Hussain Mirza too, soon after joined them from Tûn, and Kâen. Kupek[4] Mirza, who was in Meshhid, though they sent to invite him, returned an unwise answer, and in a cowardly way declined coming. He bore hostility to Mozeffer Mirza, and alleged, that to join him as King would be an acknowledgment of his sovereignty. Having made up his mind, he persisted in indulging this ill-timed grudge, and would not come even at this period, when all the brothers, great and small, had united, and were marching in concert, and sparing no efforts to oppose an enemy so formidable as Sheibâni Khan. This refusal of his to join the confederacy, though he himself chose to put it on the footing of private pique, every one else will ascribe to cowardice. Indeed, as the memory of such proceedings remains in the world, how can any man of understanding pursue such a line of conduct as, after his death, must stain his fair fame? How much better is it for every man, who has the common feelings of his nature, to push forward in a career that, when closed, may conduct him to renown and glory? The wise have well called fame a second existence. Ambassadors came also to invite me, and soon after Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs himself arrived. What was to hinder me from joining them? I had marched two hundred farsangs[5] for that very purpose. I therefore went on along with Muhammed Beg. By this time the Mirzas had advanced as far as the Murghâb, where they were now encamped. On Monday, the 8th of the latter Jemâdi, I waited on them. Abul Mohsin Mirza came out half a kos to receive me. When we came near each other, I on the one side dismounted, as he did on the other; after which, we advanced and embraced, and then both mounted again. When we had gone on a little, and were come near the camp, Mozeffer Mirza and Ebn Hussain Mirza met me. They were younger than Abul Mohsin Mirza, and ought therefore to have come out farther than he did to receive me. Probably their

6 Nov. 1505. Baber meets the Mirzas.

[1] Badghîs lies to the west of north from Herât.

[2] For the tumân, see page 117.

[3] Probably Penjdeh and Maruchak, which lie on the Murghâb, the former on the left bank, the other on the right bank of that river, nearly a degree and a half north of Herât.

[4] Tûn and Kâen lie south-west of Heri, near the lake of Sistân.

[5] Eight hundred miles.

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delay was owing to their last night's excess in wine, rather than to pride, and arose from the effects of their over indulgence in dissipation and pleasure, and not from any intentional slight. Mozeffer Mirza having complimented me, we embraced and saluted each other on horseback. I then saluted Ebn Hussain Mirza in the same way; after which, we proceeded to Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza's Hall of Audience, where we alighted. Here there was an excessive crowd and gathering of people. There was such a press that many persons were lifted off their feet for three or four paces together, and many who were anxious to get out on account of business or duty, were carried four or five paces in, without being able to help themselves. At length, however, we reached Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza's Hall of State. It had been settled, that immediately on entering, I was to bow, whereupon Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza was to rise up, and come forward to the extremity of the elevated platform on which he sat, where we were to embrace. As soon as I entered the Hall of State I bowed, and then without stopping, advanced to meet Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, who rose up rather tardily to come to meet me. Kâsim Beg, who was keenly alive to my honour, and regarded my consequence as his own, laid hold of my girdle, and gave me a tug; I instantly understood him, and advancing more deliberately, we embraced on the spot that had been arranged. In this large state-tent, carpets[1] were spread in four places. In the state-tents[2] of Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, on one side of the hall, there was a porch or recess, in which the Mirza always sat. A carpet was spread in it, on which he sat along with Mozeffer Hussain Mirza. Another carpet was spread on the right of the porch in a kind of pavilion;[3] Abul Mohsin Mirza and myself sat on it. Lower than Badîa-ez-zemân's carpet, on the left, was another carpet, on which Kâsim Sultan Uzbek, one of the Shâbân Sultans, who was the Mirza's son-in-law, and father of Kâsim Hussain Sultan, sat along with Ebn Hussain Mirza. On my right, but lower down than the carpet which they had spread for me, another carpet was spread, on which Jehangîr Mirza and Abdal Rizâk Mirza[4] were seated. Muhammed Berendûk Beg, Zûlnûn Beg, and Kâsim Beg, sat on the right, a little lower than Kâsim Sultan and Ebn Hussain Mirza. An entertainment was given. Although it was not a drinking party, wine was put down along with the meat. Drinking goblets of silver and gold were placed beside the food. My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the rules of Chengîz. In their parties, their courts, their festivals, and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up, they never acted contrary to the institutions of Chengîz.[5] The institutions of Chengîz certainly possessed no divine authority, so that any one should be obliged to conform to them; every man who has a good rule of conduct ought to observe it. If the father has done what is wrong, the son ought to change it for what is right. After dining we mounted our horses, and alighted where we had pitched our camp. There was a Shirai kos[6] between my army and that of the Mirzas.

Is introduced to Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza.

Public entertainment.

Baber offended with Badia-ez-zemân.

The second time that I came, Badia-ez-zemân Mirza was not so respectful as he had been the first time. I therefore sent for Muhammed Berendûk Beg, and Zûlnûn Beg,

[1] Toshak—carpets, or stuffed cushions for sitting or leaning on.
[2] Khaneh Sefîd.
[2] Tûr-khâneh—perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing.
[4] Abdal Rizâk Mirza, it will be recollected, was the son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, the late king of Kâbul.
[5] Tûreh-e-Chengiz. They are also called the *Yâsa Chengiz.*
[6] Nearly two miles.

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and told them to let the Mirza know, that, though but young, yet I was of high extraction—that I had twice by force gained my paternal kingdom, Samarkand, and seated myself on its throne—and that when a prince had done what I had, in the service of our family, by opposing the foreign invader from whom all these wars and troubles arose, to show me any want of respect was certainly not quite commendable. After this message was delivered to him, as he was sensible of his error, he altered his conduct, and showed me every mark of regard and estimation, with great good will.

Entertainments of the Mirzas.

On another occasion, when I went to Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza's after noon-tide prayers, there was a drinking party. At that time I drank no wine. The entertainment was wonderfully elegant. On their trays there was every sort of delicacy. There were kabâbs of fowl, and of goose, and indeed dishes of every kind. Badiâ-ez-zemân's entertainments were highly celebrated; and certainly this party was free, easy, and unconstrained. During the time I remained on the banks of the Murghâb, I twice or thrice was present at the Mirza's drinking parties; when it was known that I drank no wine, they did not trouble me by pressing. I likewise once went to an entertainment of Mozeffer Mirza's. Hassan Ali Jalâir, and Mîr Beder, who were in his service, were of the party. When the wine began to take effect, Mîr Beder began to dance, and he danced excessively well. The dance was one of his own invention.

Balkh surrenders.

Character of the Mirzas.

The Mirzas had wasted three or four months in marching from Heri, in uniting their troops, and assembling their strength, before they reached the Murghâb. Sultan Kulenjak, meanwhile, being reduced to great distress, surrendered the fort of Balkh to the Uzbeks, who, having heard of the coalition against them, after taking Balkh, returned towards Samarkand. The Mirzas, although very accomplished at the social board, or in the arrangements for a party of pleasure, and although they had a pleasing talent for conversation and society, yet possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign, or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the arrangements for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life. While we remained on the Murghâb, news came that Hak Nazer Chapa, with four or five hundred men, had advanced, and was plundering the territory of Chichiktû.[1] All the Mirzas met, but with all their exertions they could not contrive to detach a light party to cut up the plunderers. The road between Murghâb and Chichiktû is ten farsangs.[2] I asked permission to manage the matter; but being afraid of their own reputation, they would not suffer me to move. When Sheibâk Khan retreated, the year was at the close. It was therefore agreed that the Mirzas should each winter in some suitable place, and, before the beginning of the warm season, assemble again in order to meet the enemy.

They urge Baber to winter in Khorasân.

They strongly urged me also to winter in the territory of Khorasân. But as Kâbul and Ghazni were places much exposed to external violence and internal confusion, and as bodies of Turks, Moghuls, Aimâks, Wandering Tribes,[3] Afghans, Hazâras, Ils, and Uluses, were scattered over their territory in different directions; and as the nearest road between Khorasân and Kâbul, which is that by the hills, is a month's journey, even if it should not happen to be rendered impassable by snow, or any other obstacle,

[1] Chichiktû lies east of the Murghâb. [2] Forty miles. [3] Ikhshâm.

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while the low road is forty or fifty days' march; and as, besides all this, my newly-acquired dominions were still far from being in a settled state, it did not seem very prudent or advisable for me to winter so far off, for the purpose of serving or obliging anybody. I therefore excused myself to the Mirzas. On this they renewed their solicitations still more earnestly than before. At last, Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza and Abul Mohsin Mirza, with Mozeffer Mirza, came on horseback to my quarters, and urgently besought me to stay out the winter with them. I could not say No, in the face of the Mirzas, and consented to remain. One reason that influenced me was, that so many kings had come to urge my stay; a second, that, in the whole habitable world, there was not such another city as Heri; and during the reign of Sultan Hussain Mirza, its beauty and elegance had been increased ten fold, nay, twenty fold, by his patronage and munificence; so that I had a very strong desire to visit it. I was therefore prevailed upon to stay. Abul Mohsin Mirza went to his government of Merv. Ebn Hussain Mirza also set out for Tûn and Kâen; while Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza and Mozeffer Mirza returned to Heri. Two or three days after, I set out for the same city by way of Chehil-Dokhterân and Tâsh-Rebât. The whole of the Begums, Payendeh Sultan Begum, my father's sister, Khadîjeh Begum, Apâk Begum, and the other daughters of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, my paternal aunts, were at this time met in the college of Sultan Hussain Mirza. When I went to see them, they were all in the Mirza's mausoleum. I first saluted Payendeh Sultan Begum,[1] and embraced her; I next saluted and embraced Apâk Begum; I then went and saluted Khadîjeh Begum, and embraced her. I sat some time, while the readers were reading the Koran,[2] and then rose and went to the Southern College, where Khadîjeh Begum dwelt. They spread a repast for me. After the repast, I went to Payendeh Sultan Begum's house, where I spent the night. They at first pitched upon the New Garden[3] for my residence, and accordingly I next morning went and took up my quarters in it, and staid there one night; after which, as I did not like the place, they gave me Ali Shîr Beg's house, where I staid till I left Heri. Every two or three days I went to the Bagh-e-Jehân-ârâ,[4] in order to perform the kornish[5] to Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza.

Baber visits Herât.

Visits his aunts.

A few days after, I had an invitation from Mozeffer Mirza, who lived in the White Garden.[6] Khadîjeh Begum, after the dinner was removed, carried Mozeffer Mirza and myself to a palace which Baber Mirza had built, called Terebkhâna.[7] In the Terebkhâna there was a drinking party. The Terebkhâna stands in the midst of a garden. It is a small building of two stories, but a very delightful little edifice. They have bestowed most pains on the upper story. In the four corners of it are four apartments; and between them, and enclosed by them, is one great hall. Within the four

Parties of pleasure.

[1] She was a widow of Sultan Hussain Mirza's. The salute was by bowing; literally, *striking the knee*, or *kneeling*, perhaps the old form.

[2] The Musulmans employ a set of readers, who succeed each other in reading the Koran at the tombs of their men of eminence. This reading is in some instances continued night and day. The readers are paid by the rent of lands, or other funds assigned for the purpose.

[3] Bagh-e-Nou.

[4] The world-adorning Garden.

[5] The kornish is performed to the supreme emperor alone, by making a certain number of bows, or inclinations. Badia-ez-zemân, on his father's death, was regarded as the chief prince of the house of Taimur.

[6] Bagh-e-Sefid.

[7] The Pleasure-house.

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apartments are four Shahneshîns, or royal balconies. Every part of this hall is covered with paintings. Though Baber Mirza[1] built this palace, the paintings were executed by orders of Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, and represent his battles and wars. In the north end of the northern balcony, two carpets[2] were placed facing each other. On one of them Mozeffer Mirza and I sat, on the other sat Sultan Masaûd Mirza and Jehangîr Mirza. As we were guests at Mozeffer Mirza's house, Mozeffer Mirza placed me above himself, and having filled up a glass of welcome, the cupbearers in waiting began to supply all who were of the party with pure wine, which they quaffed as if it had been the water of life. The party waxed warm, and the spirit mounted up to their heads. They took a fancy to make me drink too, and bring me into the same circle with themselves. Although, till that time, I had never been guilty of drinking wine,[3] and from never having fallen into the practice, was ignorant of the sensations it produced, yet I had a strong lurking inclination to wander in this desert,[4] and my heart was much disposed to pass the stream. In my boyhood I had no wish for it, and did not know its pleasures or pains. When my father at any time asked me to drink wine, I excused myself, and abstained. After my father's death, by the guardian care of Khwâjeh Kazi, I remained pure and undefiled. I abstained even from forbidden foods; how then was I likely to indulge in wine? Afterwards when, from the force of youthful imagination and constitutional impulse, I got a desire for wine, I had nobody about my person to invite me to gratify my wishes; nay, there was not one who even suspected my secret longing for it. Though I had the appetite, therefore, it was difficult for me, unsolicited as I was, to indulge such unlawful desires. It now came into my head, that as they urged me so much, and as, besides, I had come into a refined city like Heri, in which every means of heightening pleasure and gaiety was possessed in perfection; in which all the incentives and apparatus of enjoyment were combined with an invitation to indulgence, if I did not seize the present moment, I never could expect such another. I therefore resolved to drink wine. But it struck me, that as Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza was the eldest brother, and as I had declined receiving it from his hand, and in his house, he might now take offence. I therefore mentioned this difficulty which had occurred to me. My excuse was approved of, and I was not pressed any more, at this party, to drink. It was settled, however, that the next time we met at Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza's, I should drink when pressed by the two Mirzas. At this party, among the musicians, was Hâfez Haji; Jelâl-ed-dîn Mahmûd, the flute-player, was also there, and the younger brother of Gholâm Shadi, Shadi Becheh, who played on the harp.[5] Hâfez Hâji sung well. The people of Heri sing in a low, delicate, and equable style. There was a singer of Jehangîr Mirza's present, by name Mîr Jân, a native of Samarkand, who always sang in a loud, harsh voice, and out of tune. Jehangîr Mirza, who was far gone, proposed that he should sing. He

Baber's wish to drink wine.

[1] The grandson of Shahrokh, and nephew of Ulugh Beg Mirza, the King of Samarkand. Abusaid Mirza held Khorasân for some time after the death of the first Baber Mirza.

[2] Toshak.

[3] It need hardly be remarked, that the drinking of wine is contrary to the Muhammedan law.

[4] That is, I had a great inclination to offend in this respect.

[5] Cheng.

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sang accordingly, but in a dreadfully loud, rough, disagreeable tone. The people of Khorasân value themselves on their politeness; many, however, turned away their ears, others knit their brows, but, out of respect to the Mirza, nobody ventured to stop him. After the time of evening prayers, we went from the Terebkhâna to the new Winter-palace,[1] which Mozeffer Mirza had built. By the time we reached it, Yûsef Ali Gokultâsh, being extremely drunk, rose and danced. He was a musical man, and danced well. After reaching this palace, the party got very merry and friendly. Mozeffer Mirza gave me a sword and belt, a corslet, and a whitish Tipchâk horse. In this palace Jânik sang a Tûrki song. Mozeffer Mirza had two slaves, called Kittermah and Kechekmah. During the party, and while the company was hot with wine, they performed some indecent, scurvy tricks. The party was kept up late, and did not separate till an untimely hour. I remained that night in the palace where I was.

Badîa-ez-zemân's entertainment.

Kâsim Beg, on hearing what had passed as to urging me to take wine, sent to remonstrate on the subject with Zûlnûn Beg, who took the Mirzas to task, and reprimanded them most severely, so that they wholly laid aside any idea of urging me farther to drink. Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, having heard of Mozeffer's entertainment to me, made a party in the Bagh-Jehân-ârâ, in the Makevi-khâna, and invited me. Many of my young nobles and retinue were likewise invited. My courtiers could not drink wine, out of respect to me. If they were desirous of indulging at any time, perhaps once in a month, or forty days, they used to shut their doors, and sit down to drink, in the greatest alarm, lest they should be discovered. Such were the men who were now invited. On the present occasion, when by any chance they found me not attending, they would hide their goblet with their hands, and take a draught in great dread; although such precautions were altogether unnecessary, as, at a party, I allowed my people to follow the common usages, and this party I regarded as one given by my father, or elder brother. They brought in branching willow trees. I do not know if they were in the natural state of the tree, or if the branches were formed artificially, but they had small twigs cut the length of the ears of a bow, and inserted between them, so that they had a very fanciful appearance. In the course of the party, a roast goose was put down before me. As I was ignorant of the mode of cutting it up, or carving it, I let it alone, and did not touch it. Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza asked me if I did not like it. I told him frankly that I did not know how to carve it. The Mirza immediately cut up the goose, and, dividing it into small bits, placed it again before me.[2] Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza was unequalled in such kind of attentions. Towards the close of the party, he presented me with a rich enamelled dagger, a charkob, or kerchief of cloth of gold, and a Tipchâk horse.

Baber visits the public buildings at Heri.

During the twenty days that I staid in Heri, I every day rode out to visit some new place that I had not seen before. My guide and providetor in these visits was Yûsef Ali Gokultâsh, who always got ready a sort of collation, in some suitable place where

[1] Khaneh Kishlaki-Noui.

[2] The Orientals generally have their meat dressed and brought to table, ready cut up into small pieces.

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we stopped. In the course of these twenty days, I saw perhaps everything worthy of notice, except the Khanekah (or convent) of Sultan Hussain Mirza. I saw the Bleaching-ground,[1] the garden of Ali Shîr Beg, the Paper-mills, the Takht-Astâneh (or Royal Throne);[2] the bridge of Kâh; the Keh-destân; the Bagh-e-Nezer-gâh; the Niamet-âbâd; the Khiâban, or public pleasure-walks at the Bleaching-ground;[3] the Khatîrat of Sultan Ahmed Mirza; the Takht-e-Sefer (or Sefer-Palace); the Takht-e-Nawâi; the Takht-e-Barkîr; the Takht-e-Hâji Beg; and the Takhts of Sheikh Behâeddîn Umer, and Sheikh Zeineddin; the mausoleum and tomb of Moulâna Abdal-rahman Jâmi; the Namâzgah-e-Mûkhtar;[4] the Fish-pond; the Sâk-e-Sulemân; Balweri, which was originally called Abul Walîd; the Imâm Fakhr; the Bagh-e-Khiâbân; the Colleges and Tombs of the Mirza; the College of Guher-shâd-begum, her Tomb, and her Grand Mosque; the Bagh-e-Zâghân (or Raven-Garden); the Bagh-e-nou (or New Garden); the Bagh-e-Zobeideh, or Zobeideh's Garden; the Akserai (or White Palace), built by Sultan Abusaîd Mirza, which is situated close by the Irâk-Gate; Pûrân[5] and Sûfeh-e-Sirendâzân (the Warrior's Seat); Chirgh Alânik and Mîr Wahid; the Bridge of Mâlân;[6] the Khwâjeh-Tâk (Khwâjeh's Porch), and Bagh-e-Sefid (White Garden); the Tereb-khâna (Pleasure-House); the Bagh-e-Jehân-ârâ; the Kioshk[7] and Makevi-Khaneh (or Mansion of Enjoyment); the Sosni-Khana (or Lily-palace); the Doâzdeh-Bûrj, or Twelve Towers; the Great Reservoir, on the north of the Jehân-ârâ; the four edifices on its four sides; the five gates of the town walls, the King's Gate, the Irâk Gate, the Pirozâbâd Gate, the Khush Gate, and the Kipchâk Gate; the King's-bazar; the Châsû (or great Public Market); the College of Sheikh-ul-Islâm; the Grand Mosque of the Kings; the Bagh-e-Sheher (or City Garden); the College of Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, which is built on the banks of the river Anjîl; Ali Shîr Beg's dwelling-house, which they call Unsîa (or the Palace of Ease); his Tomb and Great Mosque, which they call Kadasîa (or the Holy); his College and Khankah (or Convent), which they call Khalasîa and Akhlasîa (or the Pure); his Baths and Hospital, which they call Safaîa and Shâfaîa (the Purifying and Healthy); all these I saw in the short space that I had to spare.

[1] Gazergâh.

[2] Probably the name of a palace, though the term *takht* is sometimes applied to the shrine of a religious man.

[3] For the Khiâbân, see p. 43.

[4] Chapel, or prayer-ground.

[5] I know not what is meant by Pûrân, unless it be the residence of Sheikh Pûrân, a holy man of great celebrity in Herat.

[6] Pûl-i-Mâlân, or Mâlân-bridge, is the name of the river that passes Herât, coming from the east. There was probably some fine bridge over it, to which Baber alludes; and whence it perhaps had its name.

[7] These Kioshks, so frequently spoken of by Baber, are our own Kiosks, which we have borrowed from the Chinese. Della Valle gives a correct account of them. "Les Perses et les Turcs appellant *Kusok* ou *Kiosck* certains batimens elevez dans un jardin, ou dans quelque lieu eminent, dont l'aspect est agreable; non comme une Sale, ou un chambre pour y faire sa demeure et prendre son repos, mais comme une galerie pour s'y promener et diverter durant quelques heures du jour. Quoiqu'a proprement parler ce ne soient pas aussi des galeres qui doivent etre plus longues que larges; au lieu que ces edifices sont de figure ronde ou quarrée, ou à plusieurs faces dans une egale proportion."—*Voyages*, tome V. p. 304, French translation.

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Baber engaged to Maasûma Sultan Begum.

Some time before, while the country was in confusion, the younger daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza,[1] Maasûma Sultan Begum, had been brought into Khorasân by her mother Habîbeh Sultan Begum. One day that I went to see my Aka,[2] the young princess called along with her mother and saw me. She no sooner saw me than she conceived a strong attachment, and employed persons secretly to communicate her feelings to my Aka and my Yenka. I called Paiendeh Sultan Begum, Akâm, and Habîbeh Sultan Begum, Yenkâm.[3] After some conversation, it was agreed that my Yenka should follow me with her daughter, and come to Kâbul.

Leaves Khorasân.

Muhammed Berendûk and Zûlnûn Beg had used every kind of entreaty, and exerted all their endeavours, to prevail on me to winter in Khorasân, but did not provide me with either proper quarters or suitable conveniences to enable me to do so. The winter was come, and the snow began to fall in the mountains that separated me from my dominions. I still felt considerable alarm as to the situation of things in Kâbul, and yet they neither gave me a place in which I could construct winter quarters for myself, nor one ready fitted up for that purpose. At length, compelled by necessity, and unable to explain my real motives, I left Heri on the 8th of Shâbân, under pretence of going into winter-quarters. I marched to the neighbourhood of Bâdghîs,[4] halting a day or two at every station, and then resuming my route, in order that such of my men as had gone to collect money, or who had dispersed on any other business or employment over the country, might have time to return and join me. We lingered and tarried so long, that, in our second or third march after passing Lenger-Mîr Ghiâs, we saw the moon of Ramzân.[5] Many of those who had gone out on business or with other objects, had now come back and joined me; many did not return for twenty days or a month afterwards, when they came to me at Kâbul; several staid behind altogether, and entered into the Mirzas' service. Of this last number was Sidim Ali Derbân, who remained behind, and took service with Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza. I had shown none of Khosrou Shah's servants such attention as him. When Jehangîr Mirza went off and abandoned Ghazni, I had given it to Sidim Ali, who had left his wife's brother, Dost Angû Sheikh, behind in that city, while he himself accompanied the army. In truth, among all the servants of Khosrou Shah, there were no better men than Sidim Ali Derbân and Mohib Ali Korchi. Sidim had an excellent temper and manners. He was a man of valour in war, and was never without a party or entertainment at his house. Though extremely liberal, he was careful to confine his expenses within his income; yet he always had everything necessary. He had a polished manner and address, and his style of conversation and of telling a story was peculiarly agreeable. He was lively, witty, and humorous. His great fault was that he was addicted to paiderasty. He was rather heterodox in his religious opinions, and was accused of being somewhat of a double dealer. Many of the charges brought against him on that head,

24th Dec. 1506.

[1] One of Baber's paternal uncles.
[2] Paiendeh Sultan Begum, the widow of Sultan Hussain Mirza.
[3] These names seem to mean *my lady* and *my bridesmaid*, and are used by way of endearment.
[4] Bâdghis, or Bâdkis, is north-east from Herât.
[5] This must have been about the 15th or 16th January 1507.

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however, were really owing to his ironical manner; yet no doubt there was some truth in the charge. When Badia-ez-zemân surrendered Heri to the enemy, and went to Shah Beg, Sidim Ali, in consequence of some double dealing of his between Shah Beg and the Mirza, was put to death and thrown into the river Hirmend. Mohib Ali will be mentioned hereafter.

Leaving Lenger-Mîr-Ghiâs, and passing the villages on the borders of Gharjistân,[1] we reached Chekhcherân. From the time we left Lenger till we came into the vicinity of Chekhcherân,[2] it snowed incessantly. The farther we advanced, the deeper was the snow. At Chekhcherân the snow reached above the horses' knees. Chekhcherân belonged to Zûlnûn Beg; Mîrik Jan Irdi was his manager there. I took and paid for all Zûlnûn Beg's grain. Two or three days after we had passed Chekhcherân, the snow became excessively deep; it reached up above the stirrups. In many places the horses' feet did not reach the ground, and the snow still continued to fall. When we passed Chirâghdân, the snow not only continued deep, but we did not know the road. When at Lenger-Mîr-Ghiâs, we had consulted what was the best road to return to Kâbul: I and some others proposed that, as it was winter, we should go by the route of Kandahâr, because, though rather the longer road, it might be travelled without risk or trouble, while the hill-road was difficult and dangerous. Kâsim Beg, saying that that road was far about and this direct, behaved very perversely; and in the end we resolved on attempting the short road. One Sultan Bishâi was our guide. I do not know whether it was from old age, or from his heart failing him, or from the unusual depth of the snow, but having once lost the road, he never could find it again, so as to point out the way. As we had given the preference to this road, in consequence of the earnestness expressed by Kâsim Beg, he and his sons, anxious to preserve their reputation, dismounted, and, after beating down the snow, discovered a road, by which we advanced. Next day, as there was much snow, and the road was not to be found with all our exertions, we were brought to a complete stand. Seeing no remedy left, we returned back to a place where there was abundance of firewood, and dispatched sixty or seventy chosen men, to return by the road we had come, and, retracing our footsteps, to find, under the higher grounds, any Hazâras or other people who might be wintering there, and to bring a guide who was able to point out the way. We halted at this spot for three or four days, waiting the return of the men whom we had sent out. They did indeed come back, but without having been able to find a proper guide. Placing our reliance on God, therefore, and sending on Sultan Bishâi before us, we again advanced by that very road in which formerly we had been stopped and forced to return. In the few days that followed, many were the difficulties and hardships that we endured; indeed, such hardships and suffering as I have scarcely undergone at any other period of my life. It was at this time that I composed the following verses:—

Advances by the hill-country.

Dangers of his troops from the snow.

[1] For a learned dissertation of Silvestre de Saci on the situation of Gharjistân, see Mines de l'Orient, vol. I. p. 321.

[2] Baber, in returning to Kâbul, pursued a route through the country of the Aimâks and Hazâras, considerably to the south of that by which he had advanced to Herât. Chekhcherân lies about N. lat. 34° 12′, and E. long. 66° 8′.

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(*Tûrki.*) There is no violence or injury of fortune that I have not experienced;
This broken heart has endured them all. Alas! is there one left that I have not encountered?

For about a week, we continued pressing down the snow, without being able to advance more than a kos or a kos and a half.[1] I myself assisted in depressing the snow. Accompanied by ten or fifteen of my household, and by Kâsim Beg, his two sons Tengeri Berdi and Kember Ali, and two or three of his servants, we all dismounted, and worked in beating down the snow. Every step we sank up to the middle or the breast, but we still went on trampling it down. As the vigour of the person who went first was generally expended after he had advanced a few paces, he stood still, while another advanced and took his place. The ten, fifteen, or twenty people who worked in trampling down the snow, next succeeded in dragging on a horse without a rider. The first horse sank up to the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces, was worn out. Drawing this horse aside, we brought on another, and in this way ten, fifteen, or twenty of us trampled down the snow, and contrived to bring forward the horses of all our number. The rest of the troops, even our best men, and many that bore the title of Beg, without dismounting, advanced along the road that had been beaten for them, hanging down their heads. This was no time for plaguing them or employing authority. Every man who possesses spirit or emulation hastens to such works of himself. Continuing to advance by a track which we had beat in the snow in this manner, we proceeded by a place named Anjukân, and in three or four days reached a Khawâl, or cave, called Khawâl-koti, at the foot of the Zirrîn[2] pass. That day the storm of wind was dreadful. The snow fell in such quantities, that we all expected to meet death together. The men of that hill country call their caves and hollows Khawâl. When we reached this Khawâl, the storm was terribly violent. We halted at the mouth of it. The snow was deep, and the path narrow, so that only one person could pass at a time. The horses too advanced with difficulty over the road that had been beaten and trampled down, and the days were at the shortest. The first of the troops reached this Khawâl while it was yet day-light. About evening and night prayers, the troops ceased coming in; after which every man was obliged to dismount and halt where he happened to be. Many men waited for morning on horseback. The Khawâl seemed to be small. I took a hoe, and having swept away and cleared off the snow, made for myself, at the mouth of the cave, a resting-place about the size of a prayer-carpet.[3] I dug down in the snow as deep as my breast, and yet did not reach the ground. This hole afforded me some shelter from the wind, and I sat down in it. Some desired me to go into the cavern, but I would not go. I felt, that for me to be in a warm dwelling, and in comfort, while my men were in the midst of snow and drift—for me to be within, enjoying sleep and ease, while my followers were in trouble and distress, would be inconsistent with what I owed them, and a deviation from that society in suffering that was their due. It was right, that whatever their sufferings and difficulties were, and whatever they might be obliged to undergo, I

Reaches a cave.

[1] Two or three miles.

[2] The Zirrîn pass seems to have lain between Yeke-auleng and Chekhcherân.

[3] The Musulmans, particularly travellers, when about to pray, spread out a small carpet, on which they make their prostrations.

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should be a sharer with them. There is a Persian proverb, that "Death in the company of friends is a feast." I continued, therefore, to sit in the drift, in the sort of hole which I had cleared and dug out for myself, till bed-time prayers, when the snow fell so fast, that, as I had remained all the while sitting crouching down on my feet, I now found that four inches of snow had settled on my head, lips, and ears. That night I caught a cold in my ear. About bed-time prayers a party, after having surveyed the cave, reported that the Khawâl was very extensive, and was sufficiently large to receive all our people. As soon as I learned this, I shook off the snow that was on my head and face, and went into the cave. I sent to call in all such of the people as were at hand. A comfortable place was found within for fifty or sixty persons; such as had any eatables, stewed meat, preserved flesh, or anything else in readiness, produced them; and thus we escaped from the terrible cold, and snow, and drift, into a wonderfully safe, warm, and comfortable place, where we could refresh ourselves.

Next morning the snow and tempest ceased. Moving early, we trampled down the snow in the old way, and made a road. We reached the Bâla-Dâbân.[1] As the usual road, which is called the Zirrîn kotal, or hill-pass, leads by an excessively steep ascent, we did not attempt it, but proceeded by the lower valley road. Before we reached the Payân Dâbân,[2] the day closed on us. We halted in the defiles of the valley. The cold was dreadful, and we passed that night in great distress and misery. Many lost their hands and feet from the frost. Kepek lost his feet, Sewendûk Turkomân his hands, and Akhi his feet, from the cold of that night. Early next morning we moved down the glen. Although we knew that this was not the usual road, yet, placing our trust in God, we advanced down the valley, and descended by difficult and precipitous places. It was evening prayer before we extricated ourselves from the mouth of the valley. It was not in the memory of the oldest man, that this pass had ever been descended, when there was so much snow on the ground; nay, it was never known that anybody even conceived the idea of passing it at such a season. Although for some days we endured much from the depth of the snow, yet, in the issue, it was this very circumstance which brought us to our journey's end. For, if the snow had *not* been so deep, how was it possible to have gone, as we did, where there was no road, marching over precipices and ravines? Had it not been for the extreme depth of the snow, the whole of our horses and camels must have sunk into the first gulph that we met with; Arrives at the Zirrîn Pass.

(*Persian verse.*)—Every good and evil that exists,
If you mark it well, is for a blessing.

It was bed-time prayers when we reached Yeke-Auleng, and halted. The people of Yeke-Auleng,[3] who had heard of us as we descended, carried us to their warm Reaches Yeke-Auleng

[1] Upper Dâbân, or Pass. Perhaps the top of the pass.
[2] Lower Dâbân, or Pass; or, probably the bottom of the pass.
[3] Yeke-Auleng lies about thirty miles south-west from Bamiân.

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houses, brought out fat sheep for us, a superfluity of hay and grain for our horses, with abundance of wood and dried dung to kindle us fires. To pass from the cold and snow, into such a village and its warm houses, on escaping from want and suffering, to find such plenty of good bread and fat sheep as we did, is an enjoyment that can be conceived only by such as have suffered similar hardships, or endured such heavy distress. We staid one day at Yeke-Auleng to refresh and recruit the spirits and strength of our men; after which we marched on two farsangs,[1] and halted. Next morning was the Id[2] of the Ramzân. We passed through Bamiân, descended by the kotal, or hill-pass of Shibertu, and halted before reaching Jenglîk. The Turkomân Hazâras had taken up their winter-quarters in the line of my march, with their families and property, and had not the smallest intimation of my approach. Next morning, on our march, we came among their huts, close by their sheep-folds, two or three of which we plundered; whereupon the whole of the Hazâras taking the alarm, abandoned their huts and property, and fled away to the hills with their children. Soon afterwards information was brought from the van, that a body of them, having posted themselves right in our line of march, had stopped our people in a narrow defile, were assailing them with arrows, and effectually prevented their advance. Immediately on learning this I hurried forward. On coming up, I found that there really was properly speaking no strait; but that some Hazâras had posted themselves on a projecting eminence, where they had gathered together their effects, had taken up a position, and were making discharges of arrows on our men.

Plunders the Hazâras.

(*Túrki verse.*) They marked the distant blackening of the foe,
And stood panic-struck and confounded;
I came up and hastened to the spot,
And pressing on, exclaiming, Stand! Stand!
My aim was to make my troops alert,
To fall briskly upon the foe.
Having brought on my men, I placed myself behind;
When not a man minded my orders;
I had neither my coat of mail, nor horse-mail, nor arms,
Except only my bow and arrows.
When I stood still, all my men stood still also,
As if the foe had slain them all.
"He who hires a servant, hires him for his need,
That he may one day be useful in time of danger,
Not that he should stand still while his lord advances,
That he should stand at ease while his lord bears the burden of the day.
He who is a servant should serve in due season,
Not loiter in thy service, so as not even to be seasoning to thy food."[3]
At length I spurred on my horse and advanced,
And, driving the foe before me, ascended the hill;
My men, on seeing me advance, advanced also,
Leaving their terror behind.

[1] About eight miles.

[2] About the 14th of February 1507. The festival on the termination of the fast of Ramzân.

[3] That is, if the master furnish the principal part of the entertainment by being *the meat*, the servant ought, at least, to be *the seasoning*, or *sauce*. If the master bears the brunt of the day, the servant should lend some assistance.

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Pushing forward, we quickly climbed the hill;
We went on without heeding their arrows,
Sometimes dismounting, sometimes on horseback.
First of all came on the boldest warriors:
The enemy showered down arrows from above,
But marking our resolution gave way and fled.
We gained the top of the hill, and drove the Hazâras before us,
We skipped over the heights and hollows like deer;
We cut off the heads of the slain like deer;
We plundered them, we divided their property and sheep;
We slew the Tûrkoman Hazâras,
And made captives of their men and women;
Those who were far off too we followed and made prisoners:
We took their wives and their children.

The purport of these verses is, that when the Hazâras stopped the van, on its route, our men were all rather perplexed, and halted. In this situation I came up singly. Having called out to the men who were fleeing, "Stand! Stand!" I attempted to encourage them. Not one of them would listen to me, or advance upon the enemy, but they stood scattered about in different places. Although I had not put on my helmet, my horse's mail, or my armour, and had only my bow and quiver, I called out that servants were kept that they might be serviceable, and, in time of need, prove their loyalty to their master; not for the purpose of looking on while their master marched up against the foe: after which I spurred on my horse. When my men saw me making for the enemy, they followed. On reaching the hill which the Hazâras occupied, our troops instantly climbed it, and, without minding the arrows which poured down on them, made their way up, partly on horseback, partly on foot. As soon as the enemy saw that our men were in real earnest, they did not venture to stand their ground, but took to flight. Our people pursued them up the hills, hunting them like deer or game. Such property or effects as our troops could lay hold of, they brought in with them, and made the families and children of the enemy prisoners. We also gathered in some of their sheep, which we gave in charge to Yârek Taghâi, while we proceeded forward. We traversed the heights and eminences of the hill-country, driving off the horses and sheep of the Hazâras, and brought them to Lenger-Taimûr-Beg, where we encamped. Fourteen or fifteen of the most noted insurgents and robber chiefs of the Hazâras had fallen into our hands. It was my intention to have put them to death with torture at our halting-ground, as an example and terror to all rebels and robbers; but Kâsim Beg happening to meet them, was filled with unseasonable commiseration, and let them go;

To do good to the bad is the same thing
As to do evil to the good:
Salt ground does not produce spikenard;—
Do not throw away good seed on it.[1]

The same pity was extended to the other prisoners, who were all set at liberty.

[1] From the Gulistân of Sadi

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Defection of Muhammed Hussain Mirza.

Khan Mirza proclaimed king.

While we were plundering the Turkomân Hazâras, information reached us that Muhammed Hussain Mirza Doghlet, and Sultan Senjer Birlâs, having drawn over to their interests the body of Moghuls who had staid behind in Kâbul, had declared Khân Mirza king,[1] were now besieging Kâbul, and had spread a report that Badiâ-ez-zemân Mirza and Mozeffer Mirza had seized the king, and carried him away to the fort of Ekhtiâr-ed-din at Heri, which is now known by the name of Aleh-kurghân.[2] The chief persons in the fort of Kâbul were Mûlla Babâi Beshâgheri, Khalîfeh, Mohib Ali Kôrchi, Ahmed Yûsef, and Ahmed Kâsim. These officers had all conducted themselves well, had put the fort into a strong state of defence, and done everything to guard it. At Lenger-Taimur-Beg I wrote an intimation of my having arrived in this quarter, and sent it to the nobles who were in Kâbul, by Muhammed Andejâni, one of Kâsim Beg's servants. I arranged with them that I was to descend by the Straits of Ghûrbend, and to march on and take the enemy by surprise. The signal of my coming was to be, that I was to kindle a blazing fire after passing Minâr hill; and I enjoined them, on their side, to make a large fire in the Citadel, on the top of the Old Kiosk, which is now the Treasury, in order that we might be sure that they were aware of our approach; and while we assailed the enemy from without, they were to sally out from within, and to leave nothing undone to rout the besiegers. Such were the instructions which I dispatched Muhammed Andejâni to communicate.

Baber's plan for surprising the rebels in Kâbul.

Next morning, we left Lenger, and halted opposite to Ushter-sheher. Mounting again before day, we descended the Pass of Ghûrbend towards night, and halted near Sir-e-pûl.[3] Having refreshed our horses, and bathed them, we left Sir-e-pûl at noon-day prayers. Till we reached Tutkâwel there was no snow. After passing that place, the farther we went the snow was the deeper. Between the village of Noh[4] and Minâr the cold was so excessive, that, in the whole course of my life, I have seldom experienced the like. I sent Ahmedi Yesâwel, along with Kara Ahmed Yurchi, to the Begs in Kâbul, to let them know that we had come according to our engagement, and to require them to be on the alert, and bold. After surmounting the hill of Minâr, we descended to the skirts of the hill, and, being rendered quite powerless from the frost, kindled fires and warmed ourselves. This was not the place where we were to kindle our fires, but, being unable to stand the cold, we were obliged to kindle them to warm ourselves. The morning was near when we set out from the skirts of the hill of Minâr. Between Kâbul and Minâr the snow reached up to the horses' thighs. Every place was covered with snow, so that such of our people as deviated from the road were exposed to mischief. This whole distance we passed, sinking and rising again in the snow. In this way we reached Kâbul undiscovered, by the appointed time. Before we arrived at Bîbi Mah-rûî, we saw a fire blazing in the Citadel. We then knew that

[1] Khan Mirza was Sultan Weis Mirza, the youngest son of Baber's uncle, Sultan Mahmûd Mirza of Hissâr, by a half sister of Baber's mother, and consequently his cousin. Muhammed Hussain Mirza Doghlet had married another sister of Baber's mother, and had been governor of Uratippa, whence he had been expelled by Sheibâni Khan.

[2] Eagle Castle. It was an extremely strong castle on the north of Herât, and much used as a state-prison. It is pretended that Shahrokh Mirza employed no less than seven hundred thousand men in rebuilding it.

[3] Bridgend, a common name in these countries.

[4] The Persian has Yekhshi.

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they were prepared. When we came to Syed Kâsim's Bridge, I sent Shîrim Taghâi, with the right wing, towards Mûlla Baba's Bridge. With the centre and left wing, I advanced by way of Bâba Lûli; at that time, where the Bagh-e-Kalîfeh now is, there was a small garden and house, which Ulugh Beg Mirza had made to serve as a Lenger.[1] Although its trees and wood were gone, yet its inclosure was still left. Khan Mirza had his quarters there. Hussain Mirza was in the Bagh-e-Behisht,[2] which had been made by Ulugh Beg Mirza. We had got to the burying-ground near Mûlla Baba's garden, when they brought back to me, wounded and unhorsed, a party that had pushed on in advance. This party, which had preceded us and had entered Khan Mirza's house, was four in number, Syed Kâsim Ishik-agha, Kember Ali Beg, Shîr Kûli Kerâwel Moghul, and Sultan Ahmed Moghul, who was one of Shîr Kûli Moghul's followers; these four persons, as soon as they came up, without halting, entered the palace where Mirza Khan lived. All was instantly in uproar and alarm. Khan Mirza mounted on horseback, galloped off, and escaped. Muhammed Hussain Korbegi's younger brother, also in the service of Khan Mirza, attacked Shîr Kûli Moghul, one of the four, sword in hand, and threw him down; but Shîr Kûli contrived to escape while his opponent was endeavouring to cut off his head. These four persons, still smarting from their sabre and arrow wounds, were brought to me as I have mentioned. The alley was narrow, and our horsemen crowded into it, so that a confusion and bustle ensued. Some of the enemy also collected, and though much crowded, made a stand. Our people could not get forward, and could not get back. I desired some men who were near me to dismount and push on. Dost Nâsir, Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali Kitâbdâr, Baba Shir-zâd, Shah Mahmûd, and a few others, having accordingly dismounted, advanced and assailed the enemy with their arrows. The enemy were shaken and took to flight. We waited a long time for the coming of our people from the fort, but they did not arrive in time for action. After the enemy were defeated, they began to drop in by ones and twos. Before we reached the Charbâgh, in which Khan Mirza's quarters had been, Ahmed Yûsef and Syed Yûsef joined me from the fort, and we entered the garden that he had left. On finding that Khan Mirza had escaped, we instantly left it. Ahmed Yûsef was behind me, when, at the gate of the Charbâgh, as I was coming out, Dost Sirpuli Piâdeh, a man to whom I had shown particular marks of favour in Kâbul, on account of his valour, and whom I had left in the office of Kotwâl,[3] advanced with a naked sword in his hand, and made at me. I had on my stuffed waistcoat,[4] but had not put on my plate-mail. I had also omitted to put on my helmet. Although I called out to him, "Ho, Dost! Ho, Dost!" and spoke to him; and though Ahmed Yûsef also called out; whether it was that the cold and snow had affected him, or whether he was hurried away by a confusion of ideas arising from the bustle of fight, he did not know me, and, without stopping, let fall a

He attacks them.

Khan Mirza escapes.

Baber in danger.

[1] A Lenger is a house, in which Kalenders, or the religious devotees of the Muhammedans, live in, a sort of collegiate state. A Caravansera is generally connected with it, and is often the only part remaining of the establishment.

[2] Garden of Heaven.

[3] The Kotwâl is a Superintendant of Police.

[4] The jibeh is a sort of waistcoat quilted with cotton. The gherbiche or plate-mail, are four plates of iron or other metal, made to cover the back, front, and sides.

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blow on my bare arm. The grace of God was conspicuous; it did not hurt a single hair;

> However the sword of man may strike,
> It injures not a single vein, without the will of God.

I had repeated a prayer, by virtue of which it was that Almighty God averted my danger, and removed from me the risk to which I was exposed. It was as follows:—

His prayer.

(*Arabic*)—" O my God! Thou art my Creator; except Thee there is no God. On Thee do I repose my trust; Thou art the Lord of the mighty throne. What God wills comes to pass; and what He does not will, comes not come to pass; and there is no power nor strength but through the High and Exalted God; and, of a truth, in all things God is Almighty; and verily He comprehends all things by his knowledge, and has taken account of everything. O my Creator! as I sincerely trust in Thee, do Thou seize by the forelock all evil proceeding from within myself, and all evil coming from without, and all evil proceeding from every man who can be the occasion of evil, and all such evil as can proceed from any living thing, and remove them far from me; since, of a truth, thou art the Lord of the exalted throne!"

He attempts to seize Muhammed Hussain Mirza.

Proceeding thence, I went to the Bagh-e-Behisht, where Muhammed Hussain Mirza resided; but he had fled, and had escaped and hid himself. In a breach in the wall of the Baghcheh (or Little Garden), in which Muhammed Hussain Mirza had resided, seven or eight archers kept their post. I galloped and spurred my horse at them; they durst not stand, but ran off. I came up with one of them, and cut him down. He went spinning off in such a way, that I imagined his head had been severed from his body, and passed on. The person whom I had hit was Tulik Gokultâsh, the foster brother of Khan Mirza; I struck him on the arm. Just as I had reached the door of Muhammed Hussain Mirza's house, there was a Moghul sitting on the terrace, who had been in my service, and I recognised him. He fitted an arrow to his bow, and aimed at me. A cry rose on all sides, " That is the King!" he turned from his aim, discharged the arrow, and ran off. As the time for shooting was gone by, and as the Mirza and his officers had fled away or were prisoners, what purpose was to be answered by his shooting? While I was at this palace, Sultan Senjer Birlâs, whom I had distinguished by favours, and to whom I had given the Tumân of Nangenhâr, but who had nevertheless engaged in this rebellion, was taken, and dragged before me with a rope about his neck. Being in great agitation, he called out, " What fault have I done?" " Is there a greater crime than for a man of note like you to associate and conspire with insurgents and rebels?" As Shah Begum,[1] the mother of my maternal uncle the Khan, was his sister's daughter, I ordered them not to drag him in this shameful way along the ground, but spared his life, and did him no more harm.

Leaving this place, I directed Ahmed Kâsim Kûhber, who was one of the chiefs that had been in the fort, to pursue Khan Mirza with a body of troops. Close by the

[1] Shah Begum was one of the wives of Yunis Khan, the maternal grandfather of Baber, and was the mother of Sultan Nigâr-Khanum, who was Khan Mirza's mother. It is to be observed, that *Khanum* and *Khanim* are used indiscriminately in all the copies.

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Bagh-e-Behisht,[1] Shah Begum and the Khanim[2] dwelt, in palaces which they had themselves erected. On leaving the palace, I went to visit Shah Begum and the Khanim. The town's-people and the rabble of the place had taken to their clubs, and were making a riot. They were eager to lay hold of men in corners, to plunder property, and profit by the confusion. I therefore stationed parties in different places, to chastise and disperse them, and to drive them away. Shah Begum and Khanim were sitting together in the same house. I alighted where I had always done, and went up and saluted them with the same respect and form as I had been accustomed to use. Shah Begum and the Khanim were out of all measure alarmed, confounded, dismayed, and ashamed. They could neither stammer out an excuse, nor make the inquiries which politeness required. It was not my wish that they should feel uneasy; yet the faction which had been guilty of such excesses was composed of persons who, beyond all doubt, were not disposed to neglect the suggestions of the Begum and the Khanim. Khan Mirza was the grandson of Shah Begum, and night and day with the Begums. If he did not pursue their advice, it was in their power to have prevented his leaving them, and they could have kept him near them under their own eye. On several occasions, too, when, from adverse circumstances and ill fortune, I was separated from my country, my throne, my servants, and dependants, I had fled to them for refuge and shelter, and my mother had also gone to them, but we experienced no sort of kindness or support. Khan Mirza, my younger brother,[3] and his mother, Sultan Nigâr-Khânum, at that time possessed valuable and populous countries, while I and my mother had not even a single village, nor a few fowls. My mother was a daughter of Yunis Khan, and I was his grandson. But whether I was or not, every one of that connexion who happened to come in my way was sure to benefit by it, and was treated as a relation or cousin. When Shah Begum came to live with me, I bestowed on her Pemghân, which is one of the most desirable places in Kâbul. Indeed, I never failed in my duty or service towards any of them. Sultan Saîd Khan, the Khan of Kashghâr,[4] came to me with five or six naked followers on foot; I received them like my own brothers, and gave him the Tumân of Mandrâur, one of the districts of Lemghân. When Shah Ismâel overthrew and slew Sheibâk Khan in Merv, and I passed over into Kundez, the men of Andejân began to turn their eyes towards me. Several of them displaced their Daroghas, while others held their towns on my account, and sent to give me notice of their proceedings. I dispatched Sultan Saîd Khan, with my Baberi servants and an additional reinforcement, to hold the government of my own native country of Andejân, and raised him to the rank of Khan; and, down to this moment, I have always continued to treat every man of that family, who places himself under my protection,

Baber visits the Begums.

[1] Garden of Paradise.

[2] The Khanim, or princess, here mentioned, must be either Meher-nigâr-Khanum, the eldest sister of Baber's mother, and one of the widows of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, or more probably her youngest sister of the full blood, Khub-nigâr-Khanum, the wife of Muhammed Hussain Mirza. Khan Mirza was the youngest son of their sister of the half blood, Sultan Nigâr-Khanim, the widow of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza.

[3] Cousins are often familiarly called brothers in eastern countries. The meaning is, Khan Mirza, whom I regarded as my younger brother, &c.

[4] He also was a near relation of Yunis Khan. He married a daughter of one of Baber's aunts.

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with as much kindness as my own paternal relations; as, for example, Chin Taimur Sultan, Isan Taimur Sultan, Tokhteh Bugha Sultan, and Baba Sultan, are at this instant with me, and I have received and treated them with more distinction and favour than my own paternal cousins. I have no intention, by what I have written, to reflect on any one; all that I have said is only the plain truth: and I have not mentioned it with the least design to praise myself; I have only spoken of things as they happened. In all that I have written, down to the present moment, I have in every word most scrupulously followed the truth. I have spoken of occurrences precisely as they really passed; I have consequently described every good or bad act, were it of my father or elder brother, just as it occurred, and have set forth the merit or demerit of every man, whether friend or stranger, with the most perfect impartiality. Let the reader therefore excuse me, and let not the hearer judge with too much severity.

Leaving their palace, I went to the Chehâr Bagh, which had been occupied by Khan Mirza. On reaching it I wrote letters to different parts of the country, as well as to the Aimâks and wandering tribes, announcing my victory. I then mounted my horse and entered the citadel.

Muhammed Hussain Mirza taken prisoner.

Muhammed Hussain Mirza, after making his escape, had in his fright taken refuge in the Khanim's wardrobe, and hid himself among the carpets. Miram Diwâneh and some others were sent from the fort, to search the house and bring him out. On coming to the Khanim's palace-gate, they made use of rough, and not very polite language. They, however, discovered Muhammed Hussain Mirza hid among the carpets, and conveyed him into the citadel. I behaved to him with my wonted respect, rose on his coming in, and showed no symptoms of harshness in my manner. Muhammed Hussain Mirza had conducted himself in such a criminal and guilty way, and had been actively engaged in such mutinous and rebellious proceedings, that, had he been cut in pieces, or put to a painful death, he would only have met with his deserts. As we were in some degree of relationship to each other, he having sons and daughters by my mother's sister, Khub-nigâr-Khânum, I took that circumstance into consideration, and gave him his liberty, allowing him to set out for Khorasân. Yet this ungrateful, thankless man, this coward, who had been treated by me with such lenity, and whose life I had spared, entirely forgetful of this benefit, abused me and scandalized my conduct to Sheibâk Khan. It was but a short time, however, before Sheibâk Khan put him to death, and thus sufficiently avenged me:—

> Deliver over him who injures you to Fate;
> For Fate is a servant that will avenge your quarrel.

Khan Mirza also taken.

Ahmed Kâsim Kûhber, and the party who were sent in pursuit of Khan Mirza, overtook him among the hillocks of Kurghe-Yelâk. He was unable to flee, and had neither strength nor courage enough to fight. They took him prisoner, and brought him before me. I was sitting in the old Diwânkhâneh[1] (or Hall of Audience), in a

[1] The Akbernâmeh says that the young prince was brought to Baber by the Khanim, his mother, and gives the address which she made him on the occasion. The account of this affair there given, is, in several respects, inconsistent with that of Baber. His mother does not appear to have been at Kâbul. She had married Uzbek Khan.

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portico on its north-east side, when he was brought in. I said, "Come and embrace me." From the agitation in which he was, he fell twice before he could come up and make his obeisance. After we had saluted I seated him at my side, and spoke encouragingly to him. They brought in sherbet. I myself drank of it first, in order to reassure him, and then handed it to him. As I was still uncertain of the fidelity of a considerable part of the soldiers, the country people, the Moghuls, and Chaghatâi, who were yet unsettled, I sent Khan Mirza into custody at large in the house of his sisters,[1] with orders to him not to leave it; but, as the commotions and sedition of the Ils and Ulûses still continued, and as the Khan's stay in Kâbul did not seem advisable, I allowed him, in the course of a few days, to proceed to Khorasân.

Baber visits Bârân, &c.

After he had taken leave, I set out on a circuit through Bârân, Châstûbeh, and the low grounds of Gulbehâr.[2] In the spring, the country about Bârân, the plain of Châstûbeh, and the low country of Gulbehâr, is excessively pleasant. Its verdure is much superior to that of any place in Kâbul. It abounds with tulips of various species. I once desired the different kinds to be counted, and they brought me in thirty-four sorts. I wrote some verses in praise of the district;

(*Türki.*) Its verdure and flowers render Kâbul, in spring, a heaven;
But above all, the spring of Bârân, and of Gulbehâr, is enchanting.

In this same tour I finished the ghazel which begins thus:—

(*Türki.*) My heart is like a rose-bud, spotted with blood;
Were there a hundred thousand springs, the rose-bud of my heart can never blow.

In truth, few places can be compared to these in the spring, either for beauty of prospect, or for the amusement of hawking, as has been more particularly noticed in the summary account I have given of Kâbul and Ghazni.

Nâsir Mirza expelled from Badakhshân.

This same year, the Amirs of Badakhshân, such as Muhammed Korchi, Mobârek Shah Zobîr, and Jehangîr, being offended with the conduct and proceedings of Nâsir Mirza, and some of his favourites, rose in insurrection, united, and formed an army. After collecting their horse and foot in the plain which lies on the river Kokcheh,[3] towards Yeftil and Râgh, they advanced by way of the broken hillock grounds near Khemchân. Nâsir Mirza, and those who were about him, being inexperienced young men, of no consideration or foresight, marched towards the hillocks to give the insurgents battle, and engaged them. The ground is a mixture of hill and plain. The enemy had a numerous infantry. Though several times charged by cavalry they stood fast, and in their turn attacked so spiritedly, that the Mirza's horse were unable to keep their ground, and fled. The Badakhshânians having routed Nâsir Mirza, pillaged and plundered all who were connected with or dependent on him. Nâsir Mirza, with his routed and plundered adherents, fled by way of Ishkemish and Narîn, to Kil-

[1] Several of his sisters seem to have been at this time at Kâbul.—See p. 80.

[2] These places lie to the north of Kâbul, among the hills.

[3] The river on which Faizâbâd stands; it joins the Amu from the south, rising in Kafferistân. It is one of the two chief branches of the Oxus.

[4] These places lie south-east from Kundez.

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kâi, and, going up the Sûrkh-ab, proceeded on to Abdereh; whence, descending by the hill-pass of Shibertû, he reached Kâbul with seventy or eighty plundered and worn-out servants and followers, naked and hungry. It was a striking dispensation of Providence. Two or three years before, Nâsir Mirza had instigated all the Ils and Ulûses to rise up and march off with him in rebellion from Kâbul, had proceeded to Badakhshân, put the forts in a state of defence, guarded the valleys, and indulged in the most ambitious views; now he returned, ashamed and distressed at his former doings, and afflicted and distracted at his former defection. I did not show him the least symptom of displeasure, but asked him a number of questions, conversed with him, and showed him marks of regard, in order to dissipate his uneasiness and embarrassment.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 913.[1]

Baber's foray against the Ghiljis.

I SET out from Kâbul for the purpose of plundering and beating up the quarters of the Ghiljis. By the time we halted at Sirdeh, they brought me notice that a large body of Mehmends, quite unaware of our approach, were lying at Misht and Sekâneh,[3] which are about a farsang from Sirdeh. The Amirs, and men who accompanied me, were eager to be allowed to fall upon these Mehmends. I answered, "Would it be right, while the object of the expedition on which we are bent is still unaccomplished, to turn out of our way to chastise and injure our own subjects? It cannot be." Leaving Sirdeh, we crossed the Desht of Kattewâz[4] by night. The night was dark, and the ground uneven. We could see neither hill nor hillock, nor any trace of a road or passage. Nobody was able to guide us. At last I myself led the way. I had passed once or twice before through this ground, and, trusting to my recollection of it, I advanced, keeping the pole-star on my right hand. Almighty God was propitious, and we came right on Kiakiû, and the stream of Ulâbetû, towards the place where the Ghiljis were lying, called Khwâjeh Ismâel Siriti. The road passes over the stream; we halted in the hollow in which the stream flows, rested and refreshed ourselves and our horses for an hour; and having slept and taken breath, towards morning we set out again. The sun was up before we emerged from these hills and knolls, and reached the Desht. From thence, a good farsang[5] from the Ghilji camp, we observed a blackness, which was either owing to the Ghiljis being in motion, or to smoke. The young and inexperienced men of the army all set forward full speed; I followed them for two kos,[6] shooting arrows at their horses, and at length checked their speed. When five or six

[1] This year commenced on the 13th of May 1507.

[2] The Ghiljis inhabit the tract to the southward and eastward of Ghazni and Lohger.

[3] Sekâneh lies south-east of Shorkach, and near Kharbin. Sirdeh is about twenty-five or thirty miles south of Ghazni.

[4] The Desht of Kattehwâz is to the south of Ghazni.

[5] Four miles.

[6] Three miles.

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thousand men set out on a pillaging party, it is extremely difficult to maintain discipline. The Almighty directed everything favourably. Our people stopped. When we had got about a Shirai kos from the enemy, we saw the blackness occasioned by the encampment of the Afghans, and sent on the pillagers. In this foray we took a number of sheep. I had never seen so many taken at any other time. While we were dismounted, and employed in collecting the property and spoil, the enemy gathered in troops all around, descended into the plain, and provoked us to fight. Some of the Begs and men having gone out, surrounded and took one body of them whole and entire, and put every man of them to the sword. Nâzir Mirza attacked another body of them, and entirely cut them to pieces. A minaret of skulls was erected of the heads of these Afghans. Dost Piâdeh, the Kotwal, whose name has been already noticed, was wounded in the leg by an arrow, and died by the time we reached Kâbul.

Marching back from Khwâjeh Ismâel, we halted at Ulabetû. Here some of my Begs and officers were directed to go and separate the fifth of the spoil. Kâsim Beg, and some others, as a mark of favour, had not the fifth taken from them. The fifth so taken was returned at sixteen thousand sheep, so that the spoil amounted to eighty thousand, and, making allowance for losses and for the fifths not demanded, must have amounted to a hundred thousand sheep.

Forms the hunting-ring.

Marching from this ground next morning, I directed the large hunting-ring to be formed by the troops in the plain of Kattehwâz, for the purpose of the chase. The deer and gorkhers[1] of this plain are always very fat, and in great plenty. A number of deer and gorkhers were enclosed in our circle, and many of them were killed. During the hunt I pursued a gorkher, and, on coming near, discharged first one arrow at it, and then another, but the wounds were not such as to bring it down. Yet, in consequence of these two wounds, it ran slower than before. Spurring on my horse, and getting nearer it, I hit it such a blow with my sword on the back part of the head, behind its two ears, that its windpipe was cut, and it fell tumbling over, its hind legs striking my stirrups. My sword cut excessively well, and it was a wonderfully fat gorkher. Its rib might be somewhat less than a gez[2] in length. Shirîm Taghai, and some others who had seen the deer of Moghûlistân, were surprised, and declared that, even in Moghûlistân, deer so fat and large were very rarely to be met with. I killed also another gorkher, and the deer and gorkhers in general that were killed in this hunt were very fat; but none equalled in size the gorkher which I have mentioned.

Affairs of Khorasân.

When this foray was over I returned to Kâbul, and encamped. In the end of last year,[3] Sheibâk Khan had set out from Samarkand with his army, for the purpose of conquering Khorasân. Shah Mansûr Bakhshi, a traitor, who held Andekhûd, sent persons to Sheibâk Khan, inviting him to hasten his approach. When he came near Andekhûd,[4] this wretch, relying on his having invited the Uzbeks, dressed himself very fine, put a plume on his head, and taking along with him a peshkesh and a present of his choicest curiosities, issued forth. On his approach, the Uzbeks, who had

[1] The gorkher is the wild ass. [2] The gez may be about two feet. [3] Spring of 1507.
[4] Andekhûd may be about twenty-five miles west of Shaberghan, and lies near the Desert.

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no officer of rank with them, flocked round him on every side. In the twinkling of an eye they fell upon the procession, pulled away and plundered his effeminate attire, his peshkesh and his rarities, and stripped and robbed him and all his people.

Irresolution of the Princes.

Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, Mozeffer Mirza, Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs, and Zûlnûn Arghûn, all lay in the vicinity of Bâba Khâki with the army which they had collected. They had neither made up their minds to fight, nor had they agreed to put the fort in a defensible state. They had nothing in order, and had come to no final resolution; but continued lying there panic-struck, ill informed, and irresolute. Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs, who was a man of sense and talent, proposed that Mozeffer Mirza and he should fortify themselves in Heri, while Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza and Zûlnûn Beg should proceed to the hill-country in the adjoining territory, should call in to their assistance, Sultan Ali Arghûn from Sistân, and Shah Beg and Mokîm, with their armies, from Kandahâr and Zemîn-Dâwer, so as to strengthen themselves by a junction with these chieftains; that when the troops of the Hazâras and Nukderis were once in the field, and in motion, it would be difficult for the enemy to advance into the hill-country, and that, as they would then be harassed, and kept on the alarm by the army without, it would be quite impossible for them to act with effect against the town. His advice was most judicious, and was founded on deep consideration and foresight. Zûlnûn Arghûn, though a man of courage, yet was mean, avaricious, and of very slender judgment. He was a flighty, crack-brained man. During the time that the brothers were joint-kings in Heri, he was Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza's prime-minister and chief adviser, as has been mentioned. His avarice made him unwilling that Muhammed Berendûk should remain in the city. He was anxious that he himself should be left there; but this he could not accomplish. A more striking proof of his wrong-headedness and derangement is, that he suffered himself to be grossly deluded and cheated, by trusting to needy flatterers and impostors. The incident occurred when he was prime-minister, and in the highest trust at Heri, at which time a body of Sheikhs and Mûllas came and told him, that they had discovered by their communications with the Spheres, that he was to have the appellation of Huzeber-ûlla (the Lion of God), and was to defeat the Uzbeks. Relying on this assurance, and hanging this prediction about his neck, he returned thanks to God; and hence it was that he paid no attention to the wise suggestions of Muhammed Berendûk; did not put the fort in a defensible state; did not prepare ammunition and warlike arms; did not appoint either an advance or picquets to get notice of the enemy's approach, nor even exercise his army, or accustom it to discipline, or battle-array, so as to be prepared and able to fight with readiness when the enemy came.

Anecdote of Zûlnûn Beg.

Sheibâk Khan's irruption into Khorasân.

Sheibâk Khan having passed the Murghâb in the month of Moharrem,[1] the first notice they had of his approach, was the news of his arrival in the vicinity of Sirâkâi.[2] Being filled with consternation, they were unable to do any one thing that was requisite. They could neither assemble their men, nor draw up their army in battle-array; every man went off to shift for himself. Zûlnûn Arghûn, infatuated by absurd flattery, as has been mentioned, kept his ground at Kara Rebât against fifty thousand

Death of Zûlnûn Beg.

[1] May and June 1507. [2] Perhaps Siraks or Sirakhsh.

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Uzbeks, with a hundred or a hundred and fifty men. A great body of the enemy coming up, took him in an instant, and swept on. They cut off his head as soon as he was taken.

Herât taken.

The mother, sister, Haram, and treasures of the Mirzas, were in the castle of Ehktiâr-êd-din, which commonly goes by the name of Aleh Kûrghân.[1] The Mirzas reached the city late in the evening: they slept till midnight to refresh their horses. At dawn they abandoned the place, without even having thought of putting the fort in a state of defence. During this interval of leisure, they took no means for carrying off their mother, sister, wives, or children, but ran away, leaving them prisoners in the hands of the Uzbeks.[2] Payendeh Sultan Begum, Khadîjeh Begum, with the wives and women of Sultan Hussain Mirza, of Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza, and Mozeffer Mirza, their children, infants, and whatever treasure and effects the Mirzas possessed, were all in Aleh Kûrghân. They had not put the fort in a sufficient posture of defence, and the troops that had been appointed to garrison it were not arrived. Ashik Muhammed Arghûn, the younger brother of Mazîd Beg, having fled on foot from the army, arrived at Heri and entered the castle. Ali Khân the son of Amîr Umer Beg, Sheikh Abdalla Bekâwal, Mirza Beg Ky-Khosravi, and Miraki Kor Diwân, also threw themselves into the castle. On Sheibâk Khan's arrival, after two or three days, the Sheikh-ûl-Islam and the chief men of the city, having made a capitulation, took the keys of the walled town, went out to meet him and surrendered the place. Ashik Muhammed, however, held out the castle for sixteen or seventeen days longer; but a mine being run from without, near the horse-market, and fired, a tower was demolished. On this the people in the castle, thinking that all was over with them, gave up all thoughts of holding out, and surrendered.

Sheibâk's harsh conduct.

After the taking of Heri, Sheibâk Khan behaved extremely ill to the children and wives of the kings; nor to them alone, he conducted himself towards everybody in a rude, unseemly, and unworthy manner, forfeiting his good name and glory for a little wretched earthly pelf. The first of Sheibâk Khan's misdeeds in Heri was, that for the sake of some worldly dirt, he ordered Khadîjeh Begum to be given up to Shah Mansûr Bakhshi, the catamite, to be plundered and treated as one of his meanest female slaves. Again, he gave the reverend and respected Saint, Sheikh Purân, to the Moghul Abdul Wahâb to be plundered; each of his sons he gave to a different person for the same purpose. He gave the poets and authors to Mulla Binâi to be squeezed. Among the jeux d'esprit on this subject, one tetrastich is often repeated in Khorasân:—

Except only Abdalla Kirkhar,[3] to-day,
There is not a poet can show the colour of money;

[1] This strong castle lies, as has been mentioned, close to Herât on the north.

[2] It may only be necessary to add, that Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza took refuge with Shah Ismâel Sufevi, who gave him Tabriz. When the Turkish Emperor Selim took that place in A. H. 920 (A. D. 1514), he was taken prisoner and carried to Constantinople, where he died A. H. 923 (A. D. 1517). Muhammed Zemân Mirza, who is often mentioned in the course of Baber's transactions in Hindustân, was his son.

[3] Kirkhar (asini nervus) seems to have been the nick-name of some poet who was plundered.

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Binâi is inflamed with hopes of getting hold of the poet's cash,
But he will only get hold of a Kîrkhar.[1]

There was a Khan's daughter called Khanim, one of Mozeffer Mirza's Haram. Sheibâk Khan married her immediately on taking Heri, without being restrained by her being in an impure state.[2] In spite of his supreme ignorance, he had the vanity to deliver lectures in explanation of the Koran to Kâzi Ekhtiâr and Muhammed Mîr Yûsef, who were among the most celebrated Mûllas in Khorasân and Heri. He also took a pen and corrected the writing and drawings of Mûlla Sultan Ali, and Behzâd the painter. When at any time he happened to have composed one of his dull couplets, he read it from the pulpit, hung it up in the Châsû (or Public Market), and levied a benevolence from the town's-people on the joyful occasion. He did know something of reading the Korân, but he was guilty of a number of stupid, absurd, presumptuous, infidel words and deeds, such as I have mentioned.

Death of Abul Hassan and Kepek.

Ten or fifteen days after the taking of Heri, he advanced from Kohdestân to the bridge of Sâlâr, and sent his whole army, under the command of Taimûr Sultan and Abîd Sultan, against Abul Hussan Mirza and Kepek Mirza, who were lying in Meshhid,[3] quite off their guard. At one time they thought of defending Kilât;[4] at another time, on hearing of the approach of this army, they had thoughts of giving it the slip, and of pushing on by forced marches by another road, and so falling on Sheibani Khan by surprise. This was a wonderfully good idea; they could not, however, come to any resolution, and were still lying in their old quarters, when Taimur Sultan and Abîd Sultan came in sight with their army, after a series of rapid marches. The Mirzas, on their side, put their army in array, and marched out. Abul Hassan Mirza was speedily routed. Kepek Mirza, with a few men, fell on the enemy who had engaged his brother. They routed him also. Both of them were made prisoners. When the two brothers met they embraced, kissed each other, and took a last farewell. Abul Hassan Mirza showed some dejection, but no difference could be marked in Kepek Mirza. The heads of the two Mirzas were sent to Sheibâk Khan while he was at the Bridge of Sâlâr.

Baber marches to Kandahâr.

At this time Shah Beg, and his younger brother Muhammed Mokîm,[5] being alarmed at the progress of Sheibâk Khan, sent me several ambassadors in succession, with submissive letters, to convey professions of their attachment and fidelity. Mokîm himself, in a letter to me, explicitly called upon me to come to his succour. At a season like this, when the Uzbeks had entirely occupied the country, it did not appear to me becoming to remain idly looking on; and, after so many ambassadors and letters had

[1] There is a Persian phrase, when a man is engaged in an unprofitable undertaking, *Kîr-e-khar khâhed gerift*, Asini nervum deprehendet.

[2] The *Adet*, or unlawful times of a woman, according to the Muhammedan law, are chiefly three,—while she is mourning the death of her husband, when menstruous, and for a certain period after her divorce.

[3] A celebrated city of Khorasân, west from Herât.

[4] The birth-place of Nâdir Shah, north of Meshhid. It stands on very strong ground.

[5] These two noblemen were the sons of Zûlnûn Beg, and, after their father's death, were in possession of Kandahâr, Zemin Dâwer, and part of the hill-country to the south. The former, who was a brave warrior, afterwards founded an independent sovereignty (that of the Arghûns) in Sind.

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been sent to invite me, I did not think it necessary to stand on the ceremony of waiting till these noblemen came personally to pay me their compliments. Having consulted with all my Amîrs and best-informed counsellors, it was arranged that we should march to their assistance with our army; and that, after forming a junction with the Arghûn Amîrs, we might consult together, and either march against Khorasân, or follow some other course that might appear more expedient. With these intentions, we set out for Kandahâr. At Ghazni I met Habîba Sultan Begum, whom, as has been mentioned, I called my Yenka, and who had brought her daughter Maasûmeh Sultan Begum, as had been settled between us at Heri. Khosrou Gokultâsh, Sultan Kûli Chinâk, and Gedai Belâl, had fled from Heri to Ebn Hussain Mirza, and had afterwards left him also, and gone to Abul Hassan Mirza. Finding it equally impossible to remain with him, they came for the purpose of joining me, and accompanied the ladies.

Passes Kilât.

When we reached Kilât,[1] the merchants of Hindustân, who had come to Kilât to traffic, had not time to escape, as our soldiers came upon them quite unexpectedly. The general opinion was, that, at a period of confusion like the present, it was fair to plunder all such as came from a foreign country. I would not acquiesce in this. I asked, "What offence have these merchants committed? If, for the love of God, we suffer these trifling things to escape, God will one day give us great and important benefits in return; as happened to us not very long ago, when we were on our expedition against the Ghiljis; the Mehmends, with their flocks, their whole effects, wives, and families, were within a single farsang of the army. Many urged us to fall upon them. From the same considerations that influence me now, I combated that proposal, and the very next morning Almighty God, from the property of the refractory Afghâns, the Ghiljis, bestowed on the army so much spoil as had never perhaps been taken in any other inroad." We encamped after passing Kilât, and merely levied something from each merchant by way of Peshkesh.

Is met by Khan Mirza.

After passing Kilât, I was joined by Khan Mirza, whom I had suffered to retire into Khorasân after his revolt in Kâbul, and by Abdal Rizak Mirza,[2] who had staid behind in Khorasân when I left it. They had just escaped from Kandahâr. The mother of the Pîr Muhammed Mirza, who was the grandson of Behâr Mirza, and the son of Jehangîr Mirza, accompanied these Mirzas, and waited on me.

Shah Beg and Mokîm refuse to surrender Kandahâr.

I now sent letters to Shah Beg and Mokîm, informing them that I had advanced thus far in compliance with their wishes; that, as a foreign enemy like the Uzbeks had occupied Khorasân, it was necessary, in conjunction with them, to concert such measures as might seem most advisable and expedient for the general safety. Immediately upon this, they not only desisted from writing and sending to invite me, but even returned rude and uncivil answers. One instance of their rudeness was, that in the letter which they wrote me, they impressed the seal on the back of the letter, in the place in which one Amîr writes to another, nay, where an Amîr of some rank sets

[1] This is Kilât-e-Ghilji on the Ternek, about a degree east from Kandahâr.

[2] Khan Mirza, it will be recollected, was the youngest son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, one of Baber's uncles, and King of Hissar, afterwards of Samarkand; and Abdal Rizak Mirza was the son of another of them, Ulugh Beg Mirza, late king of Kâbul.

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his seal in writing to an inferior Amîr.[1] Had they not been guilty of such insolence, and returned such insulting answers, things never would have come to such an issue, as it has been said,—

(*Persian.*)—An altercation has sometimes gone so far as to overthrow an ancient family (dynasty).

The result of their passionate and insolent conduct was, that their family, and the accumulated wealth and honours of thirty or forty years, were given to the wind.

In Sheher-Sefa,[2] one day, there was a false alarm in the camp: all the soldiers armed and mounted. I was busy bathing and purifying myself. The Amîrs were in great alarm. When ready I mounted; but, as the alarm was a false one, everything was soon quieted.

Baber arrives before Kandahâr.

Proceeding thence by successive marches, we encamped at Gûzer.[3] There too, in spite of all my attempts to come to an explanation, they paid no attention to my overtures, but persisted in their obstinacy and contumacy. My adherents, who knew every part of the country, advised me to advance by the rivulets which flow towards Kandahâr, on the side of Bâba Hassan Abdâl, and Khalishak,[4] and to occupy a strong position on their course. I adopted the plan, and next morning having armed our troops, and arrayed them in right and left wings and centre, we marched in battle order for Khalishak. Shah Beg and Mokîm had erected a large awning on the projecting face of the hill of Kandahâr, somewhat below the place where I have built a palace, and lay there with their army. Mokîm's men pushed forward and advanced near us. Tûfân Arghûn, who had deserted and joined us near Sheher-Sefa, advanced alone towards the Arghûn line. One Ashik-alla, with seven or eight men, separating from the enemy, rode hard towards him. Tufân advanced singly, faced them, exchanged some sword-blows, dismounted Ashik-alla, cut off his head, and brought it to us as we were passing by Sang Lekhsheh.[5] We hailed this exploit as a favourable omen. As the ground was broken by villages and trees, we did not reckon it a good place to select for the battle. We, therefore, passed over the skirts of the hills, and having chosen our ground by the stream of an auleng (or meadow), near Kandahâr, had halted, and were encamping, when Shîr Kuli, who had the advance, rode hastily up, informing me that the enemy were in full march towards us, drawn up in battle array. After passing Kilât, our people had suffered much from hunger and want. On coming to Khalishak, most of them had gone out in various directions, some up the country and others down, to collect bullocks, sheep, and other necessaries, and were now much

[1] The Persians pay great attention, in their correspondence, not only to the style, but to the kind of paper on which a letter is written, the place of signature, the place of the seal, and the situation of the address. Chardin gives some curious information on this subject.

[2] Sheher-Sefa lies about forty miles east of Kandahâr.

[3] The ford. This village probably stands at the passage over some river.

[4] Bâba Hassan Abdâl is probably the same as Bâba Wali, five or six miles north of Kandahâr; at least, the Saint who gives his name to Hassan Abdâl, east of Atok, is called indiscriminately Hassan Abdâl, and Bâba Wali Kandahari. Khalishak is on a little hill about three miles west of Bâba Wali, beyond the Arghandâb.

[5] There are two Lekhshehs, Little Lekhsheh, a mile west of modern Kandahâr, and Great Lekhsheh, about a mile south-west of the old city of Kandahâr, and five or six from the modern one.

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scattered. Without wasting time in attempting to gather in the stragglers, we mounted for action. My whole force might amount to about two thousand; but when we halted on our ground, from the numbers that had gone off in different directions on foraging parties, as has been mentioned, and who had not had time to rejoin us, before the battle, when the enemy appeared I had only about a thousand men with me. Though my men were few in number, yet I had been at great pains to train and exercise them in the best manner. Perhaps on no other occasion had I my troops in such perfect discipline. All my household dependents[1] who could be serviceable, were divided into bodies of tens and fifties, and I had appointed proper officers for each body, and had assigned to each its proper station on the right or left, so that they were all trained and perfectly informed of what they were to do; and had orders to be on the alert, and active, during the fight. The right and left wings,[2] the right and left divisions, the right and left flanks, were to charge on horseback, and were drawn up and instructed to act of themselves, without the necessity of directions from the Tewâchis;[3] and in general the whole troops knew their proper stations, and were trained to attack those to whom they were opposed. Although the terms Berânghâr, Ung-Kûl, Ungyân, and Ung, have all the same meaning, yet for the sake of distinctness, I gave the different words different senses. As the right and left are called Berânghâr and Jewânghâr[4] (Meimeneh and Myesereh), and are not included in the centre, which they call Ghûl, the right and left do not belong to the Ghûl; in this instance, therefore, I called these separate bodies by the distinctive names of Berânghâr and Jewânghâr. Again, as the Ghûl or centre is a distinct body, I called its right and left by way of distinction, Ung-kûl and Sûl-kûl. The right and left of that part of the Centre where my immediate dependents were placed, I called Ungiân and Sûliân. The right and left of my own household troops, who were close at hand, I called Ung and Sûl. In the Berânghâr or right wing, were Mirza Khan, Shîrîm Taghâi, Yârek Taghâi, with his brother, Jelmeh Moghul, Ayûb Beg, Muhammed Beg, Ibrâhîm Beg, Ali Syed Moghul, with the Moghuls, Sultan Ali Chehreh, Khodâi Bakhsh, and his brothers. In the Jewânghâr or left wing, were Abdal Rizâk Mirza, Kâsim Beg, Tengri Berdi, Kembel, Ali Ahmed Elchi, Bugheh Ghûri Birlâs, Syed Hussain Akber, Mîr Shah Kochin Irâwel,[5] Nâsir Mirza, Syed Kâsim the Ishik-agha (or Chamberlain), Mohib Ali Korchi, Papa Ughli, Alla Weiran Turkomân, Shîr Kûli Kerâwel Moghul, with his brothers, and Ali Muhammed: In the Ghûl or centre on my right hand, Kâsim Gokultâsh, Khosrou Gokultâsh, Sultan Muhammed Duldâi, Shah Mahmûd Perwanchi (the Secretary), Kûl Baiezîd Bekâwel (the Taster), Kemal Sherbetji (the Cup-bearer).

His order of battle.

[1] The *Tabîneh Khaseh*, are the troops that belong immediately to the prince, and who are not the retainers or dependents of any of the Begs or Chiefs.

[2] Berânghâr and Jewânghâr;—the other terms are explained below.

[3] The Tewâchis were a sort of adjutants, who attended to the order of the troops, and carried orders from the general.

[4] The meaning of these words, by some oversight, is reversed in Richardson's Dictionary (London, 1806), probably in consequence of the loose and rather awkward explanation given by Meninski, under *Jewânghâr va Beranghar*, nomina puto, says he, ficta aut Scythica.

[5] The Irâwel and Kerâwel, as has been already remarked, were the men of the advanced guard or picquet.

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On my left, Khwâjeh Muhammed, Ali Dost, Nâsir Miram, Nâsir Bâba Shirzâd, Jân Kûli, Wali Khizânchi (the Treasurer), Kuttek Kadam Kerâwel, Maksûd, Suchi,[1] and Bâba Sheikh; besides these, all my own immediate servants and adherents were in the centre; there was no Beg or man of high rank in it; for none of those whom I have mentioned had yet attained the rank of Beg. With the party which was ordered to be in advance, were Shîr Beg, Jânim Korbegi, Kepek Kuli, Bâba Abul-Hassan Korchi; of the Urûs Moghuls Ali Syed Derwîsh, Ali Syed Khûsh-Geldi, Chilmeh Dost Geldi, Jilmeh Yaghenchi, Damaji Mehdi; of the Turkomâns Mansûr and Rustam, with his brothers, and Shah Nazer Sewendûk.

Order of battle of the Arghûns.

The enemy were divided into two bodies. One of them was commanded by Shah Shujaa Arghûn, who is known by the name of Shah Beg, and shall hereafter be called Shah Beg; the other by his younger brother Mokîm. From the appearance of the Arghûns, they looked about six or seven thousand in number. There is no dispute that there were four or five thousand men in armour with them. He himself was opposed to my right wing and centre, while Mokîm was opposed to the left wing. Mokîm's division was much smaller than his elder brother's. He made a violent attack on my left wing, where Kâsim Beg was stationed with his division. During the fight, two or three messages came to me from Kâsim Beg, to ask succour; but as the enemy opposed to me were also in great force, I was unable to detach any men to his assistance.

The battle.

We advanced without loss of time towards the enemy. When within bow-shot, they suddenly charged, put my advance into confusion, and forced them to fall back on the main-body, which, having ceased shooting, marched on to meet them; they on their part also gave over shooting, halted, and stood still a while. A person who was over against me, after calling out to his men, dismounted and deliberately aimed an arrow at me. I galloped up instantly to meet him; when I came near him, however, he did not venture to stand, but mounted his horse and returned back. This man who had so dismounted was Shah Beg himself. During the battle, Piri Beg Turkomân, with four or five of his brothers, taking their turbans in their hands,[2] left the enemy and came over to us. This Piri Beg was one of those Turkomâns who, when Shah Ismâel vanquished the Bayender Sultans, and conquered the kingdoms of Irâk, had accompanied Abdal Bâki Mirza, Murâd Beg Bayender, and the Turkomân Begs, in their flight. My right wing continued to advance towards the enemy. Its farther extremity made its way forward with difficulty, sinking in the soft ground close by the place where I have since made a garden. My left wing proceeded a good deal lower down than Bâba Hussan Abdal, by the larger river and its streams and channels. Mokîm, with his dependents and adherents, was opposed to my left wing, which was very inconsiderable in number, compared with the force under his command. Almighty God, however, directed everything to a happy issue. Three or four of the large streams which flow to Kandahâr and its villages were between the enemy and my left. My people had seized the fords and obstructed the passage of the enemy, and in spite of the fewness of their numbers, made a gallant fight, and stood firm against every attack. On the part of the Arghûns, Khilwâchi Terkhân engaged in a skir-

[1] Probably Butler.

[2] This was equivalent to an offer of submission.

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mish with Kember Ali and Tengeri Berdi in the water. Kember Ali was wounded; Kâsim Beg was struck with an arrow in the forehead; Ghûri Birlâs was wounded above the eyebrows by an arrow, which came out by the upper part of his cheek. At that very crisis I put the enemy to flight, and passed the streams towards the projecting face of the hill of Murghân. While we were passing the streams, a person mounted on a white charger appeared on the skirt of the hill, going backwards and forwards, apparently in dismay and irresolute, as if uncertain which way to take; at last he set off in a particular direction. It looked very like Shah Beg, and was probably himself. No sooner was the enemy routed than all our troops set out to pursue them and make prisoners. There might perhaps be eleven persons left with me. One of these was Abdalla Kitâbdâr (the Librarian). Mokîm was still standing his ground and fighting. Without regarding the smallness of my numbers, and relying on the providence of God, I beat the kettle-drum and marched towards the enemy. Baber victorious.

(*Turki.*)—God is the giver of little and of much;
In his court none other has power.

(*Arabic.*)—Often, at the command of God, the smaller army has routed the greater.

On hearing the sound of my kettle-drum, and seeing my approach, their resolution failed, and they took to flight. God prospered us. Having put the enemy to flight, I advanced in the direction of Kandahâr, and took up my quarters at the Châr-bâgh of Fûrekhzâd, of which not a vestige now remains. Shah Beg and Mokîm not being able to regain the fort of Kandahâr in their flight, the former went off for Shâl and Mastâng,[1] and the latter for Zemîn-Dâwer, without leaving anybody in the castle able to hold it out. The brothers of Ahmed Ali Terkhân, Kûli Beg Arghun, and a number of others, with whose attachment and regard to me I was well acquainted, were in the fort. A verbal communication taking place, they asked the life of their brothers, and out of favourable consideration towards them, I granted their request. They opened the Mâshûr-gate of the fort. From a dread of the excesses which might be committed by our troops, the others were not opened. Shîrîm Beg and Yârek Beg were appointed to guard the gate that was thrown open. I myself entered with a few of my personal attendants, and ordered one or two marauders whom I met to be put to death by the Atkû and Tikeh.[2] I first went to Mokîm's treasury; it was in the walled town. Abdal Rizâk Mirza had reached it before me and alighted. I gave Abdal Rizâk Mirza a present from the valuables in the treasury, placed Dost Nâsir Beg and Kûl Bâyezîd Bekâwul in charge of it, and appointed Muhammed Bakhshi as paymaster.[3] Proceeding thence, I went to the citadel, where I placed Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali and Shah Mahmûd in charge of Shah Beg's treasury. I appointed Ta- Kandahâr surrenders.

[1] Shâl and Mastâng lie upwards of two degrees south of Kandahâr, on the borders of Belûchistân. Zemîn-Dâwer lies west of the Helmend, below the Hâzâra hills.

[2] In this punishment the head of the criminal is fixed between two pieces of wood, and a very heavy log or plank of several hundred weight, raised by placing a weight on one end of it. This weight being removed, the heavy end falls down and dashes out the criminal's brains.

[3] Bakhshi.

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ghâi Shah to be paymaster. I sent Miram Nâsir and Maksûd Suchi to the house of Mîr Jân, who was Zûlnûn Beg's Dîwân (or chief minister of revenue); Nâsir Mirza had the squeezing of him. Sheikh Abusaîd Terkhân was given to Mirza Khan to be laid under contribution. ******[1] was given to Abdal Rizâk Mirza to try what he could extort from him. Such a quantity of silver was never seen before in these countries; indeed no one was known ever to have seen so much money. That night we staid in the citadel. Sambal, a slave of Shah Beg's, was taken and brought in. Although at that time he was only in the private confidence of Shah Beg, and did not hold any conspicuous rank, I gave him in custody to one of my people, who not guarding him properly, Sambol effected his escape. Next morning I went to the Garden of Ferukhzâd, where the army lay. I gave the kingdom of Kandahâr to Nâsir Mirza. After the treasure was secured, when they had loaded it on the beasts of burden, and were carrying it from the treasury that was within the citadel, Nâsir Mirza took away a string of (seven) mules laden with silver; I did not ask them back again, but made him a present of them.

Kandahâr given to Nâsir Mirza.

Extent of the spoil.

Marching thence, we halted in the Auleng (or meadow) of Kosh-Khâneh.[2] I sent forward the army, while I myself took a circuit, and arrived rather late at the camp. It was no longer the same camp, and I did not know it again. There were Tipchâk horses, strings of long-haired male and female camels, and mules laden with silk-cloth and fine linen; long-haired female camels bearing portmanteaus, tents, and awnings of velvet and purpet; in every house, chests, containing hundreds of mans[3] of the property and effects of the two brothers, were carefully arranged and packed as in a treasury. In every storehouse were trunks upon trunks, and bales upon bales of cloth, and other effects, heaped on each other; cloak-bags on cloak-bags, and pots upon pots, filled with silver money. In every man's dwelling and tent there was a superfluity of spoil. There were likewise many sheep; but they were little valued. To Kâsim Beg I gave up the garrison that was in Kilât, who were servants of Mokîm, and commanded by Kûch Arghûn and Taj-ed-dîn Mahmûd, together with all their property and effects. Kâsim Beg, who was a man of judgment and foresight, strongly urged me not to prolong my stay in the territory of Kandahâr, and it was his urgency that made me commence my march back. Kandahâr, as has been said, I bestowed on Nâsir Mirza; and, on his taking leave of me, I set out for Kâbul. While we staid in the Kandahâr territory, we had not time to divide the treasure. On reaching Kara Bagh, we found leisure to make the division. It being difficult to count the money, we used scales to weigh and divide it. The Begs, officers, servants, and household, carried off on their animals whole kherwars[4] and bags of silver money, with which they loaded them as with forage; and we reached Kâbul with much wealth and plunder, and great reputation.

[1] The name does not appear in any of the MSS. Perhaps Baber, when writing, had forgotten it.

[2] There is a Ghûch Khâneh a mile and a half south of Kandahâr, inclining west. It is probably a corruption of the name here mentioned.

[3] The Tabriz man is nearly seven English pounds.

[4] The Kherwar is nearly seven hundred pounds weight, being a hundred Tabrîz mans.

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On my arrival at this period, I married Maasûmeh Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, whom I had invited from Khorasân. Baber marries Maasûmeh.

Six or seven days afterwards, I learned by Nâsir Mirza's servants, that Sheibâk Khan had arrived, and was blockading Kandahâr. It has already been mentioned, that Mokîm had fled towards Zemîn-Dâwer. He went thence, and waited on Sheibâk Khan. Shah Beg had also sent persons one after another, to invite him to their assistance; and Sheibâk Khan had in consequence advanced from Heri by the hill-country, in hopes of taking me by surprise in Kandahâr, and had posted on the whole way by forced marches for that purpose. It was a foresight of the possibility of this very occurrence, that had induced Kâsim Beg, who was a man of judgment, to urge with so much earnestness my departure from Kandahâr; Sheibâk Khan besieges Kandahâr.

(*Persian.*) What the young man sees in a mirror,
The sage can discern in a baked brick.

On his arrival he besieged Nâsir Mirza in Kandahâr.

When this intelligence reached me, I sent for my Begs, and held a council. It was observed, that foreign bands and old enemies, as were the Uzbeks and Sheibâk Khan, had occupied the countries so long under the dominion of the family of Taimur Beg; that of the Tûrks and Jaghatâi, who were still left on various sides, and in different quarters, some from attachment, and others from dread, had joined the Uzbeks; that I was left alone in Kâbul; that the enemy was very powerful, and I very weak; that I had neither the means of making peace, nor ability to maintain the war with them; that, in these difficult circumstances, it was necessary for us to think of some place in which we might be secure, and, as matters stood, the more remote from so powerful an enemy the better; that it was advisable to make an attempt either on the side of Badakhshân, or of Hindustân, one of which two places must be pitched upon as the object of our expedition. Kâsim Beg and Shîrîm Beg, with their adherents, were for our proceeding against Badakhshân. At that time, the chief persons who still held up their heads in Badakhshân in any force, were Mobârek Shah and Zobeir. Jehangîr Turkomân and Muhammed Korchi, who had driven Nâsir Mirza out of that country, had never been reduced to submission by the Uzbeks, and were likewise in some force. I and a number of my chief Amirs and firmest adherents, on the other hand, having preferred the plan of attacking Hindustân, I set out in that direction, and advanced by way of Lemghân. After the conquest of Kandahâr, I had bestowed Kilât, and the country of Ternek,[1] on Abdal Rizâk Mirza, who had accordingly been left in Kilât. When the Uzbeks came and besieged Kandahâr, Abdal Rizâk Mirza, not finding himself in a situation to maintain Kilât, abandoned it, and rejoined me. He arrived just when I was setting out from Kâbul, and I left him in that place. Baber is alarmed. Hesitates which way to march.

As there was no king, and none of royal blood in Badakhshân, Khan Mirza, at the instigation of Shah Begum,[2] or in consequence of an understanding with her, showed a Khan Mirza sets out for Badakhshân.

[1] The country of Ternek lies on the river of that name, which runs from Makar towards Kandahâr.

[2] Shah Begum was the daughter of Shah Sultan Muhammed, king of Badakhshân, and the widow of Yunis Khan, Baber's maternal grandfather. She was the mother of Sultan Nigâr Khanum, whose son Khan Mirza was, by Sultan Mahmud Mirza of Hissâr. Shah Begum was therefore the young prince's grandmother, and he probably relied for success on the interest of her family in Badakhshân.

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desire to try his fortunes in that quarter. I accordingly gave him leave. Shah Begum accompanied Khan Mirza; my mother's sister, Mehr Nigâr-Khânum,[1] also took a fancy to go into Badakhshân. It would have been better, and more becoming, for her to have remained with me. I was her nearest relation. But however much I dissuaded her, she continued obstinate, and also set out for Badakhshân.

Baber marches against Hindustân. Sept. 1507.

In the month of the first Jemâdi, we marched from Kâbul against Hindustân. We proceeded on our route by way of Little-Kâbul; on reaching Sûrkh Rebat we passed Kurûk-Sâi, by the hill pass. The Afghans who inhabit between Kâbul and Lemghân are robbers and plunderers, even in peaceable times. They fervently pray to God for such times of confusion as now prevailed, but rarely do they get them. When they understood that I had abandoned Kâbul and was marching for Hindustân, their former insolence was increased tenfold. Even the best among them were then bent on mischief; and things came to such lengths, that, on the morning when we marched from Jagdâlik, the Afghâns, through whose country we were to march, such as the Khizerkhail, the Shimû-khail, the Khirilji, and the Khugiâni, formed the plan of obstructing our march through the Kotal or hill-pass of Jagdâlik, and drew up on the hill which lies to the north, beating their drums, brandishing their swords, and raising terrific shouts. As soon as we had mounted, I ordered the troops to ascend the hill and attack the enemy, each in the direction nearest to him. Our troops accordingly advanced, and making their way through different valleys, and by every approach that they could discover, got near them, upon which the Afghâns, after standing an instant, took to flight without even shooting an arrow. After driving off the Afghans, we reached the top of the ascent. One Afghân who was fleeing down the hill below me, on one side, I wounded in the arm with an arrow. He and a few others were taken and brought in. Some of them were impaled by way of example.

Is opposed by Afghân tribes.

We halted in the Tumân of Nangenhâr, before the fort of Adînapûr. Till our arrival here, we had not availed ourselves of our foresight, nor fixed upon any places for our stations. We had neither arranged a plan for our march, nor appointed ground for halting. We now separated the army into four divisions, who were to move about, some up the country, and others down, till we received farther intelligence. It was the end of Autumn. In the plains, in most places, they had housed the rice. Some persons who were thoroughly acquainted with every part of the country informed us, that up the river of the Tumân of Alisheng, the Kâfers sow great quantities of rice, and that probably the troops might there be able to lay in their winter's corn. Leaving the dale of Nangenhar, therefore, and pushing speedily forward, we passed Sâigal, and advanced up to the valley of Bîraîn. The troops seized a great quantity of rice. The rice fields were at the bottom of the hills. The inhabitants in general fled and escaped, but a few Kâfirs were killed. They had posted some men in a breastwork on a commanding eminence in the valley of Birain. When the Kafirs fled, this party descended rapidly from the hill, and began to annoy us with arrows. Having wounded Purân, the son-in-law of Kâsim Beg, they were on the point of coming up with him, and of making him prisoner, when the rest of his party made a push, put

Plundering expedition to Alisheng.

[1] She was the eldest sister of Baber's mother, and widow of Sultan Ahmed Mirza of Samarkand.

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the enemy to flight, and extricated and rescued him. We staid one night in the Kâfirs' rice-fields, where we took a great quantity of grain, and then returned back to the camp.

At this same time, Mokîm's daughter, Mâh-chuchak, who is now the wife of Shah Hassan, was married to Kâsim Gokultâsh, in the territory of the Tumân of Mendrâur.

As we did not find it expedient to proceed in our expedition against Hindustân, I sent back Mûlla Bâba Beshâgheri with a few troops towards Kâbul. Marching from Mendrâur, I proceeded by Ater and Shiweh, and continued for some days in that neighbourhood; from Ater I went on by Kuner and Nûrgil,[1] and examined the country. From Kuner I came in a Jaleh (or raft), to the camp. Before this time, I had not sailed in a Jaleh, but I found that sort of conveyance very pleasant; and from this time forward I frequently made use of it.

Sheibâk Khan retires from Kandahâr, which is abandoned by Nâsir Mirza.

At this time Mûlla Mîrak Ferketi arrived from Nâsir Mirza. He brought the detailed news of Sheibâk Khan's having taken the walled town of Kandahâr, and of his retiring without having taken the citadel: he also brought information, that after Sheibak Khan's retreat, Nâsir Mirza had abandoned Kandahâr on several accounts, and retired to Ghazni. A few days after my departure, Sheibâk Khan had unexpectedly appeared before Kandahâr, and, as our people were not in sufficient strength to maintain the walled town, they abandoned it. The enemy ran mines in various directions about the citadel, and made several assaults. Nâsir Mirza was wounded by an arrow in the neck, and the citadel was on the point of being taken. In this extremity, Muhammed Amîn, Khwâjeh Dost Khâwend, and Muhammed Ali Piâdeh, the cup-bearer, giving up all for lost, let themselves down over the walls, and escaped from the fort. At the very moment when the place must inevitably have fallen, Sheibâk Khan made some proposals for an accommodation, and hastily raised the siege. The reason of his retreat was, that, when he came against Kandahâr, he had sent his Haram to Nirehtû.[2] Some persons having revolted in Nirehtû, had taken the fort. This induced him hurriedly to patch up a sort of peace and retire.

Baber returns to Kâbul.

A few days afterwards, though it was the middle of winter, I arrived in Kâbul by way of Badij. Above Badij I directed the date of the passage to be engraved on a stone.[3] Hâfez Mirak wrote the inscription. Ustâd Shah Muhammed performed the stone-cutter's part. From haste it is not well cut.

I bestowed Ghazni on Nâsir Mirza; to Abdal Rizâk Mirza I gave the Tumân of Nangenhâr, Mendrâur, the valley of Nûr, Kuner, and Nûrgil.

Assumes the title of Pâdshâh.

Till this time the family of Taimur Beg, even although on the throne, had never assumed any other title than that of Mirza. At this period, I ordered that they should style me Pâdshâh.[4]

[1] These places, it will be recollected, lie on the Cheghânserâi river.

[2] A strong fort to the east of Herât.

[3] Abul-Fazl, in the short account of Baber's reign prefixed to the Akbernameh, says, that this inscription was still to be seen in his time.

[4] The title of *Pâdshâh* corresponds with that of emperor. It is often used, however, merely to signify king. It is to be observed, that Baber applies it to himself before this time, and indeed in the very opening of his Memoirs, "I became Badshâh of Ferghâna." He probably did not use that style in his Chancery.

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Birth of Hûmâiûn.

In the end of this year, on Tuesday the fourth day of the month of Zilkadeh,[1] when the sun was in Aquarius, Hûmâiûn was born. Moulâna Meshedi, the poet, discovered the date of his birth in the words *Sultan Hûmâiûn Khan*. One of the minor poets of Kâbul, found it in *Shâh-e-Firoz-Kadr*.[2] A few days after I gave him the name of Hûmâiûn. After Hûmâiûn's birth, I went for five or six days to the Châr-bâgh, and celebrated the festival of his nativity. Those who were Begs, and those who were not, great and small, brought their offerings. Bags of silver money were heaped up. I never before saw so much white money in one place. It was a very splendid feast.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 914.[3]

Desertion of several officers.

In the spring I surprised and plundered a body of Mehmend Afghâns, in the neighbourhood of Maaber. A few days after we had returned from the expedition, and resumed our quarters, Kûch Beg, Fakîr Ali Karîmdâd, and Bâba Chehreh, formed a plan for deserting from me. On discovering their intentions, I dispatched a party, who seized them below Isterghach,[4] and brought them back. During the life-time of Jehangîr Mirza,[5] too, they had frequently indulged in most improper conduct. I ordered that they should all be delivered over to punishment in the market-place. They had been carried to the Gate, and the ropes were putting round their necks, for the purpose of hanging them, when Kâsim Beg sent Khalîfeh to me, earnestly to entreat forgiveness for their offences. To gratify the Beg, I gave up the capital part of their punishment, and ordered them to be cast into prison.

Revolt of the Hissâris and Moghuls.

The Hissâris and Kûndezis, and the Moghuls of superior rank, who had been in Khosrou Shah's service, among whom were Chilmeh Ali, Syed Shekmeh, Shîr Kuli, Ikû Sâlim, and others, who had been promoted and patronised by him; certain of the Jaghatâi, such as Sultan Ali Chehreh, Khodâi Bakhsh, with their dependents; some of the Sewendûk Turkomâns, Shah Nazer, with his adherents, amounting in all to two or three thousand good soldiers, at this very time, having consulted and conspired together, had come to a resolution to revolt. Those whom I have mentioned lay near Khwâjeh Rîwâj, stretching from the valley of Sûng-Kurghân to the valley of Châlâk.[6] Abdal Rizâk Mirza having come from Nangenhâr, took up his quarters in Deh-Afghân. Mohib Ali Korchi had once or twice communicated to Khalîfeh and Mûlla Bâba some

[1] March 6, 1508.

[2] The king victorious in might.

[3] The year of the Hejira 914 commenced on the 2d of May 1508.

[4] North of Kâbul.

[5] This is the first notice taken of Jehangîr's death. He seems to have died soon after the expedition into Khorasân, Khâfi Khan says of a dysentery, va azâre-mûi; or, according to Feriahta, of hard drinking.

[6] These places lie close by Kâbul. Khwâjeh Rawâsk is in Bûtkhâh, two or three miles south of Kâbul.

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intimations of this conspiracy and assembling; and I myself had received some hints of its existence. I had reckoned the surmises not entitled to credit, and paid them no kind of attention. I was sitting one night at the Châr-bâgh, in the presence-chamber, after bed-time prayers, when Mûsa Khwâjeh and another person came hurriedly close up to me, and whispered me that the Moghuls had, beyond a doubt, formed treacherous designs. I could not be prevailed upon to believe that they had drawn Abdal Rizâk Mirza into their projects; and still less could I credit that their treasonable intentions were to be executed that very night. I therefore did not give that attention to the information that I ought, and a moment after I set out for the Haram. At that time the females of my family were in the Bagh-e-Khilwat, and in the Bagh-e-Turva-tokhfeh. When I came near the Haram, all my followers, of every rank and description, and even my night-guards,[1] went away. After their departure, I went on to the city, attended only by my own people and the royal slaves. I had reached the Ditch at the Iron Gate, when Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali, who had just come that way from the market-place, met me, and . . . . . .

[The events of this year conclude abruptly in the same manner in all the copies.]

[1] The *Yatish* are the persons who watch by night at the prince's door.

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SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

AN ABRIDGED ACCOUNT OF BABER'S TRANSACTIONS,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF A. H. 914 TO THE BEGINNING OF A. H. 925.[1]

Revolt of the Moghuls.

THE Memoirs of Baber are once more interrupted at a very important crisis, and we are again left to glean, from various quarters, an imperfect account of the transactions that ensued. It is probable that Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali, who had just passed through the market-place, informed Baber that he had seen a gathering of Moghuls, and that measures were taking to seize his person. This at least is certain, that Baber escaped the impending danger, and regained his camp. The Moghuls who had been in Khosrou Shah's service, were the most active agents in this conspiracy. They do not appear ever to have co-operated heartily with Baber, who always speaks of them and their race with strong marks of dislike and resentment.[2] They had combined with the other men of influence mentioned in the Memoirs, and had agreed not only to raise Abdal Rizâk Mirza to the throne of Kâbul and Ghazni, which had been held by his father, Ulugh Beg Mirza, Baber's uncle, but also to put him in possession of Badakhshân, Kundez, and Khutlân, and all the territories which had formerly been held by Khosrou Shah. Such were the effects produced in Baber's army by this sudden defection of so many men of eminence, of different nations and tribes, that next morning he could not muster in his whole camp more than five hundred horse. Great numbers of his followers and soldiers had hastily retired to Kâbul, under pretence of taking care of their families.[3]

General defection of Baber's troops.

[1] From A.D. 1508 to the beginning of January A.D. 1519.

[2] Under these circumstances, it may seem one of the strangest caprices of fortune, that the empire which he founded in India should have been called, both in the country and by foreigners, the empire of the Moghuls, thus taking its name from a race that he detested. This arose not so much from his being a descendant of Chengis Khan, as from his being a foreigner from the north; and from the age of Chengis Khan downwards, all Tartars and Persians, in the loose colloquial language of India, seem to have been denominated Moghuls.

[3] See the Tarikhe Khâfi Khan, being a history of the house of Taimur in Hindustân, vol. II. MS.; and Dow's translation of Ferishta, vol. II. p. 188.

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Baber, enraged at these events, instead of retiring into the hill-country, or shutting himself up in a fortress, appears to have kept the field with his few faithful followers. He made several furious assaults on the army of the rebels, whom he intimidated by the bravery which he displayed. Baber computes the original number of the rebels at two or three thousand men; but Ferishta relates that their number rose to twelve thousand. In this reduced state of his fortunes, he appears, for a while, to have assumed the courage of despair, and to have given to the adventurous gallantry of the soldier and the champion, the place which he generally allowed the cool valour of the prince and the general to hold. He exposed himself in every rencounter, and attacked the insurgents wherever they could be found. On one occasion, he is said to have advanced before the line, and challenged Abdal Rizâk to single combat. The challenge, we are told, was declined by the prince; but five champions of the rebels having advanced in succession, and accepted it in his room, they all fell, one after another, under the sword of Baber. Their names, which have been transmitted to us by Ferishta and Khâfi Khan, indicate that they were of different races. They were Ali Beg Shebgûr, Muhammed Ali Sheibâni,[1] Nazer Behâder Uzbek, Yâkub Beg Bâberjeng, and Abdalla Sefsheken. His military skill, his personal strength, and his invincible spirit, scattered dismay among the bands of the enemy, who equally admired and dreaded him; and perhaps, while he seemed to be acting as an inconsiderate young soldier, he really performed the part of a sagacious general and of a hero. His enemies began gradually to drop off; one defeat succeeded to another; Abdal Rizâk found death at the close of his short reign; and Baber saw himself once more the undisputed sovereign of Kâbul and Ghazni.

He keeps the field with a small force.

Kills five warriors in single combat.

Recovers his dominions.

When Khosrou Shah's territories fell into the hands of Sheibâni Khan, the inhabitants of Badakhshân, a brave and hardy race, who inhabited a country everywhere mountainous, and in many places almost inaccessible, disliking the Uzbek government, had flown to arms in every quarter, and a number of petty chieftains in different districts had set up for independent princes. Of all these the most powerful was Zobîr, a man of no family, but who, by his conduct and valour, succeeded in reducing under subjection to him the greater number of the other insurgents. Khan Mirza, Baber's cousin,[2] had crossed from Kâbul, A.H. 913, in order to try his fortune in that quarter, as Baber has himself mentioned. His grandmother, Shah Begum, was the daughter of Shah Sultan Muhammed, the King of Badakhshân; so that the Mirza had probably some hereditary connexions in the country. His outset was not prosperous. His grandmother and Meher Nigar-Khanum, his aunt, who followed in the rear of his army, were carried off by Mirza Ababeker Kâshghari; and Khan Mirza himself was defeated and obliged to surrender to Zobîr, who detained him in custody. Finally, however, Yûsef Ali, who had formerly been in the Mirza's service, formed a conspiracy against Zobîr, whom he assassinated; when Khan Mirza was raised to the undisturbed possession of the throne of Badakshân, which he held till his death.

Khan Mirza reduces Badakhshân.

A.D. 1509.

[1] Perhaps rather *Sistâni*, as in Ferishta.

[2] Khan Mirza was, as has been mentioned, the son of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, the king of Hissar, Khutlan, and Badakhshân, and of Sultan Nigâr-Khanum, a sister of Baber's mother. He was consequently Baber's cousin both by the father and mother's side. His proper name was Sultan Weis Mirza.

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A.D. 1510. Quarrel of Sheibâni Khan and Shah Ismâel.

In the year 916 of the Hejira, an event occurred, which Baber had no influence in producing, but which promised the most favourable change on his fortunes. Sheibâni Khan, after the defeat of Badîa-ez-zemân and the sons of Sultan Hussain Mirza, had overrun Khorasân with a large army. Some parties of his troops, in the course of their incursions, had entered and committed devastations on territories claimed by Shah Ismâel, who at that time filled the Persian throne; and he had even sent an army to invade Kerman.[1] Shah Ismâel, having subdued the Turkomâns in Azerbaejân, had reduced under one government the various provinces of Persia to the west of the desert, which for so long a series of years had been divided into petty principalities. On receiving information of these aggressions, he immediately sent to Sheibâni Khan ambassadors, who carried letters, remonstrating, but with great courtesy, against the aggressions which had occurred within the boundaries of his dominions. The Uzbek prince, rendered haughty by long success, returned for answer, that he did not comprehend Shah Ismâel's meaning; that, for his own part, he was a prince who held dominions by hereditary descent; but that, as for Shah Ismâel, if he had suffered any diminution of his paternal possessions, it was a very easy matter to restore them entire to him; and he at the same time sent him the staff and wooden begging-dish[2] of a mendicant. He added, however, that it was his intention one day to go the pilgrimage of Mekka, and that he would make a point of seeing him by the way. Shah Ismâel, who was descended of a celebrated Dervîsh, and who prided himself on his descent from the holy Syed, affected to receive the taunt with patient humility. He returned for answer, that if glory or shame, here or hereafter, was to be estimated by the worth or demerit of ancestors, he would never think of degrading his forefathers by any comparison with those of Sheibâni Khan; that if the right of succession to a throne was decided by hereditary descent only, it was to him incomprehensible how the empire had descended through the various dynasties of Peshdadians, Kaiânians, and the family of Chengîs,[3] to Sheibâni himself. That he too intended making a pilgrimage, but it was to the tomb of the holy Imâm Reza[4] at Meshhid, which might afford him an opportunity of meeting Sheibâni Khan. He sent him a spindle and reel, with some cotton, giving him to understand that words were a woman's weapons; that it would become him either to sit quietly in his corner, busied in some occupation that befitted him, or to come boldly into the field to meet his enemy in arms, and listen to a few words from the two-tongued Zulfikâr.[5] "Let us then fairly try," concluded Shah Ismâel, "to which of the two the superiority belongs. You will at least learn that you have not now to deal with an inexperienced boy."[6]

Their correspondence.

[1] See the Tarikh Alim-Arâi Abâssi of Mirza Sekander, vol. I. MS.

[2] The kâchkuli is a sort of dish or ladle which mendicants hold out for receiving alms.

[3] These were different dynasties that had governed Persia and Khorasân.

[4] It is the duty of all Muhammedans to visit Mekka. The Shîas alone visit the shrine of Imâm Reza, which is at Meshhid, in Khorasân, in the territory then belonging to Sheibâni Khan.

[5] Zulfikâr was the celebrated two-bladed sword of Ali, from whom Shah Ismâel boasted his descent.

[6] In the account of this correspondence I follow Khâfi Khan, corrected by Mirza Sekander, the author of the Alim-arâi Abâssi. Khâfi Khan and Ferishta mention the presents, which are not alluded to by the Persian writer, who probably did not choose to record incidents, the remembrance of which the reigning family, having shaken off the Dervîsh, were not proud to recall. He mentions the pilgrimages of Mekka and Meshhid, a subject more agreeable to the prevailing prejudices.

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Without losing a moment, or giving the enemy time to prepare for meeting him, Shah Ismâel put his army in motion, and advanced through Khorasân as far as Meshhid. The detachments of the Uzbek army all fell back and retired to Herât. Sheibâni Khan, who had just returned from an expedition into the country of the Hazâras, on hearing of Shah Ismâel's arrival at Meshhid, perceiving that he was too weak to meet his enemy in the field, left Jân Vafa Mirza in Herât, and set off with such of his troops as he could collect, to Merv Shahjehân, a station where he could receive reinforcements from his northern dominions; or from which, if necessary, he could retire across the Amu. Jân Vafa was not long able to maintain himself in Herât. He found it necessary, very speedily, to follow Sheibâni Khan. Shah Ismâel himself now advanced towards Merv, and sent on Daneh Muhammed with a large force to clear the way. That officer was met by Jân Vafa Mirza near Takerâbâd of Merv: a desperate action ensued, in which the Persian general fell, but Jân Vafa was defeated. Sheibâni Khan, unable to oppose the Persians in the field, retired into the fort of Merv. He sent messengers to call all his generals and chieftans from beyond the Amu, most of them having retired with their troops to their various governments, after the conquest of Khorasân. Many desperate actions took place under the walls of Merv Shahjehân. Shah Ismâel, seeing that the siege was likely to extend to great length, which would have exposed him to an attack from the whole force of Turkistân and Mâweralnaher, pretended to be under the necessity of raising it. He sent to tell Sheibâni Khan that he had been rather more punctual to his engagements than that prince had been; that he had performed the pilgrimage of Meshhid as he had promised, while Sheibâni Khan had failed to keep his appointment: that he was now under the necessity of returning home to his own dominions, but would still be extremely happy to meet him on the road, whenever he set out on his intended pilgrimage to Mekka. He then retired with all his forces from before Merv, and appeared to be measuring back his way to Irâk. The feint succeeded. Sheibâni Khan followed him with twenty-five thousand[1] men, but had scarcely passed a river about ten miles from Merv, when Shah Ismâel, who threw a body of horse into his rear, broke down the bridge, and fell upon him with seventeen thousand cavalry. The regulated valour of the Kezzelbashes, or red-bonnets, the name given to the Persian soldiers, speedily prevailed. Sheibâni Khan was defeated, and his retreat cut off. He was forced to fly, attended by about five hundred men, chiefly the sons of Sultans, the heads of tribes, and men of rank, into an inclosure which had been erected for accommodating the cattle of travellers, and of the neighbouring peasants. They were closely pursued, and hard pressed. The inclosure had only one issue, which was that attacked by the pursuers. The Khan leaped his horse over the wall of the inclosure, towards the river, but fell, and was soon overlaid, and smothered by the numbers who followed him. After the battle his dead body was sought for, and was disentangled from the heap of slain by which it was covered. His head was cut off, and presented to Shah Ismâel, who ordered his body to be dismembered, and his limbs to be sent to different kingdoms. The skin of the head was strip-

Ismâel Shah invades Khorasân.

Sheibâni retires to Merv,

in which he is besieged.

Decisive battle.

Sheibâni defeated,

and slain.

[1] The author of the Alim-arâi Abassi, says thirty thousand.

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ped off, stuffed with hay, and sent to Sultan Bayezîd,[1] the son of Sultan Muhammed Ghazi, the Turkish Emperor of Constantinople. His skull, set in gold, the king used as a drinking-cup, and was proud of displaying it at great entertainments. An anecdote illustrative of the barbarous manners of the Persians, is recorded by Mirza Sekander. The Prince of Mazenderân, who still held out against Shah Ismâel, had been accustomed often to repeat, that he was wholly in the interests of Sheibâni Khan, and, using an idiomatic expression, that his hand was on the skirts of the Khan's garment; meaning, that he clung to him for assistance and protection. A messenger from Shah Ismâel, advancing into the presence of the prince while sitting in state in his court, addressed him, and said, that *he* never had been so fortunate as literally to have placed his hand on the hem of Sheibâni Khan's garment, but that now Sheibâni's hand was indeed on *his;* and, with these words, dashed the rigid hand of Sheibâni Khan on the hem of the prince's robe, and rushing through the midst of the astonished courtiers, mounted and escaped uninjured. About a thousand[2] Uzbeks, with a number of women of rank, and children, fell into the hands of the Persians.

Shah Ismâel occupies Khorasân.

Shah Ismâel, immediately after the battle, marched to Herât, the gates of which were opened to him. He commanded the divine service in the Mosques to be celebrated according to the Shîa rites, which he had introduced into Persia, but met with great opposition from the principal men of the place. Enraged at this, he put to death the chief preacher of the Great Mosque, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, who was the chief Musulman doctor and judge, with several of the most eminent divines, as a punishment for the obstinacy and contumacy with which they adhered to the old doctrines and ceremonies; and in the end found, that it was a far easier matter to conquer a kingdom, than to change the most insignificant religious opinions or usages of its inhabitants.

Subsequent events.

The transactions of the Uzbeks for some time after the death of Sheibâni Khan, are not very distinctly detailed. Jâni Beg appears to have succeeded to the immediate command of the Uzbek army, and, with him, Shah Ismâel soon after concluded an agreement, by which it was stipulated, that the Uzbeks should all retire beyond the Amu, which was to form the boundary between them and the Persians. Abdalla Khan appears to have held Bokhâra, while Taimur Khan,[3] the son of Sheibâni Khan, reigned in Samarkand.

Baber marches against Hissâr.

The defeat and death of Baber's most inveterate foe, from whom all his misfortunes had originated, and by whom he had been driven from the dominions of his forefathers, now opened to him the fairest hopes of recovering the kingdoms of his father and uncles. Khan Mirza, his cousin, immediately on hearing of the death of Sheibâni Khan, wrote to congratulate him on the event, and invited him into Badakhshan; and

[1] Called Bajazet by European writers.

[2] In the account of the transactions of Sheibâni Khan, and Shah Ismâel, in Khorasân, and of the subsequent battle, I follow Mirza Sekander as the most intelligent guide. Some circumstances are borrowed from Khâfi Khan, who follows Mirza Haider, the author of the Tarikh-e-Reshidi, a contemporary and well-informed historian. Ferishta, whose information is here very defective, gives Sheibâni Khan an army of a hundred thousand men in the battle.

[3] See the Alim-arâi Abassi. Khâfi Khan speaks of him as descended of the great Taimur Beg.

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Bâber having, without delay, crossed the mountains from Kâbul, united his forces with those of the Mirza. He was in hopes that he might have carried the important fort of Hissâr by a sudden attack, and for that purpose, advanced across the Amu up to the walls of the place. But the Uzbeks had already had leisure to recover from the first effects of the consternation into which they had been thrown by their defeat; and the Governor of Hissâr, aware that it was likely to be one of the first objects of attack, had collected a body of men, and put the town in a posture of defence. Though the loss of the Uzbeks in the battle had been great, their power was by no means broken. There was no force left in Mâweralnaher from which they had anything to apprehend. It is probable that they were speedily joined by numbers of volunteers, and by some wandering tribes[1] from the deserts beyond the Sirr. The provinces between that river and the Amu were too rich a prey to be easily abandoned by brave and needy Tartars; so that Baber, after advancing into the vicinity of Hissâr, finding that his strength was not adequate to the attempt, was compelled to abandon the enterprize, to re-cross the Amu, and retire towards Kundez.

Shawal, A. H. 916. Jan. A. D. 1511.

But fails in the enterprize.

About this time Shah Ismâel, who appears to have been disposed to cultivate the friendship of Baber, sent back, with an honourable retinue, that prince's sister, Khanzâdeh Begum, who had fallen into his hands along with the other prisoners, after the defeat of Sheibâni Khan at Merv. The Begum had been left behind in Samarkand, when Baber, about ten years before, had been forced to abandon the town, after defending it for five months. She had been conveyed into the Haram[2] of Sheibâni Khan, who had by her one son, to whom he gave the kingdom of Badakhshân, but who died young, two years after this time. Sheibâni Khan afterwards gave her in marriage to a man of no family, and much below her station. She was now sent back by Shah Ismâel with a conciliatory message, and Baber, who had been preparing to send an embassy of congratulation to that prince, embraced this opportunity of dispatching Khan Mirza with rich presents, to thank him for this proof of his friendship, to congratulate him on his victory, and, at the same time, to dispose him to lend him some support in recovering his former dominions.[3]

Shah Ismâel sends back Baber's sister.

Baber soon after made a second march towards Hissâr,[4] but, on hearing that the Uzbeks had collected a large army, he prudently retreated, his force not being adequate to meet them in the field, or to attempt the siege of Hissâr. For some time he withdrew with his force into the rugged and mountainous parts of the surrounding country, whence, having watched the favourable moment of attack, he at length issued forth, defeated a body of the enemy with great slaughter, and released Sultan Mirza, and Mehdi Mirza Sultan, his maternal cousins,[5] who had fallen into their hands.

Baber again attacks Hissâr.

[1] The Khanship of Kipchâk had terminated, the country falling under the power of Russia in 1506, only four years before, and several of the tribes had probably shifted their ground in consequence of the change.

[2] He is not said by Baber to have married her; but Khâfi Khan affirms, on the authority of the Tarikh-e-Reshidi, that he did, and that he afterwards divorced her.

[3] Ferishta, Khâfi Khan, and Baber himself, in his Memoirs.

[4] Ferishta says towards Khozar, but that he retired on finding the Uzbeks strongly posted at Nakhsheb or Karshi.

[5] Tarikh-e-Khâfi Khan; but the transactions of this period are very uncertain; and, from Baber's Memoirs, it is rather probable that he defeated Mehdi Sultan.

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Baber receives assistance from Shah Ismâel.

The embassy of Khan Mirza to Shah Ismâel had been so successful, that he now returned accompanied by a detachment of Persian auxiliaries, sent by the King to the assistance of Baber, under the command of Ahmed Sultan Sûfi, a relation of the Persian monarch, of Ali Khan Istiljo, and of Shahrokh Sultan, his sealbearer, an Afshâr,[1] by whose co-operation Baber defeated and slew Jemshîd Sultan, and Mahmûd Sultan, who had the chief authority in the country of Hissâr, and gained possession of Hissâr as well as of Kundez, Khutlân, and Khozâr; and so rapidly did his situation improve, that, if we may believe Ferishta, whose authority is supported by that of Khafi Khan, he now saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand horse.

Reduces Hissar, Khutlân, Khozâr, &c.

Encouraged by this prosperous state of his affairs, he resolved to attempt the conquest of Bokhâra, which, since the death of Sheibâni Khan, had been held by Abdalla Khan and his Uzbeks. On his approach, they abandoned the country and retired to Turkistân.[2] Baber advanced up the river from Bokhâra, and was soon in possession of Samarkand, as well as of the districts dependent on it; he entered it about the beginning of October 1511, as a conqueror, and the Khutbeh[3] or prayer for the sovereign was read, and the coin struck in his name.

Bokhâra and Samarkand.

Middle of Rajeb, A.H. 917.

Having thus, for the third time, taken possession of Samarkand, he committed the government of Kâbul to Nâsir Mirza, and dismissed the generals of Shah Ismâel, after having amply rewarded them for their services.

Bokhâra invaded by the Uzbeks. A.H. 917-18, from October 1511, to the beginning of June 1512.

Baber had now spent eight months of the succeeding winter and spring in all the enjoyments of Samarkand, when he was alarmed by the unwelcome news that an army of Uzbeks, more in number, says the historian,[4] than ants or locusts, had collected, and were on their march for Bokhâra, under the command of Muhammed Taimur Sultan, the son of Sheibâni Khan, who, as has been already mentioned, after his father's death, had been raised by the Uzbeks to the rank of Sultan of Samarkand. Baber, without delay, and with very inferior force, sought them out, and falling in with them near Bokhâra, engaged them in a bloody battle, in which, from the inferiority of his numbers, he met with a complete defeat, and was obliged to fly back to Samarkand. He soon discovered, however, that he had no chance of being able to defend himself in that capital. He therefore withdrew to Hissâr, whither he was followed by the Uzbek chiefs and closely blockaded. In this exigency he retired into the town and suburbs, blocked up the entrance of the streets, and threw up strong defences. He at the same time dispatched messengers to Balkh, to Biram Khan Karamanlu, who was then in that neighbourhood with an army of Persians. Biram Khan instantly sent a detachment to his relief, and at their approach the Uzbeks raised the siege and retreated.

Baber defeated. Sefer A.H. 918. April or May 1512.

Abandons Samarkand. Is besieged in Hissar.

A. D. 1512. Siege raised.

[1] The Afshârs are a Türki tribe celebrated in the History of Persia.

[2] Turkistân, in its extensive sense, is applied to the whole country inhabited by the Türki tribes. It is, in a more limited sense, applied to the countries north of the Sirr below Tâshkend, where there is also a town of the name of Turkistân. In the details of the events of this period, the author of the Alim-arâi Abâssi is more consistent than Ferishta or Khafi Khan.

[3] See Ferishta and Khâfi Khan, the Indian authorities. Mirza Sekander, the Persian authority, says, that the Khutbeh was read in the name of Shah Ismâel; and some circumstances render this not improbable, but it is difficult to disentangle the truths of history from the maze of Persian and Indian flattery.

[4] Khâfi Khan.

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Shah Ismâel, on hearing of these events, being probably apprehensive of a new Uzbek invasion, sent Nijim Sani Isfahâni, one of his principal officers, with a large force, for the protection of Khorasân. This general, without orders from his sovereign, was wrought upon to march to the assistance of Baber; with whom having formed a junction, he enabled him to reduce first Khozar and next Kârshi, which last place was carried by storm, and Sheikhem Mirza Uzbek, with fifteen thousand men, including Uzbeks and inhabitants, put to the sword. The circumstances of this massacre disgusted Baber, who found that he was condemned to play a subordinate part in the army that was professedly acting under his authority. He had ardently desired to save the inhabitants of the place, who were Jaghatâi Tûrks of his own race, and urgently besought Amîr Nijim to comply with his entreaties; but the unrelenting Persian was deaf to his wishes. Moulâna Binâi the poet, one of the most eminent men of his time, who happened to be in the town, was slain during the confusion and tumult, with many Syeds and holy men; "And from this time," says Mirza Sekander, "Amîr Nijim prospered in none of his undertakings."

Baber joined by Nijim Sani; advances towards Bokhâra.

Massacre of Kârshi. A. D. 1513, or beginning of 1514.

After these successes, the army advanced to subdue the other countries still occupied by the Uzbeks, and laid siege to Ghajdewân, which lies not far west of Bokhâra, on the borders of the desert. This fort was bravely defended, for four months, by Muhammed Taimur Sultan and Abusaîd Sultan, who had thrown themselves into it. The Uzbeks well saw that Baber's farther progress would be fatal to their hopes of retaining possession of Mâweralnaher, and their other rich conquests. The whole Princes and Chieftains in their alliance were therefore summoned, collected their forces, formed a junction, and marched from Bokhâra, under the command of Abdalla Khan and Jâni Beg Sultan, against the invaders. Muhammed Taimur Sultan having issued from Ghajdewân, joined them in the field. The battle, which was fought on Sunday the 22d of October 1514,[1] was long and desperate; but it was perfectly decisive. The Uzbeks gained a great victory. Biram Khan, who was the ablest general of the Kezzelbashes, being wounded with an arrow and unhorsed, his fall occasioned the route of the army. The Uzbeks by a resolute charge broke their centre. The Persian Chiefs, disgusted with the haughty deportment and harsh inflexibility of Amîr Nijim, are said not to have afforded him proper support. He fell into the hands of the Uzbeks, who put him to death. Many of the Persian officers, flying from the field of battle, escaped across the Amu by the passage of Kirki, and returned into Khorasân. Shah Ismael, who was much dissatisfied with their conduct, commanded some of them to be seized and put to death. Baber is represented as having had little share in the action, and he was probably not much consulted by the haughty Persian general. He saw himself once again compelled to retire to Hissâr-Shadman as a fugitive, and with scarce a hope left of recovering his hereditary dominions.

Siege of Ghajdewân.

Great battle. 3 Ramzân.

Defeat of Baber.

But his misfortunes did not terminate here. Some Moghul tribes had long possessed considerable power in the country about Hissâr, and they had joined his party, and supported him during the former siege. Whether Baber had given them any cause of disgust, or whether the ruin of his fortunes alone had inspired their leaders with am-

Revolt of the Moghuls in Hissâr.

[1] No year is mentioned, but the date, Sunday the 3d of Ramzân, can only correspond with the year 920.

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bitious hopes of independence, does not appear; but, at this time, a serious conspiracy was formed among them, for the purpose of destroying the remains of his army. The chief leaders were Yâdgâr Mirza, Nazer Mirza, Mîr Ayûb, and Mîr Muhammed, who fell upon Baber by night, slaughtered such of his followers as came in their way, and plundered and carried off whatever booty they could find. So unexpected was the attack, that Baber himself with difficulty escaped into the citadel of Hissâr in his night-clothes, not having even had time to put on his shoes; and so desperate had the situation of his affairs now become, that he had not a hope left of being able to revenge the affront. The power and influence of the Uzbeks daily increased, till they regained the undisputed possession of all Mâweralnaher, including the country of Hissâr. A famine and pestilence were added to the calamities of war, and Baber, who was shut up within the citadel of Hissâr, was reduced to the last extremes of misery.

Baber escapes with difficulty.

What diminished his ultimate chance of success, was a marked disaffection to his government, which had manifested itself from Hissâr to Bokhâra. When he first entered the country on the defeat of Sheibâni Khan, the news of his approach was received with the strongest demonstrations of joy, both in the territories of Hissâr and of Samarkand; and he was hailed as a deliverer. But causes of mutual disgust speedily arose. As he relied much on the assistance of Shah Ismâel, the King of Persia, for reconquering his dominions, in order to gratify that prince, he is said to have dressed himself and his troops in the Persian fashion, and to have issued an order that all his troops should wear a red cloth in their caps like Kezzelbashes. The principal men of Samarkand and Bokhâra were highly offended at this order, which, with the general distinction shown to the Persian auxiliaries, and perhaps some acts of Baber implying a dependance on the Persian king, appeared like a preparation for their becoming subjects of Persia. Their hostility to the Persians was now increased by difference of religion, Shah Ismâel being a warm and zealous apostle of the Shîa faith, while Mâweralnaher, from the earliest ages of the Islâm, was always famous for the orthodoxy of its doctors and inhabitants. The detestation which the orthodox Sunnis of Mâweralnaher then bore to the heretical Shîas of Persia, was certainly increased by the persecutions at Herât; and it continues undiminished at the present hour, particularly among the Uzbeks, one of whom seldom willingly enters the territories of Persia[1] except as an enemy. The nobles and religious men of Samarkand and Bokhâra had expressed great indignation that their soldiers should be disguised as Kezzelbashes. The usual weapons of ridicule and abuse were plentifully lavished on the king and his army, to expose these innovations to derision.[2] The massacre at Kârshi, though it occurred in

Disaffection to his government.

[1] I happened to meet with a singular instance of this, while making some inquiries regarding the geography of Uzbek Turkistân. An Uzbek Mulla, whom I consulted, had just made the pilgrimage of Mekka. On inquiring if he had passed through Persia, he expressed great horror. I found, that to avoid touching the soil of Persia, he had gone from Bokhâra to Kokân, thence to Kâshghar, thence to Astrakhân, whence by Krim Tartary he had reached Constantinople. He went by sea to Egypt, and joined the caravan of Cairo. I saw him at Bombay, whither he had come from Jidda, after making the *Haj*, or pilgrimage. He was preparing to return home by Delhi, Lahore, and Peshâwer, to avoid coming in contact with the Persian Shias.

[2] They insulted the king and his troops, asking how they came to cover their heads *nervis asininis*, as they deridingly called the red piece of cloth that hangs from the top of the Persian cap.—See Khâfi Khan, vol. I. MS.

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spite of Baber's efforts to prevent it, probably produced its natural consequences. Such an execution inevitably generates alienation and hatred; and unless supported by an overwhelming force, so as to keep alive feelings of terror, is sure to be fatal by the detestation it produces. The contempt and hatred excited against the invaders spread in all directions, and finally extended to the king and all his measures. Baber, in the end, seeing all hope of recovering Hissâr and Samarkand totally vanished, once more recrossed the Hindûkûsh mountains, attended by a few faithful followers, who still adhered to his fortunes, and again arrived in the city of Kâbul. From this time he seems to have abandoned all views[1] on the country of Mâweralnaher; and he was "led by divine inspiration," says the courtly Abulfazl, writing in the reign of his grandson, "to turn his mind to the conquest of Hindustân."

Baber in despair returns to Kâbul.

But his arms were previously employed for several years in attempting a conquest nearer to his capital. When Sheibâni Khan was obliged to raise the siege of the citadel of Kandahâr, to return to the rescue of his family in Nirehtu, Nâsir Mirza, Baber's youngest brother, who defended the place, had been reduced to great difficulties. The departure of Sheibâni Khan did not much improve his situation; for Shah Beg and Mokîm remained in the neighbourhood, and, in a short time, so much straitened the young prince, who, from the first, was but ill prepared for a siege, that he soon found it necessary to abandon the citadel of Kandahâr, and return to the court of his brother. Baber bestowed on him the government of Ghazni, an incident mentioned among the events of the year 913. The year in which Baber came back from Kundez to Kâbul, I have not discovered; but his return was probably in the course of 921. Of the transactions of the three following years, our accounts are very imperfect. There is reason to believe that they were chiefly spent in an annual invasion of the territory of Kandahâr, the forts of which were defended by Shah Beg, though he did not venture to oppose the invaders in the field.

Baber's attempts on Kandahâr. A. H. 913, A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1515.

The fragment of Baber's Memoirs which follows, describes his first invasion of India, and also what Khafi Khan and Ferishta regard as the second. It includes a period of only one year and a month. The Memoirs here assume the form of a journal.

[1] His hopes were revived for a moment near the close of his life.

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MEMOIRS OF BABER.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 925.[1]

A. D. 1519. January 3. Baber marches to attack Bajour.

On Monday,[2] the first day of the month of Moharrem, there was a violent earthquake in the lower part of the valley, or Jûlga of Chandûl,[3] which lasted nearly half an astronomical hour. Next morning I marched from this stage, for the purpose of attacking the fort of Bajour. Having encamped near it, I sent a trusty man of the Dilazâk Afghâns to Bajour, to require the Sultan of Bajour and his people to submit, and deliver up the fort. That stupid and ill-fated set refused to do as they were advised, and sent back an absurd answer. I therefore ordered the army to prepare their besieging implements, scaling-ladders, and engines for attacking fortresses. For this purpose we halted one day in our camp.

January 6.

On Thursday, the 4th of Moharrem, I ordered the troops to put on their armour, to prepare their weapons, and to mount in readiness for action. The left wing I ordered to proceed higher up than the fort of Bajour, to cross the river at the ford, and to take their ground to the north of the fort; I ordered the centre not to cross the river, but to station themselves in the broken and high grounds to the north-west. The right wing was directed to halt to the west of the lower gate. When Dost Beg and the Begs of the left wing were halting, after crossing the river, a hundred or a hundred and fifty foot sallied from the fort, and assailed them by discharges of arrows. The Begs, on their side, received the attack, and returned the discharge, chased back the enemy to the fort, and drove them under the ramparts. Mûlla Abdalmalek of Khost madly pushed on his horse, and rode close up to the foot of the wall. If the scaling-ladders and Tura[4] had been ready, and the day not so nearly spent, we should have taken the castle at that very time. Mulla Tûrk Alì, and a servant of Tengri Berdi, having each engaged in single combat with an enemy, took their antagonists, cut off their heads, and brought them back. Both of them were ordered to

[1] Dr Leyden's translation here begins again.

[2] The whole of the year 925 of the Hejira is included in A.D. 1519.

[3] This valley is now called Jondòl, or Jandôl. It is about a day's journey from Bajour, to the north or north-east. The name of Chandûl, however, is still known.

[4] The Tura, as has already been observed, were probably broad testudos, under cover of which the besiegers advanced to the storm.

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receive honorary presents. As the people of Bajour had never seen any matchlocks, they at first were not in the least apprehensive of them, so that when they heard the report of the matchlocks, they stood opposite to them, mocking and making many unseemly and improper gestures. That same day, Ustâd Ali Kuli brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Khazin also killed two. The rest of the matchlockmen likewise showed great courage, and behaved finely. Quitting their shields, their mail, and their cowheads,[1] they plied their shot so well, that before evening, seven, eight, or ten Bajouris were brought down by them; after which, the men of the fort were so alarmed, that, for fear of the matchlocks, not one of them would venture to show his head. As it was now evening, orders were given that the troops should be drawn off for the present, but should prepare the proper implements and engines, for assaulting the fortress in the morning twilight.

On Friday, the 5th day of Moharrem, at the first dawn of light, orders were given to sound the kettle-drum for action. The troops all moved forward according to the stations assigned them, and invested the place. The left wing and centre having brought at once an entire Tura from their trenches, applied the scaling-ladders, and began to mount. Khalîfeh, Shah Hassan Arghun, and Ahmed Yûsef, with their followers, were ordered from the left of the centre, to reinforce the left wing. Dost Beg's men reached the foot of a tower on the north-east of the fort, and began undermining and destroying the walls. Ustâd Ali Kuli was also there, and that day too he managed his matchlock to good purpose; the Feringy[2] piece was twice discharged. Wali Khazin also brought down a man with his matchlock. On the left of the centre, Malek Kutub Ali having mounted the walls by a scaling-ladder, was for some time engaged hand to hand with the enemy. At the lines of the main body, Muhammed Ali Jengjeng, and his younger brother Nouroz, mounted by a scaling-ladder, and fought bravely with spear and sword. Bâba Yesâwel, mounting by another scaling-ladder, busied himself in demolishing with an axe the parapet of the fort. Many of our people bravely climbed up, kept plying the enemy with their arrows, and would not suffer them to raise their heads above the works; some others of our people, in spite of all the exertions and annoyance of the enemy, and not minding their bows and arrows, employed themselves in breaking through the walls, and demolishing the defences. It was luncheon-time[3] when the tower to the north-east, which Dost Beg's men were undermining, was breached; immediately on which the assailants drove the enemy before them, and entered the tower. The men of the main body, at the same time, also mounted by their scaling-ladders, and entered the fort. By the favour and kindness of God, in the course of two or three hours, we took this strong castle. All ranks displayed

January 7.

The fort breached and taken.

[1] The cowheads were probably a kind of awning, covered with cow-hides, to admit of the matchlockmen loading in safety.

[2] Much has been written concerning the early use of gunpowder in the East. There is, however, no well-authenticated fact to prove the existence of anything like artillery there, till it was introduced from Europe. Baber here, and in other places, calls his larger ordnance Feringi, a proof that they were then regarded as owing their origin to Europe. The Turks, in consequence of their constant intercourse with the nations of the West, have always excelled all the other Orientals in the use of artillery; and, when heavy cannon were first used in India, Europeans or Turks were engaged to serve them.

[3] Chasht.

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A. D. 1519. the greatest courage and energy, and justified their right to the character and fame of valour. As the men of Bajour were rebels, rebels to the followers of Islâm, and as, beside their rebellion and hostility, they followed the customs and usages of the infidels, while even the name of Islâm was extirpated from among them, they were all put to the sword, and their wives and families made prisoners. Perhaps upwards of three thousand men were killed. As the eastern side of the fortress was not attacked, a small number made their escape by that quarter. After taking the fortress, I went round and surveyed it, and found an immense number of dead bodies lying about on the terraced roofs, within the houses, and in the streets, insomuch, that persons coming and going to and fro, were obliged to tread on and pass over them. On my return from surveying the place, I took my seat in the palace of the Sultans, and bestowed the country of Bajour on Khwâjeh Kilân,[1] and having given him a number of my best men to support him, returned to the camp about evening prayers.

January 8, Marches to Bâba Kâra. Next morning I pursued my march, and halted in the vale of Bajour, at the fountain of Bâba Kâra.[2] At the intercession of Khwâjeh Kilân, I pardoned a few prisoners who were still left, and suffered them to depart with their wives and families. Several of the sultans and arch-rebels, who had fallen into our hands, were put to death. I sent the heads of the sultans, with some other heads, to Kâbul, along with the dispatches announcing this victory. Letters conveying accounts of the victory were also sent, together with some heads, to Badakhshân, Kundez, and Balkh. Shah Mansûr Yusefzai, who had come on a mission from the Yusefzais, was present at this victory and massacre. Having invested him with a dress of honour, and written threatening letters to the Yusefzais, I gave him leave to depart.

January 11. The expedition against Bajour being thus terminated to my entire satisfaction, on Tuesday, the 9th of Moharrem, I moved on, and halted a kos farther down, in the same vale of Bajour, where I gave orders for the erection of a pillar of sculls on a rising ground.

January 12. On Wednesday, the 10th of Moharrem, I mounted and rode to the castle of Bajour, where we had a drinking party[3] in Khwâjeh Kilân's house. The Kafers in the neighbourhood of Bajour, had brought down wine in a number of skins. The wines and fruits of Bajour are wholly from that part of Kaferistân which lies about Bajour. I staid there all night, and next morning surveyed the towers and rampart of the fort; after which I mounted and rode back to the camp.

January 13. January 14. The morning after, I marched on, and encamped on the banks of the river of Khwâjeh Khizer.[4] Marching thence, I halted on the banks of the river Chandûl.

[1] Khwâjeh Kilân, was the son of Moulâna Muhammed Sader, who was one of the chief men of Omer-sheikh Mirza's court. He had six brothers, all of whom spent their lives in Baber's service, to whom they were distantly related, if we may believe Abulfazl.

[2] The valley of Bâba Kâra is seven kos north of the town of Bajour, on the road to Jondôl.

[3] Baber has now got over his scruples about drinking wine, and seems henceforward to have indulged in it to excess, till near the end of his life.

[4] There does not appear to be any river between Bajour and Jondôl, except that of Bâba Kâra, which may also, perhaps, have been called Khwâjeh Khizer. Mr Elphinstone informs me, that he has laid down the river of Bajour wrong in his map; and that it joins the river of Penjkôra a march or two above the junction of that river with the river of Swât (or Siwâd); while the Jondôl river joins the river of Bajour a march from the town of Bajour.

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Orders were here issued that all such persons as had been named for the defence of the fort of Bajour should, without exception, repair to that place.

On Sunday, the 14th of Moharrem, having given Khwâjeh Kilân a tûgh[1] (or banner), I sent him back to the fort of Bajour. A day or two after his departure, I composed the following lines,[2] which I wrote and sent him :— January 16.

Such was not the agreement and promise between my friend and me,—
Separation has stung me and made me wretched at last;
What can be done against the freaks of Fortune,
Which tears by force friend from friend at last!

On Wednesday, the 17th of Moharrem, Sultan Alâudin Siwâdi arrived as an envoy on the part of Sultan Weis Siwâdi,[3] and waited on me to offer his submission. January 19.

On Thursday, the 18th of Moharrem, I hunted on a hill that lies between Bajour and the Chandûl. The bison[4] and gewizen of this hill are black, except the tail, which is of a different colour. Below this, the bullocks and deer of Hindustân are wholly dark-coloured. The same day we caught a sarik bird; its body was black, as were its eyes: This day, too, Burkut[5] took a deer. As there was a scarcity of grain in the army, we went to the valley of Kehraj, where we seized a quantity of corn, and then proceeded towards Siwâd, on an expedition against the Yusefzai Afghans. January 20.

On Friday, we marched, and encamped between the Penjkora and the junction of the Chandûl and Bajour rivers.[6] Shah Mansûr Yusefzai had brought some very pleasant but highly inebriating Kimâl.[7] I cut a Kimâl into three parts, and eat one part myself, giving another to Gedai Taghai, and the third to Abdulla Kitâbdâr. It affected me strangely, and with such a degree of intoxication, that, when the Begs met in council about evening prayers, I was unable to make my appearance; which is the more surprising, as now I may eat a whole Kimâl of that kind, without being in the slightest degree affected, though, on that occasion, less than the half of one produced inebriety. January 21.

Marching thence, we halted near the mouth of the valley of Kehraj and of Peshgram,[8] before Penjkora. While we staid here, it snowed in these places. It rarely does snow there, and the inhabitants were surprised at the circumstance. By the advice of Sultan Weis Siwâdi, I demanded a contribution of four thousand kharwârs[9] of rice Levies a contribution on Kehraj.

[1] The tûgh is a banner of the kitas or mountain-cow's tail, which belongs only to noblemen of the first class.

[2] The turn of these verses is on the word *Bajour*, so that the last line signifies either *Bajour* has separated friend from friend, or friend is separated from friend *by force*.

[3] Sultan Weis or Oweis was King of Swât (or Siwâd). His possessions extended from the river of Swât to Baramula, at the entrance of Kashmîr. He was expelled by the Yusefzais.

[4] Or rather perhaps the mountain-bull.

[5] Burkut is probably the name of a favourite hawk. Burkut signifies a *hawk*.

[6] It has already been remarked, that the Jondûl and Bajour rivers join before they fall into the Penjkora.

[7] A sort of intoxicating confection.

[8] Peshgrâm lies north of Mahyar, which is in Mr Elphinstone's map. Kehraj I have not found, but it may be part of the same valley.

[9] A hundred man is a kharwar, at four asar the man.—*Leyden*. That is, four seers, or the weight of four rupees of copper change to a man, or nearly seven pounds weight, which makes the kharwar about seven hundred pounds weight. If the man be 7¼ lb. the kharwar will be 725 lb.

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A. D. 1519. for the use of the army from the inhabitants of Kehraj, and sent Sultan Weis himself for the purpose of collecting it. These rude mountaineers and peasants, on whom such a contribution had never before been imposed, were unable to discharge it, and were reduced to great distress.

Plunders Penjkora. January 25. On Tuesday, the 23d of Moharrem, I sent the army, under the command of Hindu Beg, in order to plunder in Penjkora. Penjkora lies a little above the middle of the slope of the hill. On account of the steepness of the ascent, it is necessary, for nearly a kos, to climb up, laying hold of the ground. Before they reached Penjkora, the inhabitants had fled. They brought back some of their sheep, mares, bullocks, and grain.

January 26. Next morning, I dispatched the army, under Kuch Beg, on a plundering party; and January 27. on Thursday, the 25th of Moharrem, in order to secure a supply of grain, the army moved, and encamped in the midst of the valley of Kehraj, in the district of Mandish.

This year several children were born to me younger than Humâiun; but none of them lived. Hindâl was not yet born. While we remained here, I received a letter from Maham, in which she said, "Whether the expected child be a son or daughter, I shall take my chance; I will regard the child as mine, and educate it as my own."

January 28. On the 26th, in this same camp, I gave up Hindâl to Maham, and, writing an answer to her letter, sent it to Kâbul by Yusef Ali Rikâbdâr. Hindâl was not yet born. At this same encampment, in the district of Mandish, in the heart of the valley, on a rising ground, I erected a large Sufeh, or terrace of stone, of such extent, that it could contain my large set of tents,[1] with the smaller set[2] usually sent in advance. The stones of this work were wholly brought by my officers and the soldiers.

Malek Shah Mansûr, the son of Malek Suleman Shah, had come from the Yusefzai Afghans, with professions of submission and of attachment to my interests. In order to conciliate the Yusefzais, I had asked his daughter in marriage. At this encampment we learned that the daughter[3] of Shah Mansûr was coming with the tribute of

[1] Khâneh-sefîd.

[2] Pishkhâneh. Baber means that the terrace could hold the state-tent, and also one of the sets of tents which is sent in advance each stage in travelling.

[3] The Afghân histories make the chief, to whose daughter Baber was married, Malek Ahmed, nephew of Malek Sulemân. Malek Sulemân had been treacherously murdered at a banquet by Ulugh Beg Mirza. It may be worth while to give the history of this marriage, as related by the Afghans. It will at least serve to show at how early a period history is corrupted by tradition.

They tell us, that after Ulugh Beg Mirza, the king of Kâbul, had expelled the Yusefzais from their old abodes, he died of an ulcer in the thigh, and Baber got possession of the conquered country. The Yusefzais also submitted to him, and sent Malek Ahmed, and some other Maleks, with presents to Baber. Ahmed went from Sana through Swât to Bajour, and so to Laghmân, whence he proceeded to Kâbul. The King received him well, but was offended at heart, having received complaints from the Dilazâks, who were his favourite subjects, and who had bribed his ministers to procure the death of Ahmed. The Gagianis, who had been enemies of Malek Ahmed, but were now reconciled to him, gave him notice of the King's evil intentions. He sent away the other Maleks, and staid himself. The King took his bow to shoot him. Malek Ahmed bared his breast, that the King's arrow might not be impeded. Baber was so pleased that he forgave him.

Next year, Baber sent for Ahmed, who sent his brother in his stead. The King was civil; but Ahmed, from comparing circumstances, surmised that he would attack them the year following. He retired, therefore, with his tribe, to the Mahoreh hills, which they strengthened, shutting up all the passes.

The King accordingly set out for Swât. On his way he besieged a Gebri fort, which was held by Malek Haider Ali Gebri. Having taken it, he moved on to Manglôr.

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the Yusefzais. We had a drinking party about evening prayers. I invited Sultan Alâudîn[1] to the party, made him sit down, and gave him one of my own dresses as a dress of honour.

On Sunday the 28th, we marched from the valley of Kehraj, and encamped. Taûs-khan Yusefzai, the younger brother of Shah Mansûr, brought his niece, who has been mentioned, to this encampment. As the people of Bisûd[2] are connected with those of Bajour, I sent Yusef Ali Bekâwel from this station to collect them, and remove them to Bajour. I sent orders to the troops that had been left in Kâbul to join me without delay. January 30.

On Friday, the 3d of the month of Sefer, we encamped at the junction of the Bajour and Penjkôra rivers. February 4.

On Sunday the 5th, I went from this station to Bajour, and had a drinking party at Khwâjeh Kilân's house. February 6.

On Tuesday the 7th, I sent for the Begs and the Dilazâk Afghans, and held a council, in which it was agreed, that, as it was the close of the year, only a day or two of Aquarius remaining, and as all the grain had been carried off from the level country, should we enter Sewâd now, the army would suffer greatly from want of provisions; that it was therefore better to proceed by way of Ambahir and Pani-mali, and crossing the river of Sewâd above Hashnaghar,[3] to advance our troops with all possible expedition opposite to the Sanger (or hill-fort) of Mâmura, belonging to the Yusefzais, and to make an incursion upon the Afghans inhabiting the open country and plain, who are composed of the Yusefzais and Muhammedzais, to beat up their quarters, and plunder them; and that, by coming next year earlier, while the grain was on the ground, we should find effectual means of reducing them. Having come to this determination, next morning, being Wednesday, I bestowed horses and dresses of honour on Sultan Weis and Sultan Alâudîn, and dismissed them with every assurance of protection and assistance; and then, continuing our march, we halted opposite to Bajour. I left the daughter of Shah Mansûr in the fort of Bajour, till the return of the army. Next morning, proceeding in our course, and passing Khwâjeh Khizzer, we halted. Khwâjeh Kilân here took leave of me on his return. The heavy baggage were sent on towards Lemghân, by way of Kûner. Next morning we again marched, and I gave the heavy baggage and camels to the charge of Khwâjeh Mîr Mirân, and sent him on by the road of Jor-ghâtu, Derwâzeh, and the pass of Karakobeh; while I myself, with a light-armed and unencumbered force of cavalry, proceeded on our expedition. Having surmounted the pass of Ambahir, and likewise another pass, we reached Pani-

Expedition against the Afghans. February 8.

February 9.

February 10.

February 11.

Baber, after searching in vain by his spies for a pass into the Mahoreh hills, went himself in the disguise of a Kalender, and was present at one of their feasts. The daughter of Malek Ahmed, observing the stranger, sent him some provisions. Baber, captivated with her appearance and manners, fell in love with her, and, on his return back, sent to ask her in marriage. Ahmed consented, and, accompanied by all his Maleks, waited on the King. The lady, whose name was Bibi Macharikeh, so charmed Baber by her grace and conversation, that he remitted the revenue of her tribe, and returned to Kâbul. The Yusefzais, we are told, then rose into great power; and Baber raised to a very distinguished rank her brother, Mîr Jemâl, who accompanied him and her into Hindustân. The brother and sister both died in Akber's time.

[1] The Yusefzai ambassador.

[2] Behsut.—*Leyden.*

[3] Hashnaghar stands not far above the junction of the Sewâd river with the river of Kâbul.

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A. D. 1519. mali before afternoon prayers. I sent forward Aughan Berdi with a small party, in order to get information. As there was but a short interval between us and the Afghans, we did not march early. It was about luncheon-time when Aughan Berdi returned, having taken an Afghan, and cut off his head, which he lost on his way back; but he did not succeed in procuring any satisfactory intelligence. It was mid-day when we marched, and we halted a little before afternoon prayers, after crossing the river of Sewâd. About bed-time prayers we again mounted, and proceeding with speed, about sunrise, when the sun was a spear-length high, Rustom Turkomân, who had been sent forward on the look-out, rejoined us with information that the Afghans, having had notice of our approach, were in confusion on all hands, and that a body of them was retiring by the hill-road.

February 12.

February 13.

Instantly on receiving this intelligence, we increased our speed, and sent on a skirmishing party before us, which overtook and killed several Afghans, whose heads they cut off, and brought back to the main body, along with a number of prisoners, bullocks, and sheep. The Dilazâk Afghans also cut off and brought in several heads. Returning from thence, we halted in the neighbourhood of Katlang,[1] where I sent guides in search of Khwâjeh Mîr Mirân, who had been sent on with the baggage, with instructions to bring him to join me in Makâm.

February 14.

Next morning we marched, and passing by way of Katlang, halted in the midst of Makâm.[2] One of Shah Mansur's people here joined us, and I despatched Khosrou Gokultâsh and Ahmedi Perwânchi with a body of troops to meet and protect the baggage.

February 15.

On Tuesday the 14th, just as we halted in Makâm, the baggage joined us. In the course of the last thirty or forty years, one Shahbâz Kalendar, an impious unbeliever, had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yusefzais and Dilazâks. At the abrupt termination of the hill of Makâm, there is a small hillock that overlooks all the plain country. It is extremely beautiful, commanding a prospect as far as the eye can reach, and is conspicuous from the lower grounds. Upon it stood the tomb of Shahbâz Kalendar. I visited it, and surveyed the whole place. It struck me as improper that so charming and delightful a spot should be occupied by the tomb of an unbeliever. I therefore gave orders that the tomb should be pulled down, and levelled with the ground. As the situation was fine, both for climate and beauty, I took a maajûn,[3] and continued there for some time.

When we left Bajour, we did it with the intention of attacking Behreh[4] before we returned to Kâbul. We were always full of the idea of invading Hindustân. This was prevented by various circumstances. For three or four months that the army had been detained in Bajour, it had got no plunder of value. As Behreh is on the borders of Hindustân, and was near at hand, I conceived that, if I were now to push on without baggage, the soldiers might light upon some booty. Moving on under these impressions, and plundering the Afghans in our progress, when I reached Makâm, several

[1] Katlang is forty miles north of Akôra, inclining to the east. [2] Makâm appears to lie in Bûnîr.

[3] These *maajûns*, generally composed of *bhang*, are taken to produce what is regarded as an agreeable intoxication.

[4] Or Bhîra, appears to be the country on the Behat or Hydaspes, near the town of that name, but chiefly on the right bank of the river.

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of my principal adherents advised me, that if we were to enter Hindustân, we should do it on a proper footing, and with an adequate force; that a great part of our army had been left behind at Kâbul; that a body of our best troops had been left at Bajour; that a number, too, in consequence of the weakness of their horses, had returned to Lamghân; that the horses even of those who still continued with us, were so wretched, that they were unfit for a single day's hard service. Though the advice was perfectly judicious, we made the inroad in spite of all these objections.

Early next morning we marched towards the passage over the Sind. I despatched Mîr Muhammed Jalehbân in advance, with his brothers and some troops to escort them, for the purpose of examining the banks of the river, both above and below. After sending on the army towards the river, I myself set off for Sawâti, which they likewise call Karak-Khaneh, to hunt the rhinoceros. We started many rhinoceroses,[1] but, as the country abounded in brush-wood, we could not get at them. A she rhinoceros that had whelps, came out and fled along the plain; many arrows were shot at her, but as the wooded ground was near at hand she gained cover. We set fire to the brush-wood, but the rhinoceros was not to be found. We got sight of another, that, having been scorched in the fire, was lamed and unable to run. We killed it, and every one cut off a bit of it as a trophy of the chase. Leaving Sawâti, after a wide and fatiguing circuit, we reached the camp about bed-time prayers. The party that had been sent to survey the passage over the river did so, and returned. February 16.

Next morning, being Thursday the 17th, we crossed the ford[2] with our horses, camels, and baggage; the camp bazar and the infantry were floated across on rafts. The same day the inhabitants of Nilâb[3] waited on me, bringing an armed horse and three hundred shahrokhis,[4] as a Peshkesh. As soon as we had got all our people across, that same day at noon-day prayers, we proceeded on our march, which we continued for one watch of the night, and halted at the river of Kecheh-kot. Marching thence before day, we crossed the river of Kecheh-kot, and the same evening surmounted the Pass of Sengdâki,[5] and halted. Syed Kâsim Ishek-Agha, who brought up the rear guard, took a few Gujers who followed the camp, cut off some of their heads and brought them in. Baber crosses the Sind, February 17. February 18.

Marching at the dawn from Singdâki, and crossing the river Souhân[6] about noon-day prayers, we encamped. Our stragglers continued to come in till midnight. It was an uncommonly long and severe march, and as it was made when our horses were lean and weak, it was peculiarly hard on them, so that many horses were worn out, and fell down by the way. Seven kos from Behreh[7] to the north, there is a hill. This hill, in the Zefer-nâmeh[8] and some other books, is called the hill of Jûd. At first I February 19.

[1] It is worthy of notice, that the rhinoceros is now no longer to be found to the west of the Indus.

[2] Baber appears to have crossed a little above Attok.

[3] Nilâb lies fifteen miles below Attok on the Sind.

[4] Something less than £15 sterling.

[5] The river of Kecheh-kot is the Harrû, or river of Gharshîn. By his ascending a pass so speedily after leaving the river, and by his reaching the Swân so soon, it appears that Baber turned sharp to the south after crossing the Harrû.

[6] Or Swân, which lies between the Sind and Behat.

[7] Perhaps the Bhîra south of the Swân.

[8] The Zefer-nâmeh, or Book of Victory, is the history of Taimur Beg, or Tamerlane, written in a very elegant style, by Sherifeddin Ali Yezdi. It has been well translated by Petis de la Croix.

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was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered, that in this hill there were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jûd, the other Jenjûheh. From old times, they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the Ils and Uluses which are between Nilâb and Behreh; but their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They cannot take from them whatever they please. They take as their share a portion that has been fixed from very remote times. The one never takes, and the others never give, a single grain more or less. Their agreement is as follows:—They give a Shahrokhi[1] for each head of cattle; seven Shahrokhis are paid by each master of a family, and they serve in their armies. The Jûd are divided into various branches or families, as well as the Jenjûheh. This hill, which lies within seven kos of Behreh, branching off from the hill-country of Kashmîr, which belongs to the same range as Hindû-kûsh, takes a south-westerly direction, and terminates below Dînkôt,[2] on the river Sind.[3] On the one half of this hill are the Jûd, and on the other the Jenjûheh. This hill got the name of Jûd from a supposed resemblance to the celebrated hill of Jûd.[4] The chief man among them gets the name of Rai. His younger brothers and sons are called Malek. These Jenjûheh were the maternal uncles of Lenger Khan. The name of the Hâkim of the Ils and Uluses in the neighbourhood of the river Suhân was Malek-Hest. His original name was *Ased*, but as the people of Hindustân often drop the vowels, calling, for instance, *Khabar*, *Khabr*, and *Ased*, *Asd*, this word, going on from one corruption to another, ended in becoming *Hest*.

Immediately on reaching our ground I sent Lenger Khan in order to bring in Malek-hest. He galloped off, and by impressing him with a persuasion of my generosity and favourable intentions in his behalf, returned, accompanied by him, about bed-time prayers. Malek-hest brought a caparisoned horse with him by way of Peshkesh, and made his submission. He was about the twenty-second or twenty-third year of his age.[5]

Many flocks of sheep, and herds of brood-mares, were feeding on all sides of the camp. As I always had the conquest of Hindustân at heart, and as the countries of Behreh, Khushâb, Chanâb, and Chaniût,[6] among which I now was, had long been in the possession of the Tûrks, I regarded them as my own domains, and was resolved to acquire the possession of them either by war or peace. It was, therefore, right and

[1] The Shahrokhi may be taken at a shilling or elevenpence sterling.

[2] Dînkôt from this seems to have lain near Karabâgh.

[3] Baber's account of this hill is not very exact. It comes from the Kashmîr hills, and, near Khanpûr, passes to the east and south of Hassan Abdal, and joins the Kohat or Kheiber range, which crosses the Indus at Nilâb. It is evident that he supposes all the rough and mountainous country between the Kheiber and Salt Ranges, to be one hill, and to be continued up to Kashmîr.

[4] Jûd or Ararat, in Armenia, on which the ark was supposed to have rested.

[5] Here Dr Leyden's version finally closes.

[6] Behreh at present lies near Pindi Daden Khan, to the south-east of the Jelam or Hydaspes; but the district in Baber's time extended on both sides of the river, and the capital was to the north. Khushâb lies lower down the river. Chenâb probably stretched over to the river of that name, the ancient Acesines. No Chaniût can be found: perhaps it is Battiût, south-east of Attok, by a slight mistake in writing. Behreh at this time belonged to Ali Khan, the son of Doulet Khan, Hâkim of Lahore, under the kings of Delhi.

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necessary that the people of the hill should be well treated. I accordingly issued orders that no one should molest or trouble their flocks or herds, or take from them to the value of a bit of thread or a broken needle.

Marching thence rather late, about noon-day prayers we reached Keldeh-Kehâr, where we halted. On every side there were many corn-fields, where the grain was still green. This Keldeh-Kehâr is a considerable place. Ten kos[1] from Behreh, in the middle of the hill of Jûd, there is a level plot of ground, in the centre of which is a large reservoir or lake, which receives the water from the surrounding hills, as well as the rain water, by which it is swelled to about a circumference of three kos.[2] On the north is the valley of Khûbi; on the west, on the skirts of the hill, is a spring of water, which rises in the high grounds that overhang the lake. As the place suggested itself as suitable for such a purpose, I formed a garden on it, called the Bagh-e-Sefa (or Garden of Purity). It has an extremely agreeable climate, is a very beautiful place, and will be mentioned hereafter.

At dawn we set out from Keldeh-Kehâr. On the very top of the Pass of Hambâtu[3] we met, in different places, men who were coming bringing in Peshkeshes of small value, and tendering their submission. These men I sent forward along with Abdal-Rahîm Shaghâwal to Behreh, in order to re-assure the people of the place; to tell them that these countries, from remote times, had belonged to the Tûrks, and that they must be on their guard not to permit any commotions, which would inevitably terminate in the plunder and ruin of the country, of its inhabitants, and of the property and wealth, which for years they had been accumulating. A. D. 1519. February 20.

About luncheon-time we reached the bottom of the pass, where we halted and sent on Kurbân Cherkhi and Abdal Malûk Khosti, with seven or eight others, to reconnoitre and bring in intelligence. Mîr Muhammed Mehdi Khwâjeh, one of the persons who was so sent in advance, brought in one man. At this time some chiefs of the Afghans came with Peshkeshes and tendered their submission. I sent them on with Lenger Khan, for the purpose of inspiring the inhabitants of Behreh with confidence. Having cleared the pass, and emerged from the wooded ground, I formed the army in regular array, with right and left wing and centre, and marched towards Behreh. When we had nearly reached that place, Deweh Hindu, and the son of Sektu, who were servants of Ali Khan, the son of Doulet Khan Yûsef-Khail, accompanied by the head men of Behreh, met us, bringing each a horse and camel as a Peshkesh, and tendered their submission and service. Noon-day prayers were over when we halted to the east of Behreh,[4] on the banks of the river Behat, on a green field of grass, without having done the people of Behreh the least injury or damage. Baber reaches Behreh.

From the time that Taimur Beg had invaded Hindustân, and again left it, these countries of Behreh, Khushâb, Chanâb, and Chaniût, had remained in the possession of the family of Taimur Beg, and of their dependents and adherents. Sultan Masaûd History of Behreh from the time of Tamerlane.

[1] Fifteen or twenty miles. [2] About five miles.

[3] The Kotal or Hill-pass of Hambâtu appears to lie in the Salt Range.

[4] The town of Behreh or Bhirâ must, at this time, have lain to the north of the Jelam or Behat. It is a common name in that tract.

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Mirza, the grandson of Shahrokh Mirza and son of Siûrghnamsh Mirza,[1] was, in those days, the ruler and chief of Kâbul and Zâbul, on which account he got the name of Sultan Masaûd Kâbuli. After his death, and that of his son Ali Asgher Mirza, some of the persons whom he had brought forward and patronised, such as the sons of Mîr Ali Beg, Bâba Kâbuli, Deria Khan, and Apâk Khan, who was afterwards called Ghazi Khan, having a commanding influence, took possession of Kâbul, Zâbul, and those countries of Hindustân which have been mentioned, and usurped the government. In the year 910, which was the date of my first coming to Kâbul, I passed through Kheiber and advanced to Pershâwer, with the intention of invading Hindustân; but, by the persuasion of Bâki Cheghâniâni, was diverted towards the Lower Bangash, which is called Kohat, and after having pillaged and ravaged a great part of Afghanistân, and plundered and laid waste the Desht (or low country), I returned by way of Duki. At that time the government of Behreh, Khushâb, and Chanâb, was held by Syed Ali Khan, the son of Ghazi Khan, and grandson of Mîr Ali Beg. He read the Khutbeh in the name of Iskander Behlûl,[2] and was subject to him. Being alarmed at my inroad, he abandoned the town of Behreh, crossed the river Behat,[3] and made Shîrkot, a place in the district of Behreh, his capital. After a year or two, the Afghans having conceived suspicions against Syed Ali on my account, he became alarmed at their hostility, and surrendered his country to Doulet Khan Tâtâr Khan Yûsef-Khail, who at that time was Hâkim[4] of Lahore. Doulet Khan gave Behreh to his eldest son Ali Khan, by whom it was now held. Tâtâr Khan, the father of Doulet Khan, was one of the six or seven chiefs who invaded and conquered Hindustân, and made Behlûl Emperor. This Tâtâr Khan possessed Sirhend and all the country to the north of the Satlej. The revenue of these territories was upwards of three krors.[5] After Tâtâr Khan's death, Sultan Sekander, the reigning Emperor, had taken these countries from his family. Two years before my coming to Kâbul, the same prince had given Lahore alone to Doulet Khan.

1504-5.

A. D. 1519. February 21. Next morning, I sent out several foraging parties in proper directions, and afterwards rode round Behreh. The same day Sanger Khan Jenjûheh came with a horse, which he presented to me with tenders of service.

February 23. On Wednesday the 22d, I sent for the head men and Chouderis[6] of Behreh, and agreed with them for the sum of four hundred thousand Shahrokhis[7] as the ransom of their property; and collectors were appointed to receive the amount. I then rode out to see the country, embarked in a boat, and eat a maajûn. I had sent Haider Alemdâr (the standard-bearer), to the Baluches, who were settled in the country of Behreh and Khushâb. Next morning, being Thursday, they came in with a bay Tipchak horse as a Peshkesh, and made their submission. Having learned that the troops had exercised

February 24.

[1] Siûrghnamsh Mirza died A. H. 830—A. D. 1426. The date of Masaûd's death I have not discovered.

[2] Iskander Behlûl was Emperor of Delhi.

[3] The Behat is the Jelam or Hydaspes.

[4] The Hâkim is a chief or governor.

[5] Three krors or crores of dams, at forty to the rupee, would make this 750,000 rupees, or about £75,000 sterling.

[6] Chouderi in some districts signifies the head man of a trade, in others a landholder.

[7] Nearly L.20,000 Sterling.

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some severities towards the inhabitants of Behreh, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others, and made them be led about the camp in that condition. As I reckoned the countries that had belonged to the Tûrks as my own territories, I therefore admitted of no plundering or pillage.

Embassy to Sultan Ibrâhim.

People were always saying, that if ambassadors were to be sent in a friendly and peaceable way into the countries that had been occupied by the Tûrks, it could do no harm. I therefore despatched Mûlla Murshid to Sultan Ibrâhim, whose father Sultan Iskander had died five or six months before, and who had succeeded his father in the empire of Hindustân; and, giving him the name and style of ambassador, sent him to demand, that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Tûrks, should be given up to me. Besides these letters for Sultan Ibrâhim, I gave Mûlla Murshid letters to Doulet Khan, and having also delivered to him verbal instructions, dismissed him on his mission. The people of Hindustân, and particularly the Afghâns, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection, and less foresight. They can neither persist in, and manfully support a war, nor can they continue in a state of amity and friendship. This person, who was sent by me, Doulet Khan detained some time in Lahore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultan Ibrâhîm; so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kâbul without having received any answer.

February 25.

On Friday, letters of submission came from the people of Khushâb. Shah Hassan,[1] the son of Shah Shujaâ Arghûn, was appointed to proceed to that district.

Inundation in Behreh.

February 26.

On Saturday the 25th, I directed Shah Hassan to set out for Khushab. There was such a fall of rain,[2] that the whole plain was covered with water. Between Behreh and the hills where we were encamped, there was a little stream. By the time of noon-day prayers, it was equal in breadth to a considerable lake. Near Behreh, for upwards a bowshot, there was no footing in the ford, and it was necessary to pass paddling and swimming. Between afternoon and evening prayers, I rode out for the purpose of surveying these waters. The rain and wind were so violent, that, in our return, we were afraid we should not have been able to rejoin the camp. I passed the stream that was in flood by swimming; the troops were extremely terrified. Many of them leaving behind their tents and heavy baggage, and taking their coats of mail, horse furniture, and arms on their shoulders, after stripping their horses of all their harness, swam them across. The whole plain was covered with water. In the morning, many of the troops carried their tents and baggage across the inundation, in boats which they brought from the river. Toward evening prayers, Kuch Beg's men having gone about a kos higher up, discovered a ford, by which all the rest of the army passed.

February 27.

February 28. March 1.

We remained one day in the fort of Behreh, which they call Jehân-numâ,[3] and on the morning of Tuesday we marched, and encamped on the rising grounds which skirt

[1] This Shah Hassan afterwards made a distinguished figure in the history of Sind, on the throne of which he succeeded his father Shah Beg.

[2] This rain is too early for the south-west Monsoon. It was probably a severe fall of the spring rain, which prevails at this season, or rather earlier, and which extends all over the west of Asia.

[3] World-exhibiting, or miniature of the world.

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A. D. 1519. along Behreh towards the north, in order to escape the inconveniences of the rain and inundation. The inhabitants now began to contrive delays in paying the money which they had consented to give. Having divided the country into four districts, I ordered the Begs to use all diligence in collecting the whole contribution. One district I gave in charge to Khalifeh, another to Kûch-Beg, a third to Dost Nâsir, the fourth to Syed Kâsim and Mohib Ali.

Birth of Hindâl, March 4. On Friday, the second of the month, Sheibâk Piâdeh and Derwish Ali Piâdeh, who are now matchlock-men,[1] brought me letters from Kâbul, containing news of the birth of Hindâl. As this news came when I was on an expedition against Hind, taking it as a good omen, I named him Hindâl.

Kember Beg, at the same time, brought letters from Balkh, from Muhammed Zemân Mirza.[2]

A drinking party. March 5. Next morning, after the Diwân was dismissed, when I had finished my ride, I went on board of a boat, and had a drinking party with Khwâjeh Dost Khâwend, Khosrou Miram, Mirza Kûli, Muhammedi Ahmedi, Gedai, Naaman, Lenger Khan, Rukh-dem, Kâsim Ali Teriâki, Yûsef Ali, and Tengri Kûli. Towards the bow of the vessel a space was roofed in. It had a level platform above, and I and some others sat on the top of it. A few others sat below the scaffolding. Towards the stern of the ship, too, there was a place for sitting. Muhammedi, with Gedai and Naaman, sat there. We continued drinking spirits till after noon-prayers. Disliking the spirits, we then took to maajûn. Those who were at the other end of the vessel, did not know that we were taking maajûn, and continued to drink spirits. About night-prayers we left the vessel, and mounting our horses, returned late to the camp. Muhammedi and Gedai, thinking that I had been taking nothing but spirits, and imagining that they were doing an acceptable service, brought me a pitcher of liquor, carrying it by turns on their horses. They were extremely drunk and jovial when they brought it in. "Here it is," they said; "dark as the night is, we have brought a pitcher. We carried it by turns." They were informed that we had been using a different thing. The maajûn-takers and spirit-drinkers, as they have different tastes, are very apt to take offence with each other. I said, "Don't spoil the cordiality of the party; whoever wishes to drink spirits, let him drink spirits; and let him that prefers maajûn, take maajûn; and let not the one party give any idle or provoking language to the other." Some sat down to spirits, some to maajûn. The party went on for some time tolerably well. Bâba Jân Kabûzi[3] had not been in the boat; we had sent for him when we reached the royal tents.[4] He chose to drink spirits. Terdi Muhammed Kipchâk, too, was sent for and joined the spirit-drinkers. As the spirit-drinkers and maajûn-takers never can agree in one party, the spirit-bibing party began to indulge in foolish and idle conversation, and to make provoking remarks on maajûn and maajûn-takers. Bâba Jân, too, getting drunk, talked very absurdly. The tipplers filling up glass after glass for Terdi Muhammed, made him drink them off, so that in a very short time he was mad drunk.

[1] The Matchlock-men seem to have been considered as a superior service.

[2] Muhammed Zemân Mirza, who is often mentioned in the sequel of these Memoirs, was a son of Badia-ez-zemân Mirza, the late King of Khorasân.

[3] Kabûzi, one who plays on the Kabûz.

[4] Khaneh Sefid.

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Whatever exertions I could make to preserve peace, were all unavailing; there was much uproar and wrangling. The party became quite burdensome and unpleasant, and soon broke up.

On Monday the 5th, I gave the country of Behreh to Hindû Beg, and the country of Chanâb to Hussein Ikzak;[1] when Hussein Ikzak, and the men of Chanâb, took leave. March 7

At this time Manucheher Khan, the son of Syed Ali Khan, who had given me notice of his intention to wait on me, but who, as he was coming from Hindustân by the upper road, was intercepted by Tâtâr Khan Gaker, (who would not suffer him to depart, carefully watched him, and made him his son-in-law, by giving him his own daughter in marriage,) after having been detained a considerable time, at length came and tendered me his services.

Hâti Gaker surprises and puts to death Tâtâr Gaker.

In the hill-country between Nilâb and Behreh, but apart from the tribes of Jûd and Jenjûheh, and adjoining to the hill-country of Kashmîr, are the Jats, Gûjers, and many other men of similar tribes, who build villages, and settle on every hillock and in every valley. Their Hâkim was of the Gaker race, and their government resembles that of the Jûds and Jenjûheh. The government of these tribes, which stretch along the skirt of the hills, was at that time held by Tâtâr Gaker and Hâti Gaker, sons of the same family; they were cousins. Their places of strength were situated on ravines and steep precipices. The name of Tâtâr's strong-hold was Perhâleh. It was considerably lower than the snowy mountains. Hâti's country is close adjoining to the hills. Hâti had also brought over to his interest Baba Khan, who held Kalinjer. Tâtâr Gaker had waited on Doulet Khan, and was in a certain way subject to him. Hâti had never visited him, but remained in an independent, turbulent state. Tâtâr, at the desire of the Amîrs of Hindustân, and in conjunction with them, had taken a position with his army a considerable way off, and in some sort kept Hâti in a state of blockade. At the very time when we were in Behreh, Hâti had advanced upon Tâtâr by a stratagem, had surprised and slain him, and taken his country, his women, and all his property.

Drinking party.

About the time of noon-day prayers, I mounted to take a ride, and afterwards going on board of a boat, we had a drinking bout. The party consisted of Dost Beg, Mirza Kuli, Ahmedi, Gedai, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Hassan Aughân, and Berdi Moghul. The musicians were Rûkh-dem, Bâba Jân, Kâsim Ali, Yûsef Ali, Tengri Kûli, Abul Kâsim, and Ramzân Lûli. We continued drinking spirits in the boat till bed-time prayers, when, being completely drunk, we mounted, and taking torches in our hands, came at full gallop back to the camp from the river-side, falling sometimes on one side of the horse, and sometimes on the other. I was miserably drunk, and next morning, when they told me of our having galloped into the camp with lighted torches in our hands, I had not the slightest recollection of the circumstance. After coming home, I vomited plentifully.

On Friday I mounted to ride out, and crossed the river in a boat, went round the March 11.

[1] Ingerak.—*Pers.*

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A. D. 1519. gardens and parterres on the opposite side, with the grounds where the sugar-cane is cultivated, examined the buckets and wheels for irrigation, drew some water, inquired into the mode of their operation, and made them raise the water again and again, that I might observe their action. During our ride, I had taken a maajûn, and when we had seen everything, we returned to the boat. Manucheher Khan had also taken a maajûn, but so strong, that two people were obliged to take hold of his arms and support him along. We dropped the anchor, and for a while remained stationary in the midst of the river; we next went a good way down the river, and afterwards desired the boat to be worked up the stream. That night we slept in the boat, and towards morning returned to the camp.

March 12. On Saturday, the 10th of the first Rebi, the sun entered the Ram; that day I rode out about noon-day prayers, went on board of a vessel, and had a drinking party. The party was composed of Khwâjeh Dost Khâwend, Dost Beg, Miram Mirza Kûli, Muhammedi, Ahmedi, Yûnus Ali, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Gedai, Toghâi, Mir Khûrd Asâs. The musicians were Rûkh-dem, Bâba Jân, Kâsim Ali, Yûsef Ali, Tengri Kûli, Ramzân. Having got into a large branch of the stream, we went down it for some time, after which we landed considerably lower down than Behreh, and reached the camp late.

That same day Shah Hassan came back from Khûsbâb. He had been sent as ambassador, to invite the countries that had formerly been held by the Tûrks to return to their allegiance, and had made a capitulation with them. Some of the money that had been settled for, had also been paid to us. The heats were now close at hand; I therefore appointed Shah Muhammed Moher-dâr,[1] his younger brother, Dost Moher-dâr, with a number of the most efficient men, and of those who were best suited to the service, to remain to support Hindû Beg. I settled on each of them a stated allowance, suited to his rank and circumstances. On Lenger Khan, who was the prime cause and adviser of this expedition, I bestowed Khushâb, and gave him the Tûgh,[2] or banner of mountain-cow's tail. I left him also behind to support Hindû Beg. With the same view, I placed under the orders of Hindû Beg a number of Tûrki soldiers and Zemîndârs, who were in Behreh, and increased their allowances. Among these was Manucheher Khan, who has been already mentioned; another was Sanger Khan Jenjûheh, who was Melek-hest of the Jenjûheh.

March 13. Having arranged the affairs of the country in such a way as to give a prospect of its being kept quiet, on Sunday, the 11th of the first Rebi, I marched from Behreh on my return to Kâbul. We halted at Kildeh-kehâr. That day also there was a most uncommon fall of rain. Those who had cloaks,[3] and those who had none, were all in the same state. The rear of the camp continued dropping in till after bed-time prayers.

Some persons who were acquainted with the country, and with the political situa-

[1] The Keeper of the Signet.

[2] The Tûgh standard, as already mentioned, is a pennon with a kitâs or mountain-cow's tail. It is only bestowed on officers of rank. It resembles the Turkish horsetail standard.

[3] Kepek, a kind of mantle, covered with wool.

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tion of the neighbouring territories, and particularly the Jenjûheh, who were the old enemies of the Gakers, represented to me that Hâti the Gaker had been guilty of many acts of violence, had infested the highways by his robberies, and harassed the inhabitants; that therefore it was necessary either to effect his expulsion from this quarter, or, at least, to inflict on him exemplary punishment.

For effecting this object, next morning, I left Khwâjeh Mîr Mirân and Mîram Nâsir in charge of the camp, and, about breakfast time, set out with a body of light troops, to fall upon Hâti Gaker, who, a few days before, had killed Tâtâr, seized the country of Perhâleh, and was now at Perhâleh, as has been mentioned. About afternoon prayers we halted, and baited our horses; and set off again about bed-time prayers. Our guide was a servant of the Malek-hest, by name Sûrpa. He was a Gujer. All night long we proceeded straight on in our course, but halted towards morning, and sent on Beg Muhammed Moghul towards their camp. When it was beginning to be light we again mounted; and, about luncheon time,[1] put on our armour, and increased our speed. About a kos from the place where we had made this halt, Perhâleh began to appear faintly in sight. The skirmishers were now pushed forward; the right wing proceeded to the east of Perhâleh. Kûch Beg, who belonged to that wing, was directed to follow in their rear, by way of reserve. The left wing and centre poured in straight towards Perhâleh. Dost Beg was appointed to command the party charged to support the left wing and centre, who made the direct attack on Perhâleh.

March 14. Expedition against Perhâleh.

March 15.

Perhâleh, which stands high in the midst of deep valleys and ravines, has two roads leading to it; one of them on the south-east, which was the road that we advanced by. This road runs along the edge of the ravines, and has ravines and precipices on both sides. Within half a kos of Perhâleh the road becomes extremely difficult, and continues so up to the very gates of the city; the ravine road, in four or five places, being so narrow and steep, that only one person can go along it at a time; and, for about a bow-shot, it is necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection. The other road is on the north-west. It advances towards Perhâleh through the midst of an open valley. Except these two roads there is no other on any side. Although the place has no breast-work nor battlement, yet it is so situated that it is not assailable. It is surrounded by a precipice seven or eight gez[2] in perpendicular height. The troops of the left wing having passed along the narrows, went pouring on towards the gate. Hâti, with thirty or forty horsemen, all, both man and horse, in complete armour, accompanied by a number of foot soldiers, attacked and drove back the skirmishers. Dost Beg, who commanded the reserve, coming up, and falling on the enemy with great impetuosity, brought down a number of them, and routed the rest. Hâti Gaker, who distinguished himself by his courage and firmness in the action, in spite of all his exertions could not maintain his ground, and fled. He was unable to defend the narrows; and, on reaching the fort, found that it was equally out of his power to maintain himself there. The detachment, which followed close on his heels, having entered the fort along with him, Hâti was compelled to make his escape, nearly alone, by the north-west entrance.

[1] Eleven o'clock.

[2] Fourteen or sixteen feet.

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A. D. 1519. Perhâleh taken. Dost Beg, on this occasion, again greatly distinguished himself. I ordered an honorary gift[1] to be given to him. At the same time I entered Perhâleh, and took up my abode at Tâtâr's palace. During these operations, some men, who had been ordered to remain with me, had joined the skirmishing party. Among these were Amîn Muhammed Karâchi, and Terkhân Arghûn. In order to punish them for this offence, I gave them the Gujer Sûrpa for their guide, and turned them out disgracefully[2] into the deserts and wilds, to find their way back to the camp.

March 16. Next morning, passing by the ravine on the north-west, we halted on the sown fields, when I gave Wali, the treasurer, a body of select troops, and sent him off to the camp.

March 17. On Thursday the 15th, we halted at Anderâbeh, which lies on the banks of the river Sûhân.[3] This fort of Anderâbeh depended, from old times, on the father of Malek-hest. When Hâti Gaker slew Malek-hest's father, it had been destroyed, and had remained in ruins ever since. About bed-time prayers, the party that had been left with the camp at Keldeh-kehâr rejoined us.

Submission of Hâti Gaker. Hâti, after despatching Tâtâr, had sent to me one Parbat, his relation, with a caparisoned horse, and a peshkesh. He did not meet me, but fell in with that part of the army that had been left behind with the camp; and having arrived along with the division that accompanied the baggage, now presented his offerings and tribute, and tendered his submission. Lenger Khan, who was to be left behind in Behreh, but who had accompanied the camp in order to finish some business, also rejoined me; and, having brought everything to a conclusion, took leave on his return to Behreh, accompanied by some Zemindârs of that district. After this we marched on, crossed the river Sûhân, and encamped on a rising ground. I gave a dress of honour to Parbat, Hâti Khan's relation; and, having written letters to confirm Hâti in his good intentions, and to remove any apprehensions that he might entertain, despatched Parbat in company with a servant of Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng.

March 18.

Submission of the Karlûki Hazâras. Some of Hûmâiûn's servants had gone along with Bâba Dost and Hilâhil to Nilâb, and to the Karlûki Hazâras,[4] who had been given to Hûmaiûn, and submitted to receive Darôghas. Senger Karlûk, accompanied by Mirza Malvi Karlûk, and thirty or forty of the chief of the tribe, came to us, after sending on before them a horse fully caparisoned, and tendering their obedience. The army of the Dilazâk Afghans having

March 19. also arrived, we next morning marched thence and halted, after advancing two kos. I here ascended a rising ground to survey the camp, and directed the camels of the army to be numbered. They amounted to five hundred and seventy camels. I had formerly heard the sumbal plant (spikenard) described; I now saw it at this station.

[1] Jildu.

[2] The original has, "I sent them out with *Surpa* without *sir-o-pa*." The sir-o-pa is a dress of honour; and the phrase means, that he sent them away to wander with no mark of honour. The pun is on the name of the guide.

[3] Or Swân.

[4] There is still a part of the country, on the east bank of the Indus, called Hazâra, probably after this tribe; for in all these countries, the name of a tribe is applied to its country, without any addition.

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On the skirts of this hill there are a few sumbal plants scattered here and there. They are more abundant in the skirts of the hills of Hindustân, where the plant is both more plentiful and larger in size. When I describe the animals and forests of Hindustân, it will be more particularly mentioned.

Marching hence at the time when the kettle-drum beats,[1] we halted about luncheon time at the foot of the pass of Sengdâki. About noon-day prayers we renewed our march, and ascended the pass, crossed the river, and halted on an eminence; we again set out at midnight. In going to examine the ford by which we had passed in our way to Behreh, we found a raft,[2] loaded with grain, that had stuck fast in the mud and clay; the owners, with all their exertions, had not been able to extricate it. We seized this corn, and divided it among the men who were with us; the grain came very seasonably. Towards evening we halted lower down[3] than the junction of the Sind and Kâbul rivers, and higher up than old Nilâb, between the two. We brought six boats from Nilâb, and divided them among the right and left wings and centre, who immediately began to exert themselves in crossing the river. On the Monday, being the day on which we arrived, and the night following, and on Tuesday and the night following, till Wednesday, they continued passing; on Thursday, also, a few passed.

Baber re-crosses the Sind. March 20. March 21. March 21, 22, and 23. March 24.

Parbat, Hâti's relation, who had been sent from the neighbourhood of Anderâbeh with the servant of Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, returned to us, while we were on the banks of the river, bringing from Hâti a horse clad in armour, by way of tributary offering. The inhabitants of Nilâb brought an armed horse as a peshkesh, and tendered their submission. Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng having a wish to remain in Behreh, and Behreh itself having been given to Hindû Beg, I bestowed on him the tract of country between Behreh and the Sind, with the Ils and Ulûses in the district, such as the Karlûk Hazâras, and Hâti, and Ghiâsdâl, and Kîb. Whoever submitted his neck was to be treated with kindness; and as for such as were rebellious and refractory,

Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng gets the country between Behreh and the Sind.

(*Tûrki verse.*)—"Whoever does not submit his head, must be subjected *to* punishment, and humbled by pillage."

After making these grants to Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, I gave him one of my own black velvet Kilmâk corslets, and the tûgh (or banner) of mountain-cow's tail. I gave Hâti's relation leave to depart; presented him with a sword, and a dress of honour; and sent by him letters calculated to confirm Hâti in his duty.

On Thursday, at sun-rise, we moved from the banks of the river, and resumed our march. This day I eat a maajûn. While under its influence, I visited some beautiful gardens. In different beds, the ground was covered with purple and yellow arghwân[4] flowers. On one hand were beds of yellow flowers, in bloom; on the other hand, red flowers were in blossom. In many places they sprung up in the same bed, mingled together as if they had been flung and scattered abroad. I took my seat on a rising ground near the camp, to enjoy the view of all the flower-plots. On the six sides of

March 24.

[1] That is, an hour before day.
[2] Jaleh.
[3] This was probably at the Atok pass.
[4] The arghwân is a beautiful flowering shrub, of great size.

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A. D. 1519. this eminence they were formed as into regular beds. On one side were yellow flowers; on another the purple, laid out in triangular beds. On two other sides there were fewer flowers; but, as far as the eye could reach, there were flower-gardens of a similar kind. In the neighbourhood of Pershâwer, during the spring, the flower-plots are exquisitely beautiful.

Tiger hunt. Early in the morning we marched from our ground. Where the road separates from the river we heard a tiger howling, and it soon issued out. The moment the horses heard the tiger's cry they became unmanageable, and ran off with their riders, plunging down the steeps and precipices. The tiger retreated again into the jungle. I directed a buffalo to be brought, and put in the wood, for the purpose of luring him out. He soon issued out again howling: Arrows poured down on him from every side; I, too, shot my arrow. When Khalwa Piâdeh struck him with a spear, he twisted, and broke the point of the spear with his teeth, and tossed it away. The tiger had received many wounds, and had crept into a patch of brushwood, when Bâba Yesâwal, drawing his sword, approached, and struck him on the head, at the moment he was on the spring. After this, Ali Sistâni struck him on the loins, when he plunged into the river, where they killed him. After they had dragged the animal out of the water, I ordered him to be skinned.

March 25. Baber reaches Bekrâm. Visits Gûrh-katri. Next morning, we continued our march, and halted at Bekrâm. We visited the Gûrh-katri. There are nowhere else in the whole world such narrow and dark hermits' cells as at this place. After entering the door-way, and descending one or two stairs, you must lie down, and proceed crawling along, stretched at full length. You cannot enter without a light. The quantities of hair, both of the head and beard, that are lying scattered round about and in the vicinity of this cave, are immense. On all the sides of this Gûrh-katri there are numerous cells, like those of a college or monastery.[1] The number of apartments is very great. The first year that I came to Kâbul, when I plundered and laid waste Kohat, Bânu, and the Desht, I passed through Bekrâm and Berkelân, and was vexed at not having seen the subterraneous excavations; but there was no reason for so much regret.

This same day I lost my best hawk. Sheikhem, the chief huntsman, had the charge of it. It took herons and storks excellently. It had flown away twice or thrice before. It pounced so unfailingly on its quarry, as to make even one with so little skill as myself the most successful of fowlers.

On each of the six chief Dilazâk Afghâns, who accompanied Melek Terkhân and Melek Mûsa, I bestowed a hundred mishkals of silver, one vest, three bullocks, and one buffalo, out of the spoil of Hindustân. On the others, also, I bestowed money, cloth, bullocks, and buffaloes, according to the circumstances of each.

March 26. When we had reached our ground at Ali Mesjid, one Maarûf, a Yâkûb-khail Dilazâk, brought ten sheep, two loads of rice, and eight large cheeses, as tribute.

March 27. From Ali Mesjid, we halted at Yedeh Bîr. From Yedeh Bîr, we reached Jûî-

March 28. Shâhi, at noon-day prayers, and halted. This same day, Dost Beg was seized with a

[1] This description makes it probable that these excavations originally belonged to the Bouddhist sect; the huge gigantic statues at Bût-Bamiân have certainly the same origin. The hair found lying was what had been cut off and left by the pilgrims as a votive offering.

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burning fever. Early in the morning, we marched from Jûî-Shâhi, and passed the mid-day at the Bagh-e-Vafâ.[1] At noon-day prayers, we left the Bagh-e-Vafâ, and passed the Siah-âb of Gendmek. Evening prayers were over, when, after having given our horses breath in a cultivated field, we mounted again in a geri[2] or two, and, passing the Sûrkhâb, halted at Kerek, where we slept. Before dawn, we again mounted, and, at the separation of the Karatû road, I and five or six others went to view a garden which I had made in Karatû. I sent Khalîfeh, Shah Hassan Beg, and other persons, straight on to Kûrûk-Sai, where they were to wait for me. On reaching Karatû, one Kazîl, a Tewachi[3] of Shah Beg Arghun's, brought me information that Shah Beg had taken and plundered Kâhan and retired. I issued orders that nobody should carry forward intelligence of my approach. I reached Kâbul at noon-day prayers; no one knew of my approach till I reached the bridge of Kutlak-Kadam.[4] After that, there was no time to put Hûmâiûn and Kâmrân on horseback. They brought them forth in the arms of the nearest servants, between the gate of the fort and that of the citadel, to offer me their duty. About afternoon prayers, Kâsim Beg, with the Kazi of the city, and such of my court as had remained in Kâbul, waited on me.

March 29.

March 30.

Baber reaches Kâbul.

On Friday, the first day of the second Rebi, I had a jovial party about afternoon prayers. I bestowed a dress of honour from my own wardrobe on Shah Hassan.

April 1.

At daybreak on Saturday morning, I went on board of a boat, and had a morning-party.[5] At this entertainment, Nûr Beg played on the lute; he had not then adopted a rigid severity of life. At noonday prayers, we left the vessel, and amused ourselves in a garden which I had laid out between Kilkeneh[6] and the hill. About afternoon prayers, we went to the Bagh-e-Binafsheh,[7] and sat down to our wine. I returned from Kilkeneh over the ramparts into the citadel.

April 2.

On the night of Tuesday the 5th, Dost Beg, who had caught a severe fever on the road, was received into the mercy of God. I was extremely concerned and grieved at this event. His body was carried to Ghazni, and buried in front of the entrance into the Sultan's Mausoleum. Dost Beg was an admirable man. He was rising to the highest rank in the order of nobility. Before he had reached the rank of Beg, while attending my court, and attached to my person, he performed several gallant actions. One of these was when Sultan Ahmed Tambol surprised us by night, within a farsang of Andejân, at the Rebat of Zourak. With only ten or fifteen men, I stood my ground, charged him, and put his party to flight. By the time I came up with the main body of the enemy, where we found him standing with about a hundred men drawn up, I had only three men left with me, the rest having fallen behind; so that we were but four in number. One of the three was Dost Nâsir, another Mirza Kûli Gokultâsh, the third Kerîmdâd. I had on my corslet. Tambol, with another person, stood in front of his troops, about as far in advance as the outer vestibule of a

April 5. Death of Dost Beg.

His character.

[1] Near Adînapur.
[2] A *geri* is 24 minutes.
[3] Tewachi, an adjutant or commissary.
[4] Sire-pul.
[5] The expression *sabâkhi* occurs very frequently in the sequel. I presume that it means a morning drinking party.
[6] Or Gulguneh.
[7] Violet Garden.

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house is from the door. I advanced right to Tambol, face to face, and struck him on the helmet with an arrow. I shot another arrow, which pierced his shield and plate-mail. They discharged an arrow at me, which passed close by my neck.[1] Tambol let fall a heavy sword-blow on my head. It is a singular fact, that, though not a thread of my cap of mail was injured, yet my head was severely wounded. No one coming up to my succour, and finding myself alone, I was obliged to retreat full gallop. Dost Beg, who was somewhat behind me, interposed himself, and engaged him sword in hand, to favour my escape. On another occasion, at Akhsi, when we were retreating out of that place, he had a single combat with Bâki Khîz;[2] though they called him Khîz (the effeminate), yet he was a stern and sturdy soldier, and wielded his sword right powerfully. When I retired from Akhsi, and had only eight persons left with me, he was one of them. The enemy, after dismounting other two, at last dismounted Dost Beg. After he was elevated to the rank of Beg, too, when Siûnjek Khan came with the Sultans to Tâshkend, and besieged Ahmed Kâsim, he broke their ranks, passed through the middle of their army, and entered the city. He likewise showed great self-devotion in defending the place.[3] Ahmed Kâsim, without giving him notice, abandoned the city and fled. Under these circumstances, he manfully attacked the Khans and Sultans, forced his way out of Tâshkend, broke through the midst of their army, and bravely effected his escape. After this, when Shîrim Taghâi and Mazîd, with
A. H. 914. their adherents, were in a state of rebellion, Dost Beg having been detached from Ghazni with a party of two or three hundred men on a plundering expedition, the Moghuls sent three or four hundred chosen men, to seek him out and chastise him. Dost Beg fell in with this force of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Shirûkân, where he completely beat them, dismounted and took a number of them prisoners, and brought back with him a quantity of heads which he had cut off. At the storm of the fort of Bajour, too, Dost Beg's people came up and mounted the ramparts before any of the others; and, at Perhâleh, Dost Beg defeated Hâti, put him to flight, and took the place. After Dost Beg's death, I gave his governments to his younger brother, Miram Nâsir.

A. D. 1519. April 8. On Friday, the 8th of the latter Rebi, I left the fort, and went to the Chehar-Bagh.

April 12. On Tuesday the 12th, Sultanîm Begum, the eldest daughter of Sultan Mirza, who, during the late occurrences, had been in Khwârizm, where Isan Kuli Sultan, the younger brother of Yeli Pars[4] Sultan, had married her daughter, arrived with her in Kâbul. I assigned her the Baghe Khilwat for her residence. After she had taken up her abode there, I went and waited on them. As I visited them with the same ceremony as if they were my elder sisters, I bowed down as a mark of politeness and respect; they also bowed down. I then went up to them and we embraced each other; and we always afterwards observed the same usage.

April 17. On Sunday the 17th, I released from custody that traitor Bâba Sheikh, who had

[1] It is strange that Baber takes no notice of the wound which on this occasion he received in the thigh.
[2] The effeminate.
[3] This siege of Tâshkend is referred to nowhere else.
[4] He is before called Dilbars, which seems to be the correct name.

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long been in confinement; forgave his offences, and bestowed on him a dress of honour.

On Tuesday the 19th, I went out about noon, to make a tour round Khwâjeh Syârân. That day I was fasting. Yûnis Ali and some others said with surprise, "What! Tuesday, and you fasting! This is a miracle." On reaching Behzâdi, we halted at the Kazi's house. That night we had made every preparation for a jolly party, when the Kazi came to me, and said, "Such a thing was never yet seen in my house; however, you are Emperor and the Master." Although the whole apparatus for our merry-making was ready, yet, to please the Kazi, we gave up our intention of drinking wine. April 19.

On Thursday the 21st, I directed that an inclosure or fence should be made on the hill, on the brow of which I had planned out a garden. April 21.

On Friday, I embarked above the bridge on a raft. On coming opposite to the Khaneh Syadan (sportsman's house), a bird called Ding[1] was caught and brought to me. I had never before seen a Ding. It has a singular appearance, and will be more particularly mentioned in the account of the animals of Hindustân. April 22.

On Saturday the 23d, I planted shoots of the plane, and of the sycamore, within the inclosure. At noon-day prayers we had a drinking party. At day-break next morning, we had an early drinking party within the new inclosed ground. After mid-day we mounted and returned towards Kâbul. Reaching Khwâjeh Hassan, completely drunk, we slept there. At midnight we mounted again, left Khwâjeh Hassan, and arrived at the Char-bagh. At Khwâjeh Hassan, Abdalla, being intoxicated, had leaped into the water, arrayed as he was in his robe and dress of honour. As it was late, he was affected with the cold, was unable to move, and staid all night at Kutluk Khwâjeh's estate. Next morning he came to me ashamed and penitent for his excesses, having formed a resolution to abstain from wine. I said to him, "Now, speak out: Is your repentance to be effectual and profitable for the future or not? You are not to abstain from wine in my presence, and go on drinking everywhere else." He adhered to his resolution for some months, but could not observe it longer. April 23. April 24. April 25.

On Monday the 25th, Hindû Beg, who had been left in Behreh and the adjoining proinces without sufficient means, in hopes of their remaining peaceable, rejoined me. My back had no sooner been turned than the Afghans and Hindustânis, without listening to any invitations to remain quiet, or paying the slightest attention to me or my orders, instantly assembled in great numbers, and marched against Hindû Beg in Behreh. The Zemindars also joined the party of the Afghans; so that Hindû Beg, being unable to defend himself in Behreh, retired by Khushâb, passed through the country of Dînkôt, and proceeding on by Nilâb, arrived in Kâbul. Deo Hindû, with the son of Sektu, and some other Hindûs, had been brought as prisoners from Behreh. We now settled with each of them for a certain contribution, on payment of which these Hindûstânis were all presented with horses and dresses of honour, and dismissed, with liberty to return home. Hindû Beg obliged to abandon Behreh. April 25.

On Friday the 29th, I felt some symptoms of an intermittent fever, and got myself let blood. At that time there was an interval sometimes of two days, sometimes of April 29.

[1] The adjutant bird.

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three days, between the return of its attacks. At each attack the fever continued till a perspiration arose, when I was relieved. After ten or twelve days, Mûlla Khwajka prescribed wine mixed with narcissus flowers. I took it once or twice, but it did me no good.

A.D. 1519. May 15. On Sunday, the 15th of the first Jemâdi, Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali came from Khost.[1] He brought a saddled horse as tribute, and also some money as an offering. Muhammed Sherîf Munejjim,[2] and some sons of the Mirzas of Khost, accompanied Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali, and tendered their services.

May 16. Next morning, being Monday, Mûlla Kabîr arrived from Kâshghar. He had gone from Andejân to Kâshghar, and had thence come on to Kâbul.

May 23. On Monday the 23d, Malek Shah Mansûr Yûsef-zai, with five or six chiefs of the Yûsef-zais, came from Sewâd, and waited on me.

May 30. On Monday, the first of the latter Jemâdi, I bestowed dresses of honour on the Afghân Yûsef-zai chiefs who had accompanied Shah Mansûr; I gave Shah Mansûr a silken robe with rich buttons; presented another with a robe of waved silk, and gave other six persons robes of silk, after which I dismissed them. It was settled that they should never enter the country of Sewâd higher up than Anûheh; and should strike out the contributions of the inhabitants from the rolls of their usual collections; and farther, that the Afghans who cultivate lands in Bajour and Sewâd should pay six thousand Kherwar[3] or loads of rice to the government.

June 1. On Wednesday the 3d, I took a julap.

June 6. On Monday, the 8th of the month, they brought the wedding present of Khemzeh, the younger son of Kâsim Beg, who was married to the eldest daughter of Khalîfeh. It consisted of a thousand shahrokhis,[4] with a saddled horse.

June 7. Shah Hassan Beg's drinking party. On Tuesday, Shah Hassan Beg sent to ask my permission to have a drinking party. He carried Muhammed Ali, and other Begs of my court, to his house. Yunis Ali and Gedâi Taghai were with me. I still abstained from the use of wine.[5] I said, "I never in my life sat sober while my friends were getting merry, nor remained cool and observant while they were quaffing wine and getting jovial. Come, therefore, and drink near me, that I may observe for a while the different progress and effects of society on the sober and the drunk." On the south-east of the Picture-gallery,[6] which was built at the gate of the Char-bagh, was a small set of tents, in which I sometimes sat. The party was held there. Ghiâs, the buffoon, made his appearance; they several times in sport turned him out of the party; but at last, after much wrangling in jest, he forced his way into the meeting. We sent for Terdi Muhammed Kipchâk and Mûlla Kitâbdar. I composed extempore, and sent to Shah Hassan and his party, the following verses:—

(*Turki.*)—My friends enjoy the rose-garden of beauty in this banquet.
While I am deprived of the delights of their society.
Yet since the charms of social bliss are theirs,
I breathe a hundred prayers that no evil may betide them.

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[1] Khost lies on the Kurram river, north of Dour, in the Afghan country.
[2] The astrologer.
[3] This would amount to nearly thirty-eight thousand hundred weight.
[4] Nearly £50.
[5] Probably in consequence of his intermittent.
[6] Sûret-Khâneh, or Picture-palace.

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I sent these lines by Ibrâhim Chehreh. Between noon-day and afternoon prayers, the party got drunk, and began to be guilty of follies. While they were in this state of intoxication, I made myself be carried out in my Takht-rewân.[1] For several days before this I had drank the wine mixture, but afterwards, in consequence of its doing me no service, I had given up using it. Towards the close of my illness, I made a party to the south-west of Talerikhmiti,[2] under an apple tree, when we drank the medicated wine.

On Friday the 12th, Ahmed Beg and Sultan Muhammed Dûldai, who had been left in Bajour to assist in the defence of the country, rejoined me. June 10.

On Wednesday, the 17th of the month, Tengri Berdi, with some Begs and young officers, gave a party in Haider Taki's garden. I too went to the party, and drank wine. After bed-time prayers, we rose, left the place, and sat down to drink together in the Grand Public Tents.[3] June 15.

On Thursday, the 25th of the month, Mûlla Mahmûd was appointed to read the Fika-e-Syfi.[4] June 23.

On Tuesday, the last day of the month, Abu Muslim Gokultâsh arrived from Shah Shujaa Arghûn,[5] as ambassador. He brought a Tipchâk horse as a peshkesh. This same day Yûsef Ali Rikâbdâr having swam across the water-plot of the Bagh-e-Chenâr a hundred times, received a dress of honour and a saddled horse as a present. June 28.

On Wednesday, the 8th of Rejeb, I went to Shah Hassan's house, where we had a drinking party. Many of my nobles and courtiers were present. July 6.

On Saturday the 11th, there was a party between afternoon and evening prayers. We went out to the terrace of the Pigeon-house, and sat down to our wine. When it was rather late, some horsemen were observed coming along the Deh-Afghanân road, proceeding to the city. I ascertained that they were Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân and his people, who were coming on an embassy from Mirza Khan; we sent for him up to the terrace. "Put aside the form and state of an ambassador," said I, "and sit down and join us without ceremony." Derwîsh Muhammed accordingly came, and, having placed before me a few articles of the presents which he had brought, sat down beside us. At that time he was strict in his deportment, and did not drink wine. We, however, got extremely drunk. Next morning, when I was sitting in the hall of audience, he came with all due state and ceremony, and having been introduced, presented the tributary offerings which Mirza Khan had sent. July 9.

Last year, with extreme difficulty, and by unceasing exertions and management, all the natives in the neighbouring tracts, along with the Aimâks, had been moved and brought down into Kâbul. Kâbul is but a small country. It has not sufficient room for the range of their flocks of sheep and brood-mares, and the Aimâks and Turks have not there any proper situations for their summer and winter residences. The tribes who inhabit the desert and wilds, if they have their own will, never will settle in Kâbul. Through Kâsim Beg, they begged leave to pass into another country. Kâ-

[1] A sort of litter, generally carried between two mules. [2] Talar-chemiti.—*Turki.* [3] Khânch Sefid.
[4] Sacred extracts from the Koran, which were to operate as a charm for his recovery.
[5] Generally called Shah Beg.

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A. D. 1519. sim Beg pleaded hard for them, and at last procured leave for the Aimâks to go over to Kûndez and Baghlân.

Hâfez Mîr Kâtib's elder brother had come from Samarkand. I now gave him leave to return. I sent by him my Diwân for Polâd Sultan, and on the back of it I wrote the following verses :—

(*Persian.*)—O Zephyr, if thou enter the sanctuary of that cypress,
Remind him of this heart-broken victim of separation—
The object of my love thinks not of Baber; yet I cherish a hope
That God will pour pity into his iron heart—(or Polad's[1] heart).

July 15. On Friday, the 17th of the month, Muhammed Zemân Mirza brought an offering, and a horse, as tribute from Shah Mazîd Gokultâsh, and was introduced to me.

The same day, having arrayed Abu Muslem Gokultâsh, the ambassador of Shah Beg, in a dress of honour, and given him some presents, I gave him his audience of leave.

The same day, I also gave an audience of leave to Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali and Tengri Berdi, who held the countries of Khost and Anderâb.[2]

July 21. On Thursday the 23d, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, whom I had left in the neighbourhood of Kacheh-kot and Karlûk,[3] districts which I had placed under his control, came to me, accompanied by Mirza Milvi Kârluk's son, Shah Hussein, and by some of Hâti's people.

This same day, Mulla Ali Jan, who had gone to Samarkand to bring his family, having returned, waited on me.

Inroad on the Abdal-Rahman Afghâns. The Abdal-Rahman Afghâns had settled themselves within the limits of Gerdez, and did not pay their taxes nor demean themselves peaceably. They molested the caravans both in coming and going. In order to chastise these Afghâns, and beat up

July 27. their quarters, on Wednesday, the 29th of Rejeb, I set out on an expedition against them. We halted and took some food in the neighbourhood of Teng-Waghchân; and again set out after noonday prayers. That night we lost our road, and wandered a great deal to the south-east of Pânjâb Shekhneh,[4] among hillocks and waste grounds. After a time we again found the road, passed the Kotal (hill-defile) of Cheshmeh-e-

July 28. Pûreh, and about the time of morning prayers, reached the plain, (descending to it by the valley of Yakishlîk, on the side of Gerdez,) and sent out our plundering parties to scour the country. One detachment went out to plunder the country, and beat up the enemy's quarters on the side of the hill of Kirmâs,[5] which lies south-east of Gerdez. I sent Khosrou Mirza Kûli and Syed Ali, with a division under their command, from the right of the centre, to follow and support this body. A considerable party of troops proceeded on a plundering excursion up the Julga (or Dale), to the east of Gerdez,

[1] *Polâd* means steel; whence the play on the words, and the epigrammatic turn of these lines.

[2] Khost and Anderâb lie west of Badakhshân.

[3] Beyond the Sind. Kacheh-kot seems to be Chuch.

[4] The Persian has Patkhât-Shekhneh.

[5] The Turki also reads *Keryâs* and *Kismâsh*. On the Kûrrum there is a village called Kermân. Perhaps the hill-country at the sources of the Kûrrum may be meant, the whole country watered by that river being sometimes called Kûrmân.

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Syed Kâsim Ishek-agha,[1] Mîr Shah Kôchin Kiâm, and Hindû Beg, Kutlûk Kedem, Hussain, and their followers, were sent to support this second detachment.

As the party that went up the Dale was the most considerable, after seeing them pass, I followed them. The inhabitants were a great way up, so that the troops which went to find them out tired their horses, and did not get the slightest thing worth mentioning. Forty or fifty Afghâns came in sight on the plain. The party that had been sent to follow and support the troops rode up towards them, and sent a horseman to hasten my advance. I immediately rode briskly forward, but before I could come up, Hussain Hassan, without motive or reason, had spurred on his horse into the midst of the Afghâns, and while he was laying about him with his sword, his horse, being wounded with an arrow, threw him. He had no sooner risen, than they wounded him in the leg with a sword, threw him down again, dispatched him with their hangers and swords, and cut him in pieces. The Amîrs stopped short, and stood looking on, but gave him no assistance. On getting information of this, I ordered Gedai Taghai, Payendeh Muhammed Kiplân, Abul Hassan Kôrchi, Momin Utkeh, with my immediate followers, and some chosen troops, to gallop on at full speed. I myself followed them at a quick pace. First of all, Momin Atkeh, on getting into action, struck down an Afghân with a spear, and cut off his head, which he brought away. Abdal Hassan Kôrchi had not arrayed himself in his mail, but he advanced bravely, posted himself in the road by which the Afghâns were marching, charged among them full speed on horseback, brought down an Afghân with his sabre, and cut off his head, which he brought in as a trophy. He himself received three wounds, and his horse was also wounded in one place. Payendeh Muhammed Kiplân also advanced very gallantly, attacked and wounded an Afghân, sword in hand, made him prisoner, and brought in his head. Though the courage of Abul Hassan and Payendeh Muhammed Kiplân had been distinguished on former occasions, yet in this affair they gave still more conspicuous proofs of their gallantry. These forty or fifty Afghâns were all shot or cut down to a man. After slaying the Afghâns, we halted in a cultivated field, and I directed a tower of skulls to be made of their heads. By the time I reached the road, the Begs who had been with Hussain came up. Being very angry, and resolved to make an example of them, I said,—"As you, though so many in number, have stood by and seen a young man of such distinction and merit killed by a few Afghâns on foot, and on plain ground, I deprive you of your rank and station, take from you your commands and governments, direct your beards to be shaven, and that you be led ignominiously round the streets of the town, that no man may henceforward give up a youth of such worth to socontemptible an enemy. On level ground you stood looking on, and never lifted an arm. Be this your punishment." That detachment of the army which had gone towards Kirmas brought in some sheep and plunder. Bâba Kishkeh, who was a very resolute man, while an Afghân was in the act of lifting his sword, and rushing on to come to close quarters with him, stood his ground without flinching, applied his arrow to the string with the greatest coolness, hit the Afghân, and brought him down.

Next morning we set out on our return towards Kâbul. I ordered Muhammed July 29.

[1] The Chamberlain.

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A.D. 1519. Bakhsh, Abdal Azîz Mir Akhûr,[1] and Mîr Khurd Bekâwel,[2] to remain at Cheshmeh-pûreh, and take some Gherghâwels.[3] I myself, with a small body, went by the way of Meidân-e-Rûstam, as I had never seen that road. The Meidân-e-Rûstam lies in the heart of a hill country, towards the top of the hills. The place is not remarkable for beauty. In the middle of a hill is an open Jûlga, or Dale. To the south, on the skirts of an eminence, is a small fountain of water. It is surrounded with extremely large trees. Along the road leading from Gerdez to this Meidân-e-Rûstam there are springs. They also have many trees about them, but these trees are not so lofty as the former. Although the Jûlga is rather narrow, yet below these last mentioned trees the valley is extremely verdant, and it is a most beautiful little Dale. On reaching the top of the hill which rises to the south of Meidân-e-Rûstam, the hill country of Kermâs and the hill country of Bangash appear under our feet. As the rains do not reach that tract of ground, there is never a cloud seen on it. About noon-day prayers I reached Hûli, and halted.

July 30. Next morning, I halted at the village of Muhammed Aka, and, indulging myself with a maajûn, made them throw into the water the liquor used for intoxicating fishes, and caught a few fish.

July 31. On Sunday, the third of Shaban, I arrived in Kâbul.

August 2. On Tuesday, the 5th of the month, I inquired into the conduct of Derwîsh Muhammed Fazli, and the servants of Khosrou, regarding the surrender of Nilâb, and it appearing clearly in the course of the examinations that they had behaved ill, I degraded them from their rank and employments. About noon-day prayers, there was a drinking party under a plane tree. I bestowed a dress of honour on Bâba Kishkeh Moghul.

August 5. On Friday, the 8th, Kepek, who had been sent to Mirza Khan, returned back.

August 11. On Thursday, we mounted, in order to ride round and visit the Damenkoh (or skirts of the hill-country) of Khwâjeh Seyârân and Bârân. About bed-time prayers, we

August 12. alighted at Mâma Khâtûn. Next morning, we went as far as Istâlîf, where we halted. That day I took a maajûn.

August 13. On Saturday, we had a drinking party at Istâlîf.

August 14. Next morning we left Istâlîf, and passed through the Sunjid Dereh. When we had nearly reached Khwâjeh Seyârân, they killed a large serpent, which was as thick as the arm, and as long as a man. Out of this large serpent crept a thinner one, which had apparently been caught and swallowed immediately before. All its parts were quite uninjured and sound. The thin serpent might be somewhat shorter than the thick one. Out of the thin serpent came a large rat, which likewise was perfectly sound; no limb of it was injured. On reaching Khwâjeh Seyârân, we had a drinking party.

I wrote letters, which I sent by the hand of Kichkeneh Tunketâr to the Amîrs beyond the hills, desiring them to assemble the force[4] of the country, mentioning that

[1] Master of Horse. [2] Taster.

[3] A bird resembling the great partridge, or the pheasant.

[4] Biljar, or perhaps rather Iljâr, the military force of the country of Kâbul being still called Iljâri.

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the army was in the field, and about to make an inroad; that they must therefore array themselves and join the camp.

Next morning I mounted, and took a maajûn. We threw into the river Perwân, where it meets the road, some of the drug which is used by the inhabitants of the country to intoxicate the fishes, and took a very great quantity of fish. Mîr Shah Beg presented me with a horse, and gave us a dinner. From thence we went on to Gulbehâr. After bed-time prayers we had a drinking party. Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân was present at these parties. Though young, and a soldier, yet he never indulged in wine. He always rigidly abstained from it. Kutluk Khwâjeh Gokultâsh had for a long time renounced the profession of arms, and become a Derwîsh. He was very aged, and his beard had become white, but he always joined us at our wine in these jovial drinking parties. "Does not the hoary beard of Kutluk Khwâjeh make you ashamed?" said I to Muhammed Derwîsh; "Old as he is, and white as is his beard, he always drinks wine. You, a soldier, young, with a black beard, and never drink! What sense is there in this?" It never was my custom, as I did not think it polite, to press anybody to drink who did not wish; so that this passed as a mere pleasantry, and he was not induced to take wine. August 15.

Next morning we had a morning cup. August 16.

On Wednesday, we left Gûlbehâr, and came to the village of Alûn, where we dined, and then went on to Bâghât Khan, where we halted. After noon-day prayers we had a drinking party. August 17.

Next morning, we set out again on our progress, and after having visited and circumambulated the tomb of Khwâjeh Khan Saîd, embarked in a raft at Chineh Kurghâneh. At the conflux of the river Penjhir, where the hill juts out, the raft struck on a rock, and began to sink. When the raft struck, the shock was so violent, that Rûkh-dem, Tengri Kûli, and Mîr Muhammed Jalebân, were tossed into the river. Rûkh-dem and Tengri Kûli were dragged again into the raft with much difficulty. A china cup with a spoon and cymbal fell overboard. Putting off from thence, as we reached a place opposite to Seng-e-Burîdeh (the cut-rock), the raft again struck on something in the midst of the stream, I know not whether the branch of a tree, or a stake, which had been driven in for making a stop-water. Shah Hassan Shah Beg went over on his back. While falling, he laid hold of Mirza Kûli Gokultâsh, and drew him in along with him. Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân likewise tumbled into the water. Mirza Kûli Gokultâsh fell in an odd way. He had in his hand a knife for cutting melons, which, while in the act of falling, he struck into the mat that was spread over the raft, and fell overboard. Not being able to regain the raft, he kept swimming in his gown and dress of honour, till he reached the shore. On disembarking from the raft, we passed that night in the raftsmen's houses. Derwîsh Muhammed made me a present of a cup of seven colours, like that which had fallen overboard. August 18.

On Friday, we left the banks of the river. We halted on the skirt of a small hill situated lower down than Koh-Bârik, where I plucked a number of toothpicks with my own hand. About noon-day prayers, we halted in Kutluk Khwâjeh's village,[1] in a August 19.

[1] *Tûl* is a jaghir or estate.

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A. D. 1519. district of Lemghân. Kutluk Khwâjeh got ready a hasty dinner, of which I partook; after which I rode back to Kâbul.

August 22. On Monday the 25th, I bestowed a Khilaat-Khâseh[1] (or dress of honour of the highest degree), and a saddled horse, on Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân, and he was presented on being raised to the rank of Beg. For four or five months I had never cut

August 24. the hair of my head. On Wednesday the 27th I had it cut. This day we had a drinking party.

August 26. On Friday the 29th, I invested Mîr Khûrd with the office of governor to Hindâl, on which occasion he brought me a present of a thousand shahrokhis.[2]

August 31. On Wednesday, the 5th of Ramzan, one Jekni, a servant of Tûlik Gokultâsh Birlâs, came from his master with a letter, reporting that an Uzbek plundering party had appeared in his neighbourhood, and that he had overtaken, attacked, and defeated it. The messenger brought one Uzbek alive, and the head of another.

Sept. 3. On the night of Saturday the 8th, we went to Kâsim Beg's house, and broke our fast.[3] He presented me with a saddled horse. Next morning, we broke our fast at the house of Khalîfeh, who presented me with a saddled horse.

Sept. 4. The morning after, Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali and Jân Nâsir, who had been sent for in order to consult about military matters, arrived from their governments.

Sept. 7. On Wednesday the 12th, Sultan Ali Mirza, the maternal uncle of Kamrân, who, in the year in which I passed over from Khost to Kâbul, had proceeded to Kâshghar, as has been mentioned, waited on me.

Sept. 8. On Thursday, the 13th of Ramzan, I set out on an expedition for the purpose of repelling and chastising the Yûsefzais, and halted at a valley which lies near Deh-Yâkub, on the Kâbul side of that village. As I was mounting my horse, Bâba Jan, my waiting-man, having presented it in an awkward manner, I was angry, and struck him a blow on the face with my fist, by which I dislocated my thumb. I did not feel it much at the time; but when I had dismounted at the end of our march, it had become extremely painful. For a long while I suffered excessively from it, and I was unable to write a single letter. It got well, however, at last.

At this station, one Kutluk-dem, a foster-brother of my aunt, Doulet Sultan Khanim, arrived from Kashghâr, bringing letters and news of the Khanim.

The same day, Bukhân and Mûsa, the chiefs of the Dilazâks, came with their tribute, and were introduced.

Sept. 11. On Sunday the 16th, Kûch Beg arrived.

Sept. 14. On Wednesday the 19th, we marched, and, passing by Bût-khâk, halted in the place where we had been accustomed to encamp on the banks of the Bût-khâk river. As Bamiân, Kehmerd, Ghûri, and the districts held by Kûch Beg, were much exposed, in consequence of the vicinity of the Uzbeks, I excused him from accompanying

[1] The Khilaat-Khâseh, or dress of honour of the highest degree, in the time of Baber, probably consisted of a robe or vest of rich cloth, a cap, sabre and dagger with enamelled handles, a military standard, and a horse with trappings enriched with gold, and perhaps the nekara-khaneh, or band of music.

[2] About £50. The mention of such sums shows the poverty of the country.

[3] This being Ramzan, Baber did not break his fast till sunset. In like manner, during Ramzan, they eat in the morning, before sunrise.

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the army; and at this station, presenting him with a turban which I myself had worn, together with a complete dress of honour, dismissed him to his government.

On Friday the 21st, we halted at Bâdâm-Cheshmeh.

Next morning, we halted at Barîk-âb. I went and rode all round Karayûl. In the course of this day's march, we found honey in a tree. Advancing, march after march, on Wednesday the 26th we halted at Bagh. All Thursday we staid at Bagh. On Friday, we marched, and halted after passing Sultânpûr. The same day, Mîr Shah Hussain arrived from his government. Bûkhân and Mûsa, the chiefs of the Dilazâks, and the Dilazâks themselves, also arrived this day. I had intended to make an expedition against Sewâd, in order to check the Yûsefzais. The Dilazâk chiefs represented to me, that, in Hashnaghar, there were a great number of Ulûs (or wandering tribes), who had large quantities of corn, and urged me to attack them. After consulting, I finally arranged, that as there seemed to be large quantities of grain in Hashnaghar, we should plunder the Afghâns of that neighbourhood: that we should fit up the fort of Hashnaghar, or that of Pershâwer, and lay up magazines of grain in them; and that Mîr Shah Hussain should be left there with a body of troops for their defence. In consequence of this resolution, Mîr Shah Hussain got leave of absence for a fortnight, that he might go back to his government, and return with such warlike stores as were requisite. Sept. 16. Sept. 21, 22, and 23.

Next morning, we resumed our march, and came to Jûî Shâhi, where we halted. Tengri Berdi and Sultan Muhammed Duldai overtook and joined us at this station. Khamzeh likewise arrived this day from Kundez. Sept. 24.

On Sunday, the 30th of Ramzân, we marched from Jûî Shâhi, and halted at Kiruk Arik. I went on board of a raft with a few of my intimate friends. We passed the feast of the new moon[1] in this station. Some people had brought several animals loaded with wine from the valley of Nûr. After evening prayers, there was a drinking-party, consisting of Mohib Ali Korchi, Khwâjeh Muhammed-Ali Kitâbdar, Shah Hassan Shah Beg, Sultan Muhammed Duldai, and Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân. Derwîsh Muhammed always abstained from wine. From my childhood down, it has been my rule that no one should be pressed to drink against his will. Derwish Muhammed was always of our parties, and never was urged to drink at all. Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali would not suffer him to take his own way, but, by pressing and urging, made him drink some wine. Sept. 25.

Early on Monday, being the day of the Id,[2] we renewed our march; on the way I took a maajûn to remove the crop sickness. At the time of my taking the maajûn they brought a Coloquint apple. Derwîsh Muhammed had never seen one. I told him it was a Hindustâni melon, and cutting it up, gave him a slice, which he put hastily into his mouth, and chewed eagerly. The bitter taste did not leave his mouth Sept. 26.

[1] The Id-e-Fitr is the festival on the conclusion of the feast of the Ramzân, celebrated on seeing the new moon of Shawâl.

[2] That is, of the new moon of Shawâl. The new moon having been seen the evening before, which to the Musulmans was Monday evening, they had celebrated the Id-e-Fitr on Monday eve.

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A.D. 1519. that whole day. We halted on the rising ground of Germ Cheshmeh.[1] Some meat had been already dressed and presented, when Lenger Khan, who had been for some time at his place, arrived with an offering of some maajûn as tribute, and made a tender of his services. We went on and halted at Bedeh-sir. At afternoon prayers, I went aboard of a raft with several of my intimates, sailed down the stream about a kos, and then returned back.

Sept. 27. Next morning we marched thence and halted at the bottom of the Kheiber Pass. The same day Sultan Bayezîd, who had passed over from Nilâb by way of Bareh (whence, having got notice of my motions, he had traced me out), arrived and gave me information, that the Aferîdî Afghâns, with their families and property, were settled in Bareh, where they had sown a great quantity of rice, which had not yet been carried off the ground. As I had fixed on plundering the country of the Yusefzai Afghâns and Hashnaghar, I did not care to meddle with these others. At noonday prayers, we had a drinking party at the quarters of Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali. During this party I sent to Khwâjeh Kilân at Bajour, by the hands of Sultan Tirâhi, a detailed account of our march into these countries. On the margin of the letter I wrote the following couplet;—

O, Zephyr! kindly say to that beautiful fawn—
Thou hast condemned me to wander in the hills and deserts.[2]

Sept. 28. Marching thence at dawn, we passed the defiles of Kheiber, and halted at Ali Mesjid. Marching again about noon-day prayers, and leaving the baggage to follow, we reached the banks of the river of Kâbul when the second watch was over, and had a short sleep.

Sept. 29. At break of day we discovered a ford, and crossed the river. We got notice from our advanced party, that the Afghâns had received information of our approach, and fled. Proceeding in our course we crossed the river of Sewâd, and halted amidst the cornfields of the Afghâns. We did not find one half of the grain that we had been led to expect; indeed, not one-fourth. I consequently gave up my intention of fortifying Hashnaghar as a depôt. The Dilazâk chiefs who had urged us to make this inroad were rather mortified. About afternoon prayers we crossed to the Kâbul side of the Sewâd river, and halted.

Sept. 30. Next morning having marched from the Sewâd river, we crossed the Kâbul river and halted. Having summoned the Begs who were admitted to council, we held a consultation, in which it was resolved to plunder the country of the Aferîdî Afghâns, as had been proposed by Sultan Bayezîd, to fit up the fort of Pershâwer for the reception of their effects and corn, and to leave a garrison in it. Hindû Beg, and the Mirzâdehs[3] of Khost, joined us at this station. This day I took a maajûn. Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân, Muhammed Gokultâsh, and Gedâi Taghai, the captain of the night-guard, were of the party. We afterwards sent also for Shah Hassan. After dinner, about afternoon prayers, we embarked on a raft. We sent for Lenger Khan Sari likewise to join us on the raft. About evening prayers we landed and returned to the camp.

[1] Hot-spring. [2] Two Persian verses from an ode of Hafez. [3] Sons of the Mirs.

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Marching early in the morning from the banks of the river, in execution of the plan which had been formed, and passing Jâm,[1] we halted on reaching the mouth of the river of Ali Mesjid. Abul Hâshem Sultan Ali, who had followed us, reported, that on the eve of Arifeh,[2] he had, at Jûi Shahi, met with a person who was come from Badakhshân, and who had informed him, that Sultan Saîd Khan was marching against Badakhshân, which had induced him to hasten to me with the intelligence. I immediately sent for the Begs and consulted them, when it was resolved to renounce our plan of garrisoning the fort, and to set out on an expedition into Badakhshân. I bestowed a dress of honour on Lenger Khan, and appointing him to reinforce Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, gave him his leave. That night we had a drinking party in Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali's tent. A. D. 1519. October 1.

Early next morning we set out on our march, and crossing the Kheiber Pass, halted at the foot of it. The Khizer-Khail had been extremely licentious in their conduct. Both on the coming and going of our army they had shot upon the stragglers, and such of our people as lagged behind or separated from the rest, and carried off their horses. It was clearly expedient that they should meet with a suitable chastisement. With this view, early in the morning, we marched from the foot of the Pass, and spent the noon in Deh-Gholâmân. About noon-day prayers we fed our horses, and dispatched Muhammed Hussain Korchi to Kâbul, with orders to seize all the Khizer-Khail in the place; to put their property under sequestration, and to send me an account of what was done. I also desired them to write minutely, and send by some swift person, whatever information had been received from Badakhshân. That night we continued marching till midnight, and halted a little beyond Sultanpûr; from which place, after having taken a short sleep, we mounted again. The quarters of the Khizer-Khail extended from Behâr and Masîkh-kerâm as far as Karasû. The morning had dawned when we came up with and charged them. Much property, and many of their children, fell into the hands of our troops. A few of them gained a hill which was near at hand, and escaped. October 2. October 3.

Next morning we encamped at Kila-ghu, where we took some Gher Jhâwels. The baggage which had been left behind joined us to-day at this station. October 4.

The Vezîri Afghâns had been very irregular in paying their taxes. Alarmed at this example of punishment, they now brought three hundred sheep as tribute.

Till my hand had got better I could not write at all. At this station, on Sunday the 14th, I was able to write a little. October 9.

Next morning the chiefs of the Khirelchi and Shamû-Khail arrived, accompanied by a body of Afghâns. The Dilazâk chiefs earnestly besought me to overlook and forgive the offences of these people; I accordingly pardoned them, and set the prisoners at liberty. I fixed their tribute at four thousand sheep; and, having given their chiefs October 10.

[1] Now Jamrûd.

[2] This appears to be a mistake or oversight of Baber. The sheb or eve of Arifeh was not till the evening of the 2d December 1519. He probably meant to say, the Id-e-Fitr, which had occurred only five days before, on the 26th September.

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A. D. 1519. vests of honour, sent them back into their country, accompanied by collectors, whom I appointed.

October 13. Having settled these affairs, on Thursday the 18th we marched, and halted at Be-
October 14. hâr and Masîkh-kerâm. Next morning I reached the Bagh-e-Vafa; it was the season when the garden was in all its glory. Its grass-plots were all covered with clover; its pomegranate trees were entirely of a beautiful yellow colour. It was then the pomegranate season, and the pomegranates were hanging red on the trees. The orange trees were green and cheerful, loaded with innumerable oranges; but the best oranges were not yet ripe. Its pomegranates are excellent, though not equal to the fine ones of our country. I never was so much pleased with the Bagh-e-Vafa (the Garden of Fidelity), as on this occasion. During the three or four days that we staid at the Garden, all the people in the camp had pomegranates in abundance.

October 17. On Monday we marched from the Garden; I staid till the first watch, and bestowed the oranges on different persons. I gave Shah Hassan the oranges of two trees; to several Begs I gave one tree, and to several two orange trees. As I had an intention of travelling through the Lemghân in the winter, I desired them to save about twenty trees, around the piece of water, for my use. This day we reached Gendemek.

October 18. Next morning we halted at Jagdâlik. Towards evening prayers we had a drinking party; many of my courtiers were present. About the end of the party, Gedai Muhammed, sister's son of Kâsim Beg, became very noisy and troublesome: and, when he got drunk, placed himself on the pillow on which I reclined, whereupon Gedai Taghai turned him out of the party.

October 19. Marching thence, before break of day, I went to visit the country up the Bârik-âb of Kûrûk-sâi. Many Turâk trees were in excellent bearing. We halted at that place; and, having dined on a dish called Yulkerân, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them kill a sheep which was picked up on the road, caused some meat to be dressed, kindled a fire of oak branches, and entertained ourselves. Mûlla Abdal Malek Diwâneh having petitioned to be allowed to carry to Kâbul the news of my approach, I accordingly dispatched him for that city.

Hassan Nebîreh, who had come on the part of Mirza Khan, after giving me due notice of his intentions, here met and waited on me. We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline, when we set out. Those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Syed Kâsim was so drunk, that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with great difficulty. Dost Muhammid Bâkir was so far gone, that Amîn Muhammed Terkhân, Masti Chehreh, and those who were along with him, were unable, with all their exertions, to get him on horseback. They poured a great quantity of water over him, but all to no purpose. At this moment a body of Afghâns appeared in sight. Amîn Muhammed Terkhân, being very drunk, gravely gave it as his opinion, that rather than leave him, in the condition in which he was, to fall into the hands of the enemy, it was better at once to cut off his head, and carry it away. Making another exertion, however, with much difficulty, they contrived to throw him upon a horse, which they led along, and so brought him off.

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We reached Kâbul at midnight. Next morning Kûli Beg, who had been sent to Kâshghar on an embassy to Sultan Saîd Khan, returned and waited on me in the hall of audience. Beshgeh Mirza Ambarchi,[1] who had been sent along with Kûli Beg on an embassy to me, brought with him a few of the rarities of that country as presents. October 26.

On Wednesday, the first of Zikâdeh, I went alone and had an early cup close by Kâbil Beg's tomb; the party afterwards dropped in, by one or two at a time. When the sun waxed hot, we retired to the Bagh-e-Benefsheh,[2] and sat down to our wine by the side of the piece of water. At mid-day we took a nap; and, about noon-day prayers, again returned to our wine. At this afternoon party, I gave wine to Tengri Kûli Beg and Mendîb, which I had never before done. At bed-time prayers I reached Hemâm,[3] and staid there that night. October 27.

On Thursday, I bestowed dresses of honour on the merchants of Hindustân, who were under the guidance of Yahîd Lohâni, and gave them leave to depart. October 29.

On Saturday, the 4th of the month, I granted audience of leave to Beshgeh Mirza, who had come from Kâshghar, when I gave him a dress of honour, and made him some presents. October 30.

On Sunday, I had a party in the small Picture-cabinet[4] that is over the gate. Although the apartment is very small, our party consisted of sixteen. October 31.

On Monday, I went to Istâlif, to see the harvest. This day I took a maajûn. During the night there was a great deal of rain. Most of the Begs and courtiers who had attended me were obliged to take refuge in my tent, which was pitched in the middle of a garden. Nov. 1.

Next morning we had a drinking party in the same tent. We continued drinking till night. On the following morning we again had an early cup, and, getting intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day prayers, we left Istâlif, and I took a maajûn on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before I reached Behzâdi. The crops were extremely good. While I was riding round the harvest-fields, such of my companions as were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking-bout. Although I had taken a maajûn, yet as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit, and began to drink. We kept up the party in the same place till bed-time prayers. Mûlla Mahmud Khalîfeh having arrived, we invited him to join us. Abdalla, who had got very drunk, made an observation which affected Khalîfeh. Without recollecting that Mûlla Mahmud was present, he repeated the verse, Nov. 2.

(*Persian.*)—Examine whom you will, you will find him suffering from the same wound.

Mûlla Mahmud, who did not drink, reproved Abdalla for repeating this verse with levity.[5] Abdalla, recovering his judgment, was in terrible perturbation, and conversed in a wonderfully smooth and sweet strain all the rest of the evening.

On Thursday the 16th, I took a maajûn in the Bagh-e-Benefsheh, and embarked in Nov. 10.

[1] Warehouse keeper. [2] Violet-garden. [3] The Baths. [4] Sûret-khaneh.
[5] This verse, I presume, is from a religious poem, and has a mystical meaning. The profane application of it is the ground of offence.

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A. D. 1519. a boat with several of my more intimate associates. Hûmâiûn and Kâmrân also joined us. Afterwards Hûmâiûn shot a water-fowl in very handsome style.

Nov. 12. On Saturday the 18th, we rode out from the Cheharbagh about noon, and, after dismissing our grooms and attendants, passed Mûlla Bâba's bridge, and, mounting the strait of Dîwerîn,[1] reached the subterraneous water-runs[2] of Kush-Nâder and Bâzârîân. We then passed behind Khirs-khâneh,[3] and came late, about the time of the first sleep, to Terdi Beg Khâksâr's subterraneous conduit. Terdi Beg, on hearing of our arrival, ran out in a great hurry to wait on me. I well knew Terdi Beg's thoughtless profuse turn, and that he did not dislike his glass. I had taken with me a hundred shahrokhis,[4] which I now gave him, telling him to get ready wine and everything else for an entertainment, as I wished to make merry with some jolly companions. Terdi Beg set out for Behzâdi to bring wine. I sent my horse with one of Terdi Beg's slaves to graze in a valley, while I myself sat down behind the water-course, on a rising ground. It was past the first watch (nine o'clock), when Terdi Beg came back with a pitcher of wine, and we set about drinking it. While Terdi Beg was bringing the wine, Muhammed Kâsim Birlâs and Shahzâdeh, who had guessed at the object of his errand, but had no suspicion that I was concerned, had dogged Terdi Beg on foot. We invited them to be of the party. Terdi Beg said, that Hûl-hûl-ankeh wished to drink wine with us. I said, "I have never seen a woman drink wine: Call her to be of the party." He likewise sent for a kalender,[5] called Shâhi, and a man connected with the conduit, who played on the ribeck.[6] We sat drinking wine on the eminence behind the water-run till evening prayers; after which we went to Terdi Beg's house, and drank by candle-light till after bed-time prayers. It was a wonderfully amusing and guileless party. I lay down, and the party went to another house, where they drank till the kettle-drum beat. Hûl-hûl-ankeh came, and was very riotous with me; at last, however, I threw myself down, as if completely drunk, and so escaped. I intended to mount my horse alone, and set off for Isterghach, without letting them know. They

Nov. 13. discovered my design, however, so that it did not succeed. At length, when the kettle-drum beat, I mounted. Having desired Terdi Beg and Shahzâdeh to accompany me, we all three rode on towards Isterghach. About early morning prayers we reached Khwâjeh Hassan, below Istâlîf. We halted for a little, and I took a maajûn, and made a circuit of the crops. Towards sunrise, we halted at the garden of Istalîf, and eat grapes, and finally halted and slept at Khwâjeh Shahâb, in the territory of Isterghach. The house of Ata Mîr Akhûr was there. While we were asleep, he prepared an entertainment, and got ready a pitcher of wine. It was of excellent vintage. We drank several cups and mounted. At noon-day prayers, we alighted in a beautiful garden at Isterghach, and had a merry party. In a little time Khwâjeh Muhammed Amîn joined us. We continued drinking till night prayers. During the course of that night and day, Abdalla Asas,[7] Nûr Beg, and Yûsef Ali, arrived from Kâbul.

Nov. 14. Next morning, we breakfasted, and rode round the Bagh-e-Padshahi,[8] which is

[1] Or Deveren. [2] Karîz. [3] Bear-house. [4] About £5 sterling.
[5] A Kalender is a religious mendicant of a particular class. [6] Ribâb.
[7] Of the night-guard. [8] Royal Garden.

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below Isterghach. One apple-tree had been in excellent bearing. On some branches five or six scattered leaves still remained, and exhibited a beauty which the painter, with all his skill, might attempt in vain to pourtray. From Isterghach we rode to Khwâjeh Hassan, where we dined. About evening prayers, we came to Behzâdi, and drank wine in the house of one of Khwâjeh Muhammed Amîn's servants, named Imâm Muhammed.

Next morning, being Tuesday, we arrived at the Charbagh of Kâbul. On Thursday the 23d, I entered the fort. Nov. 15. Nov. 17.

On Friday, Muhammed Ali Haider Rikâbdar having taken a Tûeghûn, brought it in and presented it to me. Nov. 18.

On Saturday the 25th, I had a party in the Bagh-e-Chinâr.[1] About bed-time prayers I mounted. As Syed Kâsim had taken offence at something, I alighted on coming to his house, and drank a few glasses. Nov. 19.

On Thursday, the 1st of Zilhajeh, Tâjeddîn Mahmud, who had come from Kandahâr, waited on me. Nov. 24.

On Monday the 19th, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng arrived from Nilâb. Dec. 12.

On Tuesday, Sanger Khan Jenjûheh, who had come from Behreh, waited on me. Dec. 13.

On Friday the 23d, I finished my extracts from the four Dîwâns of Ali Shîr Beg, the Ghazels of which I had selected and arranged according to their measure. Dec. 16.

On Tuesday the 27th, I had a party in the citadel. In this party, the rule was, that every person who got drunk should leave the place, and another person be invited to supply his room. Dec. 20.

On Friday, the 30th of Zilhajeh, I set out to make a circuit of Lemghân. Dec. 23.

THE OCCURRENCES OF 926.

On Saturday, the 1st of Moharrem, I reached Khâjeh Seyârân, and had a drinking party upon the mound, which had been thrown up by the Jui-nou (or new river). A.D. 1519. Dec. 24.

Next morning, I mounted, and rode to visit Reg-rewân.[2] I alighted at the Khâneh Bûlbûli,[3] belonging to Syed Kâsim, where we had a party. Dec. 25.

Next morning, I mounted, and continued my tour. I took a maajûn, and went on till we reached Bilker. Although we had taken wine over-night, in the morning we had a morning cup. About noon-day prayers, we proceeded on to Dernâmeh,[4] where we halted, and had a drinking party. Before break of day, we had a morning draught. Dec. 26. Dec. 27.

Hak-dâd, the chief of Dernâmeh, presented me with his garden as a peshkesh.

On Thursday, we mounted, and rode on to Deh-Tajîkân, in Nijrow, where we halted. Dec. 29.

On Friday, we hunted the hill which lies between Kulbeh and the river Bârân, and Dec. 30.

[1] The plane-tree garden. [2] Moving sand. [3] Nightingale-hall.
[4] Dernâmeh is a little valley that joins that of Nijrow from the north-west.

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A. D. 1519. killed many deer. From the time my finger was hurt I had never drawn an arrow. This day I shot an arrow right on the shoulder-bone of a stag. The arrow entered half way up to the feather. At afternoon prayers, I left the chase, and proceeded on to Nijrow.

Dec. 31. Next morning, the tribute of the inhabitants was fixed at sixty mishkals[1] of gold.

A.D. 1520. January 2. On Monday, I set out again on my tour in Lemghân. I had intended to have carried Hûmâiûn along with me on this journey, but he preferred staying, and I took leave of him at the Pass of Kôra; after which I went on, and halted at Bedrâv. The fishermen take great quantities of fish in the river of Bârân. At afternoon prayers, I embarked on a raft, and had a drinking party. After evening prayers, I landed from the raft, and again sat down to wine in the public tents.[2] Haidar Alemdâr had been sent by me to the Kafers. He met me below the Pass of Bâdîj, accompanied by some of their chiefs, who brought with them a few skins of wine. While coming down the Pass, he saw prodigious numbers of Chikûrs.[3]

January 3. Next morning, I went on board of a raft, and eat a maajûn. Landing below Lûlân, I returned to the camp.

January 6. Marching again on Friday, I halted at Dâmeneh below Mendrâur. At night, we had a drinking party.

January 7. On Saturday, I embarked in a raft, and passing the strait of Derouta,[4] landed higher up than Jehân-nûmâi. We went to the Bagh-e-Vafâ, which is opposite to Adînâpûr. Kîam Urdûshah, the Hakim of Nangenhâr, met us as we landed from the raft, and paid me his respects. Lenger Khan Niâzi, who had long been in Nilâb, waited on me on the road, and offered me his duty. We alighted at the Bagh-e-Vafa. Its oranges were well advanced in their yellow hue, and the verdure of the green plants was beautiful. We staid five or six days in the Bagh-e-Vafa. As I intended, when forty years old, to abstain from wine,[5] and as now I wanted somewhat less than one year of being forty, I drank wine most copiously.

January 8. On Sunday the 16th, I took an early draught, and when sobered, as I was taking a maajûn, Mûlla Yârek played an air which he had composed in the Penjgâh time, to the Mekhemmis measure. The air was beautiful. For some time I had not much attended to such matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something, and was induced by this incident to compose an air in the Chargah measure, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

January 11. On Wednesday, while taking an early glass, I said in sport that every person who sang a Tajîk air should receive a goblet of wine. In consequence of this, many persons drank their goblet of wine. About nine in the morning, some persons who were sitting in our party under a Tâl tree, proposed that every one who sang a Tûrki song should have a goblet of wine, and numbers sang their song, and claimed and received their goblet of wine. When the sun mounted high, we went under the orange trees, and drank our wine on the banks of the canal.

[1] This seems an easy tribute. It is only about 400 rupees, or L.40.
[2] Khâneh-sefîd.
[3] A bird of the partridge kind.
[4] Derouta is west of Jelâlâbâd, up the river.
[5] Baber unfortunately did not adhere to this resolution.

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Next morning I left Duteh, embarked on the raft, and passing Jûi Shâhi, reached Ater. At Ater we mounted on horseback, and rode through the valley of Nûr, till we had reached and passed the village of Susân. We halted at Amleh. January 12.

Khwâjeh Kilân had regulated everything at Bajour, and brought the country into the best order. As he was a prudent and able counsellor, I sent for him that he might be along with me, and I gave Shah Mîr Hussain the charge of Bajour. On Saturday the 22d, I gave Shah Mîr Hussain his audience of leave. This day, likewise, I had a drinking party at Amleh. January 14.

Next morning it rained heavily. I went from Kuner to Kileh-Kerâm, where Malek Kûli had a house, and halted at his second son's house, which was situated overlooking an orange plantation. As the rain prevented our going out among the orange-trees, we had our wine in the house. The rain poured down in torrents. I knew a charm, and taught it to Mûllah Ali Jan. He wrote it on four scraps of paper, and hung it up to the four points of the compass; the rain ceased that moment, and the sky immediately began to clear up. January 15.

The following morning I went on board of one raft, and some young men embarked in another. In Sewâd, Bajour, and the neighbouring countries, they make a peculiar kind of buzeh (or beer). There is a substance which they call *kîm*, composed of the tops of certain herbs, and of various drugs. They make it round like a loaf, and then dry and lay it up. This *kîm* is the essence from which the buzeh (or beer) is made. Many of the potions composed of it are wonderfully exhilarating, but they are terribly bitter and ill-tasted. I had thoughts of taking this buzeh, but, from its extreme bitterness, was unable to swallow it: I then took a little maajûn. I desired Asas, Hassan Ikerek, and Masti, who were in the other raft, to drink some of the potion, which they did, and became intoxicated. Hassan Ikerek immediately began to play a number of unpleasant freaks. Asas, also, became perfectly drunk; and performed so many disagreeable pranks as to make us quite uncomfortable; insomuch, that we had thoughts of turning them out of the raft, and of landing them on the opposite side of the river, but were prevailed upon by urgent entreaties to desist. January 16.

I have mentioned that I had bestowed Bajour on Shah Mîr Hassain, and recalled Khwâjeh Kilân. Having a high opinion of Khwâjeh Kilân as a wise and able counsellor, I did not wish to prolong his residence in Bajour; I was of opinion, too, that the management of Bajour was now become easier. I met Shah Mîr Hassain, as he was on his way to Bajour, at the passage over the river of Kuner, sent for him, and had some conversation with him; after which I gave him one of my own corslets,[1] and he took leave. When we came opposite to Nûrgil, an old man came and begged alms; the people in the raft each gave him something, a robe, a turban, or a sash; in this way, the old man received articles to a considerable amount. About mid-way the raft struck on some bad ground. We were much afraid; but though the raft did not sink, Mîr Muhammed, who guided it, was pitched into the water. We passed that night near

[1] *Qûr* seems to be the armour used by horsemen.

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A. D. 1519. January 17. Ater. On Tuesday we came to Mendrâur.[1] Kûtlak Kedem, and his father Doulet Kedem, prepared for us an entertainment. Although the place had nothing beautiful to recommend it, yet, to please them, I drank a few glasses of wine, and returned to the camp about afternoon prayers.

January 18. On Wednesday we went and visited the fountain of Gidger.[2] Gidger is a district dependent on the Tûmân of Mendrâur. In this district alone, of all the Lemghanât, are there any dates. The village stands higher up than the Damenkoh (skirts of the hills); its date groves lie to the east of it. It is situated on the edge of the date groves, in an open space. Six or seven cubits below the fountain, they have built a barricado of stones, for retaining the water for the purpose of bathing. The water is made to run over this bason in such a way as to fall on the heads of those who bathe below. The water of this fountain is extremely soft; if any one bathes in it in winter, his limbs at first feel excessively cold, but afterwards, however long he stay in, his sensations become altogether agreeable.

January 19. On Thursday, Shîr Khâni Turkolâni made us alight at his house, and entertained us. About noon-day prayers we mounted again, and setting out, reached the fishing-houses, or pools, which have been built for taking fish. These fishing-houses have already been described.

January 20. On Friday we halted near a village under the charge of Mîr Mirân. About evening prayers we had a party.

January 21. On Saturday we hunted the hill which lies between Alisheng and Alingâr. On one side the men of Alisheng, and on the other the people of Alingâr, made a ring, and drove in the deer from the hill; numbers of deer were killed. On leaving the chase we halted at Alingâr, in the Bagh-e-Milkân, and had a party. The half of one of my front teeth had been broken off, and the other half left; this day, while I was eating, the half that had been left also came out.

January 22. Next morning I mounted, and went and threw a net[3] for fish. It was noon before I went to a garden at Alisheng, where we drank wine.

January 23. Next morning Khamzeh Khan, the Malek of Alisheng, having been guilty of many crimes, and spilt innocent blood in murder, I delivered him up to the avengers[4] of blood, by whom he was put to death in retaliation.

January 24. On Tuesday, having read a section of the Koran, I returned for Kâbul, by way of Yan-bûlâgh. About afternoon prayers we passed the river at Alghâtû.[5] At evening prayers we came to Karanghu, where, having fed our horses and taken a hasty dinner, we remounted the instant our horses had finished their barley.

[1] In this excursion, Baber seems to have gone north-east till he got into Kuner, then to have floated down the river to the junction, and either tracked or rode up to Mendrâur.

[2] Kendger, in the Persian copy.

[3] The Tura is a fishing-net.

[4] This right of private revenge, which forms a part of the law of most rude nations, exists in a mitigated form under the Muhammedan law. The criminal is condemned by the judge, but is delivered up to the relations of the person murdered, to be ransomed or put to death as they think fit.

[5] The Persian has *Alaa-nûr*, perhaps *Ulugh-nûr*.

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SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

AN ABRIDGED VIEW OF BABER'S TRANSACTIONS,

FROM A. H. 926 TO A. H. 932.[1]

Uncertainty regarding Baber's expeditions into India.

ANOTHER hiatus here occurs in all the Manuscripts, and extends for a space of nearly six years, from the beginning of Sefer A. H. 926, to the beginning of Sefer A.H. 932; from the end of what is generally called Baber's second expedition into India, to the beginning of his fifth and final invasion of that country. The materials for supplying this blank are not so copious as might have been expected. Abulfazl, who wrote in Hindustân, in the reign, and at the court of Baber's grandson, whose secretary he was, and from whom we might therefore have expected the most authentic and ample details of Baber's different invasions of India, treats the march of Baber in 910, when he took A. D. 1505. Kohat, passed through Bânu, went down the Sind as far as the territory of Multân, and returned to Kâbul by Choutiali and Ab-istâdeh, as the first;[2] the expedition on the Cheghanserâi, or Kâshkâr river, in 913, in his account is the second, probably because A. D. 1507. Baber had, at one period of this expedition, formed the intention of proceeding to Hindustân, an intention which he did not accomplish; and the expedition to Behreh in A. D. 1519. 925, is the third: Of the fourth, he acknowledges that he had not been able to get any account; an acknowledgment which, at the same time that it shows the uncertainty of tradition, seems also to prove that Abulfazl, who on other occasions follows the Memoirs of Baber, had them in exactly the same imperfect state in which they have come down to our times; and the recapitulation of previous events which the Memoirs themselves contain, in the beginning of the account of the transactions of the year 932 of the Hejira, seems to confirm the same supposition; since, had an account of all the transactions of the six preceding years been given by way of journal, it would have rendered the recapitulation, by which the history of that year is prefaced, altogether unneces-

[1] From the end of January 1520, to the middle of November 1525. This interval, in the west, was distinguished by the progress of the Reformation under Luther; the taking of Belgrade and Rhodes by Soliman the Magnificent; and by the battle of Pavia. In America, Cortez conquered Mexico.

[2] See Akbernameh, vol. I. MS.

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sary. It is plain, however, that Baber regarded his expedition into Bhira, or Behreh, in A. H. 925, not as his third, but as his first expedition into Hindustân; so that the ignorance of Abulfazl was greater than he himself supposed.

The expedition against the Yûsefzais and refractory Afghâns, which is described by Baber in the end of the year 925, and from which he was recalled by the events in Badakhshân, is regarded by Ferishta as his second[1] expedition into Hindustân; but Baber himself does not intimate that he had any intention at that time of crossing the Indus. It appears, however, that Peshâwer, or Bekrâm, as well as a great part of the country west of the Indus, were anciently regarded as belonging to India; whence the inaccuracy apparent on this subject among the writers of Hindustân, may perhaps in part proceed. Indeed, Baber himself informs us, that Kandahâr was formerly regarded as the boundary between Hindustân and Khorasân. I am not, however, convinced that Baber reckoned this as one of his invasions of Hindustân.

His third expedition. A. D. 1520.

Baber's third expedition against Hindustân appears to have been made A. H. 926. In his way through Bhîra he inflicted punishment on those who had formerly joined him, but who had afterwards been seduced to revolt and to expel his officers. He drove from the country some Afghâns, while he put to death and made prisoners a number of others, to the great relief of the peasantry and labouring classes, whom they had oppressed. He advanced to Siâlkot, the inhabitants of which submitted and saved their possessions; but the inhabitants of Syedpûr, who resisted, were put to the sword, their wives and children carried into captivity, and all their property plundered. Baber at this time received information that his territories had been invaded on the side of Kandahâr by Shah Beg, which obliged him to interrupt his expedition, and to return to the defence of his dominions. He soon drove Shah Beg from the field, and shut him up in his capital, which he kept in a state of partial blockade for nearly three years. For the reduction of Kandahâr, which was a place of great strength, he appears to have trusted more to the effects of his annual[2] invasions in wasting and ruining the surrounding country, than to the operations of an active siege.

He gives Badakhshân to Humâiûn. A. D. 1521.

The events which had occurred, proved to him the necessity of leaving his own territories quiet and protected, before he ventured upon foreign conquests. In the course of the year 927 of the Hejira, having received information of the death of Khan Mirza[3] in Badakhshân, he bestowed that country on Hûmâiûn Mirza, his eldest son. The same year he again entered the territories of Shah Beg, and reduced him to great distress.

A. D. 1522. Reduction of Kandahâr.

The following year, 928, seems to have been marked by the final reduction of Kandahâr. Shah Beg had retired towards Shâl,[4] Dour, and Siwistân, and in the end con-

[1] Khâfi Khan describes Baber as having, in his second expedition, advanced towards Sirhind, Multân, and Lahore; but as he, in common with all other authors, fixes Baber's third invasion in A.H. 926, this supposition, independent of other objections, is incompatible with the chronology of the Memoirs.

[2] See Ferishta's General History of Hindustân, translated by Dow, vol. II. p. 194, and the Târikhe Khafi Khan, vol. II. MS.

[3] The period of Khan Mirza's death is very uncertain. Abulfazl says it occurred A. H. 917. Khâfi Khan seems to fix it in 915. Ferishta mentions it as occurring about 926. It must have happened either in that or the succeeding year.

[4] This is not Zemin-Dâwer, west of the Helmend, but Dour, a district lying in the Sulimâni hills, westof Bânu, and south of Khost.

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quered the kingdom of Sind.[1] Baber pursuing his successes, occupied the country of Germsîr along the Helmend, which had been part of the dominions of Shah Beg. The year 929 he occupied in various expeditions within his own territories, in checking the refractory Afghâns, and in introducing some degree of order and arrangement into the affairs of his government. A. D. 1523.

The invasion of Hindustân had long been the favourite object of Baber's ambition. The Uzbeks had established themselves in too great force in Mâweralnaher to leave him any hopes of expelling them. Khorasân had been occupied by the Sefvi dynasty of Persian kings, who were now in the height of their power and glory; while the provinces of Hindustân, which in all ages have been an easy prey to the rapacity of every invader, afforded the prospect of a rich and a splendid conquest. The moment was every way favourable to such an attempt. The empire of Delhi was not then what it afterwards became under Akber or Aurengzeb, nor even what it had been under Muhammed Ghori or Alâudîn Khilji. For some time past, it had been in the hands of Afghân invaders. The reign of Ibrâhim had been an unvaried scene of confusion and revolts. His haughty and cruel temper, joined to the impolitic arrogance with which he had treated the Afghân nobles, who considered themselves as having raised his family to the throne, and as being still placed not very far below it, had completely alienated their affections. Many of his discontented nobles had retired beyond the Ganges, and the whole eastern provinces, from Bedâun to Behâr, were in the hands of rebels, who occupied Behâr itself. So extensive had the defection become, that his dominions did not extend much beyond Delhi, Agra, the Doab, Biâna, and Chanderi. Bengal had still its own sovereign, as well as Malwa and Guzerat. The Rajput Princes, from Mewât to Udipûr, had joined in a confederacy, of which Râna Sânka, the Prince of Udipûr, was at the head. The Penjab was held by Doulet Khan, and his sons Ghazi Khan, and Dilâwer Khan, who, Afghâns themselves, were alarmed at the fate of the Afghân nobles in other parts of the empire, and eager to deliver themselves from the power of the emperor; persuaded that it was safer to rebel than to continue in subjection to a prince whose violent and unrelenting disposition, adding new terrors to the harsh maxims of his government, had destroyed all confidence in him. Guided by their fears, they sent envoys to offer their allegiance to Baber, and to beseech him to march to their succour. No circumstance could have been more in unison with his wishes. He made instant preparations for the expedition, and entered Hindustân for the fourth time. State of Hindustân. Baber invited into Hindustân.

He marched by the country of the Gakers, whom he reduced to obedience. Behâr Khan Lodi, Mobârek Khan Lodi, and some other Afghân Amîrs, who were still in the interest of Ibrâhim, or who disliked the arrival of a foreign enemy, collected a large body of Afghâns, and gave him battle as he approached Lahore, the capital of the province. The Afghâns were defeated, and the conquerors, elated with their success, and enraged at the obstinacy of the resistance, plundered and burned the bazar and town of Lahore. He next advanced to Debâlpûr, the garrison of which holding out, the place was stormed, and a general massacre ensued. A. H. 930. A. D. 1524. Fourth expedition. Burns Lahore.

[1] Shah Beg is said to have died 22d Shaban, 928—17th July, A. D. 1522.

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Joined by Doulet Khan and his sons.

At Debâlpûr he was joined by Doulet Khan, and his sons Ghazi Khan, and Dilâwer Khan, who, after their revolt, had been compelled to seek refuge among the Baluches. They informed him that Ismâel Jilwâni was lying on the side of a rising ground near Sitâra, with a large body of troops, intending to harass him in his advance, and that it would be expedient to send a detachment to disperse them. Baber was making preparations for acting in conformity with this advice, when he was secretly informed by Dilâwer Khan that it was given with a treacherous intention, Doulet Khan being very desirous of dividing Baber's army in order to serve his own purposes. Baber was soon after convinced, or pretended to be convinced, from concurring circumstances, of the truth of this information, and threw Doulet Khan and Ghazi Khan into prison. He was soon, however, prevailed on to release them, and gave them in Jagîr[1] the town of Sultânpûr, which the father had built, with its dependencies. They were afterwards permitted to repair to it, where they employed their time in preparing everything for a revolt, and soon after fled, but took shelter in the hill-country to the east of the Penjâb. Baber, on receiving the news of this event, sent for Dilâwer Khan, gave him possession of their estates, and loaded him with favours. This revolt of a man of such influence in the Penjâb as Doulet Khan, with other adverse circumstances, made it inexpedient for him to advance to Delhi, so that he fell back on Lahore, after he had crossed the Satlej and proceeded as far as Sirhend. He soon after found it necessary to return to Kâbul. He had now, however, gained a permanent footing beyond the Indus, and parcelled out the different districts among his most trusty officers, or such great men of the country as it was necessary to conciliate. In the course of this invasion he had been joined by Sultan Alâeddîn, a brother of the Emperor Ibrâhim. On him Baber bestowed Debâlpûr, and probably flattered him with hopes of the succession to the empire of Hindustân. He now left with him Bâba Kishkeh, one of his favourite officers, to watch him, and retain him in his duty. He appointed Mîr Abdalazîz to the charge of Lahore, Khosrou Gokultâsh to Siâlkot, and Muhammed Alî Tajîk to Kilanûr.[2]

Revolt of Doulet Khan.

Baber advances to Sirhend.

Returns to Kâbul.

Doulet Khan defeats Alâeddîn.

Scarcely had Baber recrossed the Indus, when Doulet Khan and Ghazi Khan issued from their retreat in the hills, resumed possession of Sûltânpûr, by vigorous exertions, succeeded in making Dilâwer Khan prisoner, and detained him in close custody. Their army rapidly increased, and they advanced to Debâlpûr, where they defeated Sultan Alâeddîn, who escaped and fled to Kâbul. Bâba Kishkeh repaired to Lahore, which was the head-quarters of the Tûrki army. Doulet Khan, encouraged by his first successes, sent five thousand Afghâns against Siâlkot, in hopes of reducing the place; but Mîr Abdalazîz having marched from Lahore, with a detachment of Baber's troops, encountered the Afghâns, and completely defeated them.

A. H. 931. A. D. 1525.

Disperses an army sent against him.

Sultan Ibrâhim had now leisure to collect an army, which he sent against Doulet Khan, for the purpose of reducing him to obedience; but so successful were the intrigues of Doulet Khan in the imperial camp, that he contrived to gain over the general, and the army was completely broken up.

[1] A Jagîr is a grant of lands to be held immediately of the sovereign, often with extensive privileges.
[2] See Ferishta and Khâfi Khan.

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The crafty old politician soon after learned that Sultan Alâeddîn had been favourably received at Kâbul by Baber, who being himself obliged to march to the relief of Balkh, which was besieged by the Uzbeks, had sent Alâeddîn into Hindustân, with orders to his generals there to accompany him in his march against Delhi, for the purpose of placing him on the throne of the empire. Doulet Khan instantly wrote to Sultan Alâeddîn, whose talents appear to have been but slender, congratulating him on the success of his negotiations, and assuring him that he was the very person whom Doulet Khan was most anxious to see placed on the throne. These assurances were accompanied by a deed of allegiance, under the seal of his Kazis and Chiefs. Sultan Alâeddîn, on reaching Lahore, informed Baber's generals that they were ordered to accompany him to Delhi, and that Ghazi Khan, Doulet Khan's son, was to join them with his army, and to assist them in the expedition. To this Baber's Begs objected. They declared that they had no confidence in Ghazi Khan or his father, with whom both Alâeddîn and themselves had recently been in a state of war; and that he must give hostages before they could place any confidence in him. Their remonstrances, however, were unavailing. Alâeddîn made a treaty with Doulet Khan, ceding to him all the Penjâb; while it was agreed that Alâeddîn should have Delhi, Agra, and the other dominions of the empire in that quarter; and that Hâji Khan, a son of Doulet Khan, should march with a large body of troops in his army. Dilâwer Khan, who had but recently escaped from his rigid confinement, joined Alâeddîn. Ferishta says, that Baber's officers who remained in the Penjâb, bargained that their master should have all the country north-west of the Indus, a circumstance not mentioned by Baber himself, whose narrative never alludes to the claims of Alâeddîn, in whose name[1] he appears at first to have marched against Ibrâhim. He probably imagined that Alâeddîn's breach of faith, and subsequent treaty with Doulet Khan, had cancelled all their engagements.

Baber supports Alâeddîn.

Alâeddîn's army, in its advance, was joined by many Amîrs of rank, and, by the time it reached Delhi, could muster forty thousand horse. The siege of Delhi, the defeat of Alâeddîn, and the events that followed, are detailed by Baber himself in his Memoirs, as he was not informed of them till he was considerably advanced in his fifth invasion of Hindustân, with which his narrative recommences.

[1] Compare Baber's Memoirs, anno 932, the Akbernâmeh of Abulfazl, the Tarikhe Khâfi Khan, and Ferishta.

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MEMOIRS OF BABER.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 932.

A. D. 1525. Nov. 17. Baber's fifth invasion of India

On Friday, the 1st of Sefer, in the year 932, when the sun was in Sagittarius, I set out on my march to invade Hindustân. Having crossed the hill of Yek-lengeh,[1] we halted in a valley which lies west of the river of Deh Yâkûb. At this place Abdal Malûk Korchi, who, seven or eight months before, had gone on an embassy to Sultan Saîd Khan,[2] returned to me, accompanied by Yangi Beg, a foster brother of the Khan. He brought me privately letters from the Khanîms,[3] as well as the Khân, with presents and prayers for my well-being. I halted here two days for the purpose of collecting my army; after which we marched, and, one night intervening, halted at Bâdâm-Cheshmeh. At this station I took a maajûn.

Nov. 22.

On Wednesday, when were coming to our ground at Barîk-âb, the brothers of Nûr Beg, who had remained behind in Hindustân, arrived, bringing to the amount of twenty thousand shahrokhis,[4] in gold, in ashrefis and tenkis, which Khwâjeh Hussain, Diwân of Lahore, had sent by them. The greater part of this sum I dispatched through Mulla Ahmed, one of the chief men of Balkh, to serve my interests in that quarter.

Nov. 24.

On Friday the 8th, on halting at Gendemek, I had rather a severe defluxion, but, by the mercy of God, it passed off without any bad effects.

Nov. 25. He reaches the Bagh-e-Vafa.

On Saturday, I halted at the Bagh-e-Vafa. Here I was forced to wait some days for Hûmâiûn[5] and the army that was with him. In these Memoirs, I have already repeatedly described the limits and extent of the Bagh-e-Vafa, its beauty, and elegance. The garden was in great glory. No one can view it without acknowledging what a

[1] A kotal, or hill, on the way to Bût-khâk.

[2] The chief of Kâshghar.

[3] These were probably Khub-nigâr-Khanum, his aunt, who was the mother of the wife of Sultan Said Khan, Sultan Nigar-Khanum, another of his aunts, and her daughter, who had married Rashid Sultan, Sultan Said's son.

[4] About L.1000 sterling. Nothing can afford a stronger proof of the scarcity of specie in Kâbul than this appropriation of so small a sum. The Tenki, or Tengi, is a small silver coin of the value of about fivepence. The name of Ashrefi is applied to the gold mohur, which is worth about a guinea and a half. It is applied, however, to gold coins of various magnitude and value.

[5] Humâiûn was now in his eighteenth year.

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charming place it is. During the few days that we staid there, we drank a great quantity of wine at every sitting, and took regularly our morning cup. When I had no drinking parties,[1] I had maajûn parties.[2] In consequence of Hûmâiûn's delay beyond the appointed time, I wrote him sharp letters, taking him severely to task, and giving him many hard names.

On Sunday, the 17th of Sefer, I had taken my morning draught, when Hûmâiûn arrived. I spoke to him with considerable severity on account of his long delay. Khwâjeh Kilân too arrived this day from Ghazni. That same evening, being the eve of Monday, we marched, and halted at a new garden, which I had laid out between Sultan-pûr and Khwâjeh-Rustam. Dec. 3. Joined by Hûmâiûn.

On Wednesday, we marched thence, when I embarked on a raft, on which I proceeded down the river, drinking all the way till we reached Kosh-Gûmbez, where I landed and joined the camp. Dec. 6.

Next morning, after putting the troops in motion, I again embarked on a raft, and took a maajûn. We had always been accustomed to halt at Kerîk Arîk. On coming over against Kerîk Arîk, though we looked out in every direction, not a trace of the camp, nor of our horses, was visible. It came into my head, that, as Germ-Cheshmeh was near at hand, and was a shady, sheltered spot, the army had probably halted there. I therefore went on to that place. On coming near Germ-Cheshmeh, the day was far spent. Without stopping there, I went on all next night and day, having only made them bring the raft to an anchor, while I took a sleep. About the time of early morning prayers, we landed at Yedeh-bîr, and at sunrise the troops began to make their appearance coming in. They had been for two days encamped in the territory of Kerîk-Arîk, though we had not observed them. There happened to be in the boat a good many men who wrote verses, such as Sheikh Abul-wajid, Sheikh Zîn, Mûlla Ali Jân, Terdi Beg Khâksâr, and several others. During the party, the following verse of Muhammed Salikh was repeated,— Dec. 7. Dec. 8.

Persian.—What can one do to regulate his thoughts, with a mistress possessed of every blandishment?
Where *you* are, how is it possible for our thoughts to wander to another?

It was agreed that every one should make an extempore couplet to the same rhyme and measure. Every one accordingly repeated his verse. As we had been very merry at Mûlla Ali Jân's expense, I repeated the following extempore satirical verses,—

What can one do with a drunken sot like you?
What can be done with one foolish as a she-ass?[3]

Before this, whatever had come into my head, good or bad, in sport or jest, if I had turned it into verse for amusement, how bad or contemptible soever the poetry might be, I had always committed it to writing. On the present occasion, when I had composed

[1] Baber unfortunately did not give up the use of wine at forty, as he had once vowed.

[2] The maajûn, it will be recollected, is a medicated confection, which produces intoxication.

[3] It may be almost needless to observe, that the rhyme, measure, and play of words, in the original, give these verses a great similarity to the former, which is totally wanting in the translation. They are a kind of parody of them.

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A. D. 1525. these lines, my mind led me to reflections, and my heart was struck with regret, that a tongue which could repeat the sublimest productions, should bestow any trouble on such unworthy verses; that it was melancholy that a heart, elevated to nobler conceptions, should submit to occupy itself with these meaner and despicable fancies. From that time forward, I religiously abstained from satirical or vituperative poetry. At the time of repeating this couplet, I had not formed my resolution, nor considered how objectionable the practice was.

Baber renounces satirical poetry.

A day or two after, when we halted at Bekrâm,[1] I had a defluxion and fever; the defluxion was attended with a cough, and every time that I coughed I brought up blood. I knew whence this indisposition proceeded, and what conduct had brought on this chastisement.

(*Arabic.*)—Then every one who fails and breaks his promise, that promise avenges its breach on his life; and he who adheres to his promises to God, God bestows on him boundless blessings.

(*Turki verse.*)—What can I do with you, O my tongue?
On your account I am covered with blood within:
How long, in this strain of satire, will you delight to compose verses,
One of which is impure, and another lying?
If you say, Let me not suffer from this crime,—
Then turn your reins, and shun the field.

(*Arabic.*)—O my Creator, I have tyrannized over my soul; and, if Thou art not bountiful unto me, of a truth I shall be of the number of the accursed.

I now once more composed myself to penitence and self-control; I resolved to abstain from this kind of idle thoughts, and from such unsuitable amusements, and to break my pen. Such chastenings from the throne of the Almighty, on rebellious servants, are mighty graces; and every servant who feels and benefits from such chastisements, has cause to regard them as overflowing mercies.

Dec. 9. Reaches Ali Mesjid,

Marching thence, I halted at Ali Mesjid. On account of the smallness of the encamping ground at this place, I was always accustomed to take up my quarters on an adjoining eminence; the troops all took their ground in the valley. As the hillock on which I pitched my tents commanded the neighbouring grounds, the blaze from the fires of the people in the camp below was wonderfully brilliant and beautiful. It was certainly owing to this circumstance that every time that I halted in this ground I drank wine.

Dec. 10. Reaches Bekrâm.

I took a maajûn before sunrise, and we continued our march. That day I fasted. We continued our march till we came near Bekrâm, and then halted. Next morning we continued halting in the same station, and I went out to hunt the rhinoceros. We

Dec. 11.

crossed the Siâh-Ab,[2] in front of Bekrâm, and formed our ring lower down the river.

Rhinoceros hunt.

When we had gone a short way, a man came after us with notice, that a rhinoceros had entered a little wood near Bekrâm, and that they had surrounded the wood, and were waiting for us. We immediately proceeded towards the wood at full gallop, and cast a ring round it. Instantly, on our raising the shout, the rhinoceros issued out into the plain, and took to flight. Hûmâiûn, and those who had come from the same quarter, never having seen a rhinoceros before, were greatly amused. They followed

[1] Peshâwer. [2] Black river.

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it for nearly a kos, shot many arrows at it, and finally brought it down. This rhinoceros did not make a good set at any person, or any horse. They afterwards killed another rhinoceros. I had often amused myself with conjecturing how an elephant and rhinoceros would behave if brought to face each other; on this occasion the elephant-keepers brought out the elephants, so that one elephant fell right in with the rhinoceros. As soon as the elephant-drivers put their beasts in motion, the rhinoceros would not come up, but immediately ran off in another direction.

This day, when we staid at Bekrâm, I sent for several Begs and noblemen who were about my person, as well as for the paymasters and Diwans, and having nominated six or seven of them as superintendants, appointed them to attend at the Nilâb passage, to conduct the embarkation, to take down the name of every man in the army one by one, and to inspect them. That same night I had a defluxion and fever. The defluxion ended in a cough; every time that I coughed I spit blood; I was considerably alarmed; but, praise be to God! it went off in two or three days.

We made two marches from Bekrâm; and after the third, on Thursday the 26th, we encamped on the banks of the river Sind. Dec. 12, 13, and 14.

On Saturday, the 1st day of the first Rebi, we passed the Sind; and having also crossed the river of Kech-kot,[1] halted on its banks. The Begs, paymasters, and Diwâns, who had been placed to superintend the embarkation, brought me the return of the troops who were on the service. Great and small, good and bad, servants and no servants, they amounted to twelve thousand persons. Dec. 16. Passes the Sind.

This year there was a deficiency of rain in the lower grounds, whereas there had been a sufficient quantity in the highlands. To secure a proper supply of corn, we advanced along the skirts of the hills towards Siâlkot.[2] On coming opposite to the country of the Gakers, in the bed of a brook, we found in several places a quantity of standing water. These waters were entirely frozen over. Although there was not much of it, the ice was in general a span in thickness. In Hindustân such ice is uncommon. We met with it here; but, during all the years[3] that I have been in Hindustân, I have in no other instance met with any trace of ice or snow. Proceeds by the route of the hills.

Advancing five marches from the Sind, the sixth brought us close by the hill of Jûd, below the hill of Balinât-jogi, on the banks of a river, at the station of Bakiâlân, where we encamped. Dec. 22.

Next morning we halted in the same encampment, for the purpose of allowing the troops to procure grain. That day I drank spirits.[4] Mûlla Muhammed Parghari told us a great many stories. I have seldom seen him so talkative. Mûlla Shems was generally riotous in his cups, and, when once affected, he continued noisy and troublesome from morning till night. Dec. 23.

The slaves and servants, and men of all descriptions, that had gone to bring in grain, instead of employing themselves in searching for grain, went confusedly and unrestrained over hill, wood, and dingle, making a number of prisoners; in consequence of which Gichgineh Tunkitâr and some others of our men were cut off.

[1] The Harû, or Hurroo.
[2] Siâlkot lies on the east of the Chenâb river, below the mountains.
[3] This passage must have been written not long before Baber's death.
[4] Arak.

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Dec. 24. Arrives on the Behat.

Marching thence, we halted, after passing the river Behat, below Jilem,[1] by the ford. Wali Kâzîl, who held the Pergannas of Bîmragîri and Akerbâdehpûr, and who had been ordered to assist in the defence of Siâlkot, arrived and waited on me at this place. I was displeased, and chided him for not remaining in Siâlkot.[2] He excused himself by informing me, that he had left it in order to repair to his Perganna, and that Khosrou Gokultâsh, on leaving Siâlkot, had given him no intimation of his intention. I listened to his excuse, but asked him, "As you did not remain in Siâlkot to defend it, why did you not repair to Lahore, and join the rest of the Begs?" He had no good answer to make; but as we were near about entering upon action, I overlooked his offence. From this encampment I sent forward Syed Tufân and Syed Sachîn, giving each of them a spare horse, with directions to push on with all speed to Lahore, and to enjoin our troops in that city not to fight, but to form a junction with me at Siâlkot or Perserûr. The general report was, that Ghâzi Khan had collected an army of thirty or forty thousand men; that Doulet Khan, old as he was, had buckled on two swords; and that they would certainly try the fate of a battle. I recollected the proverb which says, Ten friends are better than nine. That no advantage might be lost, I judged it most advisable, before fighting, to form a junction with the detachment of my army that was in Lahore. I therefore sent on messengers with instructions to the Amîrs, and at the second march reached the banks of the river Chenâb,[3] where I encamped. I rode on towards Behlûlpûr, which is an imperial domain, and surveyed it on every side. Its castle stands on the banks of the Chenâb, upon an elevated ravine. It pleased me extremely, and I formed a plan of transferring the population of Siâlkot to this place. God willing, as soon as I find leisure, I will complete my project. I returned from Behlûlpûr to the camp in a boat, and had a party; some drank arak,[4] some buzeh, and some took maajûn. I landed from the boat about bed-time prayers, and we drank a little in my pavilion. I halted one day on the banks of the river to rest our horses.

Reaches the Chenâb. Dec. 26. Dec. 27. Dec. 28.

Reaches Siâlkot. Dec. 29.

On Friday, the 14th of the first Rebi, we arrived at Siâlkot. Every time that I have entered Hindustân, the Jets[5] and Gûjers have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers, from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression on the country. These districts, in former times, had been in a state of revolt, and yielded very little revenue that could be come at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices. As my poor people were on their way from Siâlkot to the camp, hungry and naked, indigent and in distress, they were fallen upon by the

[1] Jilem lies on the east bank of the Behat or Jilem river, about 30 miles west from Bember.

[2] Siâlkot may be about 50 miles S. E. from Jilem.

[3] The Acesines.

[4] The name Arak is applied to any spirituous distilled liquor. The bûzeh is a liquor like ale, brewed from millet or other grain; it is said to be bitter and ill tasted, and is very heady.

[5] The Jets or Jats are the Mahommedan peasantry of the Penjâb, the banks of the Indus, Siwistan, &c. and must not be confounded with the Jâts, a powerful Hindu tribe to the west of the Jumna, about Agra, &c. and which occupies a subordinate station in the country of the Rajpûts.

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road with loud shouts and plundered.[1] I sought out the persons guilty of this outrage, discovered them, and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.

Receives news of the defeat of Alim Khan.

At this same station a merchant arrived, who brought us the news of the defeat of Alim Khan by Sultan Ibrâhim. The particulars are as follows. Alim Khan,[2] after taking leave of me, had marched forward in spite of the scorching heat of the weather, and had reached Lahore, having, without any consideration for those who accompanied him, gone two stages every march. At the very moment that Alim Khan took leave, the whole Sultans and Khans of the Uzbeks had advanced and blockaded Balkh; so that, immediately on his departure for Hindustân, I was obliged to set out for that city. Alim Khan, on reaching Lahore, insisted with such of my Begs as were in Hindustân, that the Emperor had ordered them to march to his assistance, and that they must accordingly accompany him; that it had been concerted that Ghazi Khan should likewise join him, and that they were all in conjunction to march upon Delhi and Agra. The Begs answered, that, situated as things were, they could not accompany Ghazi Khan with any kind of confidence; but that, if he sent to court his younger brother Hâji Khan, with his son, or placed them in Lahore as hostages, their instructions would then leave them at liberty to march along with him; that otherwise they could not; that it was only the other day that Alim Khan had fought and been defeated by Ghazi Khan, so that no mutual confidence was to be looked for between them; and that, altogether, it was by no means advisable for Alim Khan to let Ghazi Khan accompany him in the expedition. Whatever expostulations of this nature they employed, in order to dissuade Alim Khan from prosecuting his plan, were all ineffectual. He sent his son Shîr Khan to confer with Doulet Khan and Ghazi Khan, and the parties themselves afterwards met. Dilâwer Khan, who had been in confinement very recently, and who had escaped from custody and come to Lahore only two or three months before, was likewise associated with them. Mahmûd Khan Khan-Jehân, to whom the custody of Lahore had been intrusted, was also pressed into their measures. In a word, it was in the end definitively arranged among them, that Doulet Khan and Ghazi Khan should take under their orders all the Begs who had been left in Hindustân, and should, at the same time, themselves assume the government of all the adjacent territories;[3] while Dilâwer Khan and Hâji Khan were to accompany Alim Khan, and occupy the whole of the country about Delhi and Agra and in that neighbourhood. Ismâel Jilwâni and a number of other Amîrs, waited on Alim Khan, and acknowledged him. He now proceeded towards Delhi without delay, by forced marches. On reaching Inderi, Sulemân Sheikhzâdeh came and likewise joined him. The numbers of the confederate army now amounted to thirty or forty thousand men. They laid siege to Delhi, but were unable either to take the place by storm or to reduce it by famine.

Accounts of Alim Khan's transactions.

Alim Khan forms a league with Ghazi Khan.

Marches against Delhi,

and besieges it.

Sultan Ibrâhim, as soon as he heard that they had collected an army, and invaded his dominions, led his troops to oppose them. Having notice of his march as he approached, they raised the siege and advanced to meet him. The confederates concurred in opinion, that if the battle was fought in the day time, the Afghâns, from regard to their

[1] The people alluded to were probably the Tûrki garrison of Siâlkot.

[2] Alim Khan is Alâeddin Khan.

[3] That is, in the Penjâb, or near Lahore.

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reputation with their countrymen, would not flee; but that if the attack was made by night, the night is dark, and no one seeing another, each chief would shift for himself. Resolving, therefore, to attempt a night surprise, they mounted to proceed against the enemy, who were six kos[1] off. Twice did they mount their horses at noon, and continue mounted till the second or third watch of the night, without going either back or forward, not being able to come to a resolution, or agree among themselves. The third time they set out for their surprise, when only one watch of the night remained. Their plan was for the party merely to set fire to the tents and pavilions, and to attempt nothing farther. They accordingly advanced and set fire to the tents during the last watch of the night, at the same time shouting the war-cry. Jilâl Khan Jighet, and several other Amirs, came over, and acknowledged Alim Khan. Sultan Ibrâhim, attended by a body of men, composed of his own tribe and family, did not move from the royal pavilion, but continued steady in the same place till morning. By this time, the troops who accompanied Alim Khan were dispersed, being busy plundering and pillaging. Sultan Ibrâhim's troops perceived that the enemy were not in great force, and immediately moved forward from the station which they had kept, though very few in number, and having only a single elephant; but no sooner had the elephant come up, than Alim Khan's men took to flight, without attempting to keep their ground. In the course of his flight Alim Khan crossed over to the Doâb side of the river, and again recrossed it towards Panipat, on reaching which place he contrived by a stratagem to get three or four laks[2] from Mia Sulemân,[3] and went on his way. Ismâel Jilwâni, Babin, and Jilâl Khan, the eldest son of Alim Khan, separating from him, betook themselves to the Doâb. A small part of the army which Alim Khan had collected, such as Seifeddîn Deria Khan, Mahmûd Khan Khan-Jehân, Sheikh Jemâl Fermuli, and some others, deserted before the battle and joined Ibrâhim. Alim Khan and Dilâwer Khan, with Hâji Khan, after passing Sehrind, heard of my approach, and that I had taken Milwat; whereupon Dilâwer Khan, who had always been attached to my interests, and had been detained three or four months in prison on my account, separated from the others, came on by way of Sultânpûr and Kochi, and waited upon me in the neighbourhood of Milwat, three or four days after the taking of that town. Alim Khan and Hâji Khan having passed the river Satlet,[4] at length reached Kinkûteh, the name of a strong castle in the hills between Dûn and the plain, and threw themselves into it. One of my detachments, consisting of Afghâns and Hazâras, happening to come up, blockaded them, and had nearly succeeded in taking the castle, strong as it was, being only prevented by the approach of night. These noblemen then made an attempt to leave it, but some of their horses having fallen in the gateway, they could not get out. Some elephants that were along with them were pushed forward, and trampled upon and killed a number of the horses. Although unable to escape on horseback, they left the place during a dark night on foot, and after incredible sufferings, joined Ghazi Khan, who, in the course of his flight, finding that he could not get refuge in Milwat, had directed his course towards the hills, where they met. Ghazi Khan did not give Alim Khan a very friendly reception, which induced him to wait

Surprises the enemy of Sultan Ibrahim:

but is defeated.

[1] Perhaps nine miles.
[2] £750 or £1000; but perhaps they were laks of rupees.
[3] Probably a rich shroff or banker.
[4] The Satlej.

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on me, below Dûn, in the neighbourhood of Pelhûr, where he came and tendered me his allegiance. While I was at Siâlkot, some of the troops whom I had left in Lahore arrived to inform me, that they would all be up by the morning.

Next morning I marched, and halted at Perserûr, where Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Khwâjeh Hûssain, and some others,[1] accordingly came and waited on me. As the enemy's camp was on the banks of the Râvi,[2] towards Lahore, I sent out Bujkeh with his party to reconnoitre and bring in intelligence. About the end of the third watch of the night they came back with information, that the enemy, immediately on getting notice of their approach, had fled away in consternation, every man shifting for himself. Dec. 30. Baber reaches Perserûr.

On the following morning, leaving Shah Mîr Hussain, and some other officers, to guard the camp and baggage, I separated from them, and pushed on with all possible speed. We reached Kilanûr about the middle of afternoon prayers, and halted. Muhammed Sultân Mirza, Adil Sultân, and the other Amirs, came here and waited on me. Dec. 31.

Marching before day-break from Kilanûr,[3] we discovered on the road certain traces that Ghazi Khan and the fugitives were not far off. Muhammedi and Ahmedi, with several of the Begs about my person, whom I had recently at Kabul promoted to the rank of Beg, were detached to pursue the fugitives, without halting. Their orders were, that, if they could overtake the flying enemy, it was well; but, if not, that they should carefully guard every approach and issue of the fort of Milwat, that the garrison might not be able to effect their escape. Ghazi Khan was the object that I principally aimed at in these instructions. Having sent forward this detachment under the Begs, we crossed the river Bîah opposite to Kanwahîn, and there halted. From thence, after three marches, we encamped in the mouth of the valley in which lies the fort of Milwat. The Begs, who had arrived before us, and the Amîrs of Hindustân, were directed to encamp and lay close siege to the fort. Ismâel Khan, who was Doulet Khan's grandson, (being the son of Ali Khan, Doulet Khan's eldest son,) having arrived in our quarters, was sent into the fort to offer terms of capitulation, and with a message in which we mingled promises and threats. On Friday I made the camp advance, and take ground half a kos nearer. I myself went out, reconnoitred the fort, and after having assigned to the right and left wing, and to the centre, their respective stations, returned back to the camp. January 1, 1526. Crosses the Bîah. January 2, 3, and 4. Blockades Milwat; January 5.

Doulet Khan now sent a person to inform me, that Ghazi Khan had escaped and fled to the hills; but that if I would excuse his own offences, he would come as a slave and deliver up the place. I therefore sent Khwâjeh Mîr Mirân to confirm him in his resolution, and to bring him out. His son Ali Khan accompanied that officer. In order to expose the rudeness and stupidity of the old man, I directed him to take care that Doulet Khan should come out with the same two swords hung round his neck, which he had hung by his side to meet me in combat. When matters had come this length, which is surrendered by Doulet Khan;

[1] These noblemen had been left with a body of troops to defend the Penjâb.

[2] The Râvi, or Hydraotes, which is the middle river of the five that compose the Penjâb, is the river on which Lahore stands.

[3] Kilanûr lies about half way between the Râvi and Bîah.

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who waits upon Baber.

he still contrived frivolous pretexts for delay, but was at length brought out. I ordered the two swords to be taken from his neck. When he came to offer me his obeisance, he affected delays in bowing; I directed them to push his leg and make him bow. I then made him sit down before me, and desired a man who understood the Hindustâni language to explain to him what I said, sentence by sentence, in order to reassure him; and to tell him, "I called you Father: I showed you more respect and reverence than you could have desired or expected. I delivered you and your sons from the insults of the Balûches. I delivered your tribe, your family, and women, from the bondage of Ibrâhim. The countries held by Tâtâr Khan, to the amount of three krors,[1] I bestowed on you. What evil have I ever done you, that you should come in this style against me, with these two swords by your side: and, attended by an army, stir up tumult and confusion in my territories?" The man, being stupified, stammered out a few words, not at all to the purpose; and, indeed, what could he say in answer to such confounding truths? It was settled, that he and his family should retain their authority in their own tribes, and possession of their villages, but that all the rest of their property should be sequestrated. They were directed to encamp close by Khwâjeh Mîr Mîrân.

January 6.

On Saturday, the 22d of the first Rebi, to ensure their good treatment while they were bringing out their dependents and families, I myself went and took my station on a rising ground opposite to the gate of Milwat. Ali Khan came up and presented me with a few Ashrefis as a Peshkesh. Towards afternoon prayers they began to remove their dependents and women. Abdal-âzîz and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Kutlek Kedem, Muhammedi, and Ahmedi, with several other of the Begs about my person, were directed to enter the fort, and to take possession of and secure their treasures, and all their property. Although Ghazi Khan was said to have left the place and fled, yet some reported that they had seen him within the fort. On this account I placed several of my trusty officers and servants at the gate, with orders to examine every person and place of which they had the least suspicion, that Ghazi Khan might not escape by any artifice, as now my grand object was to make him prisoner. They had also orders to seize any jewels or precious stones that might be attempted to be secretly conveyed out of the town. The troops made a great riot at the gate of the fort, which obliged me to discharge a few arrows to check their turbulence; a chance shot struck Hûmâiûn's reader, who expired on the spot. After remaining on the hillock for two nights, on Monday I entered and surveyed the fort. I examined Ghazi Khan's library, and found in it a number of valuable books. Some of them I gave to Hûmâiûn, and some I sent to Kamrân. There was also a number of theological books, but I did not, on the whole, find so many books of value as, from their appearance, I had expected.

January 8.

I staid in the fort all night, and next morning returned to the camp. We had been mistaken in imagining that Ghazi Khan was in the fort. That traitorous coward had

[1] About £75,000 sterling. The Emperors of Hindustân, from a love of pomp and show, have always used large numbers in reckoning their revenues, and in bestowing presents. Their revenue accounts were kept in dâms, of which forty go to a rupee. Hence their laks and crors sink into a very small compass, when reduced to English money; and the revenue of very extensive tracts of country will frequently be found inferior to the rents of an English gentleman's estate.

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fled, and escaped to the hills with a small number of followers, leaving his father, his elder and younger brothers, his mother, his elder and younger sisters, in Milwat;

(*Persian.*)—Observe that faithless man, for never
Shall he see the face of good fortune;
He takes care of his own comforts,
Yet leaves his wife and children in misery.[1]

On Wednesday, I marched thence towards the hill to which Ghazi Khan had fled. January 10. After advancing one kos from the station at the gorge of Milwat, we halted in a valley. It was here that Dilâwer Khan came and tendered his allegiance. Doulet Khan and Ali Khan, with Ismâel Khan, and some other leading men, were delivered as prisoners to Kitteh, to be carried to the fort of Milwati, in Behreh, there to be detained in custody. The rest were delivered to various persons, for the purpose of levying contributions on them; and their ransoms were fixed, after Dilâwer Khan's opinion had been taken. Several were liberated on securities; several were committed to prison and close custody. Kitteh set out with the prisoners. He had reached Sultânpûr when Doulet Khan died. Death of Doulet Khan. I gave the fort of Milwat to Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, who left his elder brother Arghûn in the place, on his part, with a body of troops. About two hundred or two hundred and fifty Hazâras and Afghâns were also left, to assist in the defence of the fort.

Khwâjeh Kilân had loaded some camels with the wines of Ghazni, and brought them to the camp. His quarters were on a high ground that overlooked the fort and camp. We had a party there, in which some drank wine, and others spirits. It was a rare party.

Marching thence, and passing the small hills of Ab-kend by Milwat, we reached Dûn. Baber reaches Dûn. In the language of Hindustân, they call a Jûlga (or dale), *Dûn*. The finest running water[2] in Hindustân is that in this Dûn. There are many villages around the Dûn, which was a Perganna of the Jeswal, who were the maternal uncles of Dilâwer Khan. This Dûn is a very pleasant dale, and there are meadows[3] all along the stream. Description of Dûn. In several places they sow rice. Through the middle of it runs a stream large enough to turn three or four mills. The width of the dale is one or two kos;[4] in some places it is even three kos.[5] Its hills are very small, like hillocks, and all its villages stand on the skirts of these hillocks. Where there are no villages, there are numbers of peacocks and monkeys. There are also many fowls resembling barn-door fowls: they resemble them in shape, but are generally of a single colour.

As we could nowhere get any certain intelligence of Ghazi Khan, I sent Tardîkeh with Berim Deo Malinhat, with orders to pursue him wherever he might go; to engage him, and bring him back a prisoner. In the country composed of small hills, that has been mentioned as lying around the Dûn, there are some wonderfully strong castles. To the north-east is a castle called Kôtila. It is surrounded by a rock seventy or Of Kotila.

[1] From the Gulistân of Sadi.

[2] *Ab-rewan*—running water, is said to be used in Persian for a canal or aqueduct. It may, however, mean a stream of water; and the expression, the *only* ab-rewan, probably may mean, *one of the few ab-rewans*, or *the finest* of them. The expression again recurs.

[3] Auleng. [4] Two or three miles. [5] Four or five miles.

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eighty gez[1] in perpendicular height. At its chief gate, for the space of about seven or eight gez,[2] there is a place that admits of a draw-bridge being thrown across. It may be ten or twelve gez[3] wide. The bridge is composed of two long planks, by which their horses and flocks pass out and in. This was one of the forts of the hill-country, which Ghazi Khan had put into a state of defence, and garrisoned. The detachment that had been pushed on attacked the place vigorously, and had nearly taken it, when night came on. The garrison then abandoned the castle and fled away. Near the Dûn is another strong castle called the Fort of Kinkûteh, the country around which is all hilly, but it is not so strong as the former. Alim Khan, in his flight, had thrown himself into this fort, as has been already mentioned.

Baber resolves to attack Delhi.

After sending a detachment in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, I placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution, and my hand on the reins of confidence-in-God, and marched against Sultan Ibrâhim, the son of Sultan Iskander, the son of Sultan Behlûl Lodi Afghân, in whose possession the throne of Delhi and the dominions of Hindustân at that time were; whose army in the field was said to amount to a hundred thousand men, and who, including those of his Amîrs, had nearly a thousand elephants. After one march I bestowed Debâlpûr[4] on Bâki Shaghâwel, and sent him to reinforce Balkh. I sent a great part of the gold and effects found in the Fort of Milwat, to strengthen my interest in Balkh, and to Kâbul as presents to my relations and friends, and to my children and dependents.

A march or two below Dûn, Shah Emâd Shirâzi came with letters from Arâish Khan and Mûlla Muhammed Mezeheb,[5] containing assurances of their attachment to my interest, and urging me to continue resolutely the expedition I had commenced. I wrote them in return, to assure them of my protection and favour; and having dispatched the letters by a messenger on foot, continued my route. The detachment which had proceeded into Milwat, advanced against Herûr, Kehlûr, and the forts in that part of the country, among which, from the natural strength of the ground, no enemy had penetrated for a long time before, took the whole of them, and returned and joined me, after having plundered the inhabitants of the district. It was at this time that Alim Khan, being reduced to great distress, came naked, and on foot, to meet me. I directed several Begs and some noblemen of my court to go out to receive him, and also sent him some horses. He waited upon me in this neighbourhood, and made his submission.[6]

A detachment was sent out among the hills and valleys in this vicinity, but returned after being out a night or two, without having met with anything of value. Shah Mîr Hussain, and Jan Beg, with some other of my people, asked permission to go on a foray, which I granted, and they went off.

While I was in Dûn, two or three letters had come from Ismâel Jilwâni and Biban.[7]

[1] That is, 140 or 160 feet. [2] Fourteen or sixteen feet. [3] Twenty or twenty-four feet.

[4] Debâlpûr lies between the Ravi and Biah, about forty miles south-west from Lahore.

[5] These were lords of Ibrâhim's court.

[6] From this time forward there seems to have been an end to Alim or Alâeddin Khan's pretensions to the throne of Delhi.

[7] These were also noblemen of great rank and power among the Afghâns in Hindustân.

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I sent them gracious answers from this place, to retain them in their favourable sentiments.

After marching from Dûn we came to Rûpûr.[1] While we staid at Rûpûr, it rained incessantly, and was so extremely cold, that many of the starving and hungry Hindustânis died. After marching from Rûpûr, we had halted at Keril, opposite to Sehrind,[2] when a Hindustâni presented himself, assuming the style of an ambassador from Sultan Ibrâhim. Though he had no letters or credentials, yet as he requested that one of my people might accompany him back as my ambassador, I accordingly did send back a Sewâdi Tinketâr[3] along with him. These poor men had no sooner arrived in Ibrâhim's camp than he ordered them both to be thrown into prison. The very day that we defeated Ibrâhim, the Sewâdi was set at liberty, and waited on me.

Arrives near Sehrind.

After two marches more, we halted on the banks of the stream of Banûr and Sanûr. This is a running water,[4] of which there are few in Hindustân, except large rivers. They call it the stream of Kagar.[5] Chiter stands on its banks. We rode up this stream to view the country. Three or four kos[6] above Chiter, it comes flowing down from a number of little springs. Higher up than the stream by which we had ridden, there issues from an open valley a rivulet fit to turn four or five mills. It is an extremely beautiful and delightful place, with a charming climate. On the banks of this rivulet, where it issues from the spreading valley, I directed a Charbagh (or large garden) to be laid out. The rivulet, after reaching the plain, goes on for a kos or two, and falls into the first-mentioned river. The place where the stream of Kagar issues, and is formed from the junction of the small springs that have been mentioned, may be three or four kos higher up than the place where this rivulet falls into it. During the rainy season, the water of the rivulet, swelling extremely, flows down united with the stream of the Kagar, to Samâneh[7] and Sinâm. At this station, we had information that Sultan Ibrâhim, who lay on this side of Delhi, was advancing, and that the Shekdâr of Hissâr-Firôzeh,[8] Hâmîd Khan Khaseh-Khail, had also advanced ten or fifteen kos towards us with the army of Hissâr-Firozeh, and of the neighbouring districts. I sent on Kitteh Beg towards Ibrâhim's camp to procure intelligence, and despatched Momin Atkeh towards the army of Hissâr-Firôzeh to get notice of its motions.

Hears of Sultan Ibrâhim's approach.

[1] Rûpûr lies about a march south of the Satlej.

[2] Sehrind or Sirhind, is situated in latitude 30° 26′, and longitude 76° 30′. It has been a place of great importance, and is still a striking scene though quite deserted. It is a very compact town, six miles round, built with brick, and paved with the same material. The houses are now unroofed, but the walls all standing. The city contains a fort now in ruins, a fine stone mosque, and many other handsome tombs and places of worship. The east of the city is covered by a lake, over which are two handsome bridges. On the other sides it is encircled by extensive and beautiful groves of mangoes; and altogether presents a very grand and pleasing spectacle. There is a ruined garden and palace near the town, which in splendour yields to no garden in India, except the Shalimâr at Lahore.

[3] The office of the Tinketâr is not well ascertained. He seems to have been a confidential servant, perhaps connected with the *Ten*, or private treasury.

[4] Ab-e-rewân.

[5] This is the Kagar that is passed between Sirhend and Thânesar.

[6] Six or seven miles.

[7] Samâneh lies about north lat. 29° 55′, east long 76° 6′. It is situated west from Thânesar.

[8] Hissâr-Firôzeh lies rather more than a degree and a half west of Delhi, a little to the north. The Shekdâr is a military collector of the revenue, and has often the chief authority in a district.

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A. D. 1526. Feb. 25. On Sunday, the 13th of the first Jemâdi, I marched from Ambâla,[1] and had halted on the margin of a Tank, when Momin Ațkeh and Kitteh Beg both returned on the same day. The command of the whole right wing I gave to Hûmâiûn, who was accompanied by Khwâjeh Kilân, Sultan Muhammed Duldâi, Wali Khâzin, with some of the Begs who had staid in Hindustân, such as Khosrou, Hindu Beg, Abdal-Aziz, and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng. I also strengthened this force by adding to it several of the inferior Begs, and of my immediate dependants from the centre, such as Mansûr Birlâs, Kitteh Beg, Mohib Ali, with a large body of troops, and directed him to march against Hamîd Khan. It was at this station, too, that Biban came and made his submission. These Afghâns are provokingly rude and stupid. Although Dilâwer Khan, who was his superior, both in the number of his retainers and in rank, did not sit in the presence, and although the sons of Alim Khan stood, though they were princes,[2] this man asked to be allowed to sit, and expected me to listen to his unreasonable demand.

Detaches Hûmâiûn towards Hissâr-Firôzeh.

Feb. 26. Hûmâiûn defeats Hamîd Khan. Next morning, being Monday the 14th, Hûmâiûn set out with his light force to attack Hamîd Khan by surprise. Hûmâiûn despatched on before him a hundred or a hundred and fifty select men, by way of advanced guard. On coming near the enemy, this advanced body went close up to them, hung upon their flanks, and had one or two rencounters, till the troops of Hûmâiûn appeared in sight following them. No sooner were they perceived than the enemy took to flight. Our troops brought down one hundred or two hundred of their men, cut off the heads of the one half, and brought the other half alive into the camp, along with seven or eight elephants. Beg Mirak Moghul brought the news of this victory of Hûmâiûn to the camp at this station on Friday,

March 2. the 18th of the month. On the spot, I directed a complete dress of honour, a horse from my own stable, with a reward in money, to be given to him.

March 5. On Monday the 21st, Hûmâiûn reached the camp that was still at the same station, with a hundred prisoners, and seven or eight elephants, and waited on me. I ordered Ustâd Ali Kûli and the Matchlockmen to shoot all the prisoners as an example. This was Hûmâiûn's first expedition, and the first service he had seen. It was a very good

Hissâr-Firozeh taken. omen. Some light troops having followed the fugitives, took Hissâr-Firôzeh the moment they reached it, and returned after plundering it. Hissâr-Firôzeh, which, with its dependencies and subordinate districts, yielded a kror,[3] I bestowed on Hûmâiûn, with a kror in money as a present.

Halts at Shahâbâd. Marching from that station, we reached Shahâbâd. I sent fit persons towards Sultan Ibrâhim's camp to procure intelligence, and halted several days in this station. From this place also I dispatched Rahmet Piâdeh to Kâbul, with letters announcing my victory.

Hûmâiûn's note on the Memoirs. (At this same station, and this same day, the razor, or scissors, were first applied to Hûmâiûn's beard. As my honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time

[1] Ambâla is a small town, with a handsome tank. The houses are mostly two stories high, more regular than is usual in India; the streets are well paved with brick, and very clean. On the whole, it is probably the neatest town in India.

[2] It will be recollected, that Alim Khan, or Alâeddîn, was a brother of Sultan Ibrâhim, the reigning emperor.

[3] About L.25,000 sterling.

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of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him, I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muhammed Hûmâiûn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing).[1]

In this station, on Monday the 28th of the first Jemâdi, the sun entered Aries; we now began also to receive repeated information from Ibrâhim's camp, that he was advancing slowly by a kos or two at a time, and halting two or three days at each station. I, on my side, likewise moved on to meet him, and after the second march from Shâhabâd, encamped on the banks of the Jumna,[2] opposite to Sirsâweh. Haider Kûli, a servant of Khwâjeh Kilân, was sent out to procure intelligence. I crossed the Jumna by a ford, and went to see Sirsâweh. That same day I took a maajûn. At Sirsâweh, there is a fountain, from which a small stream flows. It is rather a pretty place. Terdi Beg Khaksâr praised it highly. I said,—"Yours be it;" and in consequence of these praises, I bestowed it on Terdi Beg Khaksâr. Having raised an awning in a boat, we sometimes sailed about on the broad stream of the river, and sometimes entered the creeks in the boat.

March 12. Baber encamps near Sirsâweh.

From this station we held down the river for two marches, keeping close along its banks, when Haider Kûli, who had been sent out to collect intelligence, returned, bringing information that Daûd Khan and Haitim Khan had been sent across the river into the Doab with six or seven thousand horse, and had encamped three or four kos[3] in advance of Ibrâhim's position on the road towards us. On Sunday the 18th of the second Jemâdi, I dispatched against this column Chin Taimûr Sultan, Mehdi Khwâjeh, Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, with the whole left wing, commanded by Sultan Jûnîd, Shah Mîr Hûssain, Kûtlek Kedem; as well as part of the centre under Yûnis Ali, Abdallah, Ahmedi, and Kitteh Beg, with instructions to advance rapidly and fall upon them by surprise. About noon-day prayers, they crossed the river near our camp; and between afternoon and evening prayers set out from the opposite bank. Next morning, about the time of early prayers,[4] they arrived close upon the enemy, who put themselves in some kind of order, and marched out to meet them: but our troops no sooner came up, than the enemy fled, and were followed in close pursuit, and slaughtered all the way to the limits of Ibrâhim's camp. The detachment took Haitim Khan, Daûd Khan's eldest brother, and one of the generals, with seventy or eighty prisoners, and six or eight elephants, all of which they brought in when they waited on me. Several of the prisoners were put to death, to strike terror into the enemy.

April 1. Attempts to surprise the enemy.

April 2.

Marching thence, I arranged the whole army in order of battle, with right and left wing and centre, and after reviewing it, performed the *vîm*. The custom of the vim is, that, the whole army being mounted, the commander takes a bow or whip in his hand, and guesses at the number of the army, according to a fashion in use, and in conformity with which they affirm that the army may be so many. The number that I guessed was greater than the army turned out to be.

The Vim.

[1] This note of Hûmâiûn's must have been made about A.D. 1553, during his residence in Kâbul, before his last return to Hindustân.

[2] This river the Persians call the Jûn. It is always so written in the Memoirs.

[3] Five or six miles.

[4] The *Farz* prayers are repeated when there is light enough to distinguish one object from another.

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Fortifies his front.

At this station I directed that, according to the custom of Rûm,[1] the gun-carriages should be connected together with twisted bull-hides as with chains. Between every two gun-carriages were six or seven tûras[2] or breast-works. The matchlock-men stood behind these guns and tûras, and discharged their matchlocks. I halted five or six days in this camp, for the purpose of getting this apparatus arranged. After every part of it was in order and ready, I called together all the Amîrs, and men of any experience and knowledge, and held a general council. It was settled, that as Panipat was a considerable city, it would cover one of our flanks by its buildings and houses, while we might fortify our front by tûras, or covered defences, and cannon, and that the matchlock-men and infantry should be placed in the rear of the guns and tûras.

April 12. Reaches Panipat.

With this resolution we moved, and in two marches, on Thursday, the 30th of the last Jemâdi, reached Panipat.[3] On our right, were the town and suburbs. In my front I placed the guns and tûras which had been prepared. On the left, and in different other points, we drew ditches and made defences of the boughs of trees. At the distance of every bowshot, a space was left large enough for a hundred or a hundred and fifty men to issue forth. Many of the troops were in great terror and alarm. Trepidation and fear are always unbecoming. Whatsoever Almighty God has decreed from all eternity, cannot be reversed; though, at the same time, I cannot greatly blame them; they had some reason; for they had come two or three months' journey from their own country; we had to engage in arms a strange nation, whose language we did not understand, and who did not understand ours;

(*Persian*).—We are all in difficulty, all in distraction,
Surrounded by a people; by a strange people.

Misconduct of the enemy.

The army of the enemy opposed to us was estimated at one hundred thousand men; the elephants of the emperor and his officers were said to amount to nearly a thousand. He possessed the accumulated treasures of his father and grandfather, in current coin, ready for use. It is an usage in Hindustân, in situations similar to that in which the enemy now were, to expend sums of enemy in bringing together troops who engage to serve for hire. These men are called Bedhindi. Had he chosen to adopt this plan, he might have engaged one or two hundred thousand more troops. But God Almighty directed everything for the best. He had not the heart to satisfy even his own army; and would not part with any of his treasure. Indeed, how was it possible that he should satisfy his troops, when he was himself miserly to the last degree, and beyond measure avaricious in accumulating pelf? He was a young man of no experience. He was negligent in all his movements; he marched without order; retired or halted without plan, and engaged in battle without foresight. While the troops were

[1] That is, of the Ottomans.

[2] The meaning assigned to Tûra, here, and in several other places, is merely conjectural, founded on Petis de la Croix's explanation, and on the meaning given by Meninski to Tûr, viz. *reticulatus*. The Tûras may here have been formed of the branches of trees, interwoven like basketwork, so as to form defences; or they may have been covered defences from arrows and missiles, such as we have seen used in several sieges.

[3] Panipat, which lies about fifty miles NW. from Delhi, is famous for several very important battles fought near it. In the last, in 1761, the Mahrattas were totally defeated by the Abdallahs, or Afghâns, under Ahmed Shah.

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fortifying their position in Panipat and its vicinity, with guns, branches of trees, and ditches, Derwîsh Muhammed Sarbân said to me, "You have fortified our ground in such a way that it is not possible he should ever think of coming here." I answered, "You judge of him by the Khans and Sultans of the Uzbeks. It is true that, the year in which we left Samarkand and came to Hissâr, a body of the Uzbek Khans and Sultans having collected and united together, set out from Derbend[1] in order to fall upon us. I brought the families and property of all the Moghuls and soldiers into the town and suburbs, and closing up all the streets, put them in a defensible state. As these Khans and Sultans were perfectly versed in the proper times and seasons for attacking and retiring, they perceived that we were resolved to defend Hissâr to the last drop of our blood, and had fortified it under that idea; and seeing no hopes of succeeding in their enterprise, fell back by Ḫundak Cheghâniân. But you must not judge of our present enemies by those who were then opposed to us. They have not ability to discriminate when it is proper to advance and when to retreat." God brought everything to pass favourably. It happened as I foretold. During the seven or eight days that we remained in Panipat, a very small party of my men, advancing close up to their encampment and to their vastly superior force, discharged arrows upon them. They did not, however, move, or make any demonstration of sallying out. At length, induced by the persuasions of some Hindustâni Amîrs, in my interest, I sent Mehdi Khwâjeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Abdal Sultan, Khosrou Shah, Mir Hûssain, Sultan Jûnîd Birlas, Abdal-azîz, the master of horse (Mir Akhûr), Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Kutlak Kedem, Wali Khâzin, Mohib Ali Khalîfeh, Muhammed Bakhshi, Jân Beg, and Karakuzi, with four or five thousand men, on a night attack. They did not assemble properly in the first instance, and as they marched out in confusion, did not get on well. The day dawned, yet they continued lingering near the enemy's camp till it was broad daylight, when the enemy, on their side, beat their kettle-drums, got ready their elephants, and marched out upon them. Although our people did not effect anything, yet, in spite of the multitude of troops that hung upon them in their retreat, they returned safe and sound, without the loss of a man. Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng was wounded with an arrow, and though the wound was not mortal, yet it disabled him from taking his place in the day of battle. On learning what had occurred, I immediately detached Hûmâiûn with his division a kos or a kos and a half[2] in advance, to cover their retreat, while I myself, remaining with the army, drew it out, and got it in readiness for action. The party which had marched to surprise the enemy fell in with Hûmâiûn, and returned with him. As none of the enemy came near us, I drew off the army, and led it back to the camp. In the course of the night we had a false alarm; for nearly one *Geri*[3] the call to arms and the uproar continued. Such of the troops as had never before witnessed an alarm of the kind, were in great confusion and dismay. In a short time, however, the alarm subsided.

April 19 or 20.

Baber harasses the enemy.

By the time of early morning prayers, when the light was such that you could distinguish one object from another, notice was brought from the advanced patroles that the enemy were advancing, drawn up in order of battle. We too immediately

The enemy attacks Baber, April 21.

[1] The celebrated pass of Kolugha, or Kohlugheh, in the hills between Hissar and Sheher Sebz.

[2] A mile and a half, or two miles.

[3] Twenty-four minutes.

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braced on our helmets and our armour, and mounted. The right division was led by Hûmâiûn, accompanied by Khwâjeh Kilân, Sultan Muhammed Duldai, Hindu Beg, Wali Khâzin, and Pir Kûli Sîstani; the left division was commanded by Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Mehdi Khwâjeh, Aadel Sultan, Shah Mîr Hussain, Sultan Jûnid Birlâs, Kûtlek Kedem, Jân Beg, Muhammed Bakhshi, Shah Hussain Bargi, and Moghul Ghanchi. The right of the centre was commanded by Chin Taimûr Sultan, Muhammedi Gokultâsh, Shah Mansûr Birlâs, Yunis Ali, Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân, and Abdalla Kitâbdâr; the left of the centre by Khalîfeh, Khwâjeh Mîr Miran, Ahmedi Perwânchi, Terdi Beg, Kûch Beg, Mohib Ali Khalîfeh, and Mirza Beg Terkhân. The advance was led by Khosrou Gokultâsh, and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng. Abdal-azîz, master of horse, had the command of the reserve.[1] On the flank of the right division I stationed Wali Kazîl, Malek Kâsim, Bâba Kûshkeh, with their Moghuls, to act as a Tulughmeh (or flanking party). On the extremity of the left division were stationed Kara-Kûzi, Abul Muhammed Nezeh-baz, Sheikh Ali, Sheikh Jemâl Barîn, Mehdi, Tengrî Kûli Moghul, to form the Tulughmeh (or flankers), with instructions, that as soon as the enemy approached sufficiently near, they should take a circuit and come round upon their rear.

When the enemy first came in sight, they seemed to bend their force most against the right division. I therefore detached Abdal-azîz, who was stationed with the reserve, to reinforce the right. Sultan Ibrâhim's army, from the time it first appeared in sight, never made a halt, but advanced right upon us, at a quick pace. When they came closer, and, on getting a view of my troops, found them drawn up in the order and with the defences that have been mentioned, they were brought up and stood for a while, as if considering, "Shall we halt or not? shall we advance or not?" They could not halt, and they were unable to advance with the same speed as before. I sent orders to the troops stationed as flankers on the extremes of the right and left divisions, to wheel round the enemy's flank with all possible speed, and instantly to attack them in the rear; the right and left divisions were also ordered to charge the enemy. The flankers accordingly wheeled on the rear of the enemy, and began to make discharges of arrows on them. Mehdi Khwâjeh came up before the rest of the left wing. A body of men with one elephant advanced to meet him. My troops gave them some sharp discharges of arrows, and the enemy's division was at last driven back. I dispatched from the main body Ahmedi Perwânchi, Terdi Beg, Kûch Beg, and Mohib Ali Khalîfeh, to the assistance of the left division. The battle was likewise obstinate on the right. I ordered Muhammedi Gokultâsh, Shah Mansûr Birlas, Yunis Ali, and Abdalla, to advance in front of the centre and engage. Ustâd Ali Kuli also discharged his guns[2] many times in front of the line to good purpose. Mûstafa, the cannoneer, on the left of the centre, managed his artillery with great effect. The right and left divisions, the centre and flankers having surrounded the enemy and taken them in rear, were now engaged in hot conflict, and busy pouring in discharges of arrows on them.

[1] Terekh.

[2] Feringiha.—The size of these artillery at the time in question is very uncertain. The word is now used in the Dekkan for a swivel. In common usage, zerb-zin, at the present day, is a small species of swivel. Both words, in the time of Baber, appear to have been used for field cannon.

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They made one or two very poor charges on our right and left divisions. My troops making use of their bows, plied them with arrows, and drove them in upon their centre. The troops on the right and left of their centre, being huddled together in one place, such confusion ensued, that the enemy, while totally unable to advance, found also no road by which they could flee. The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset of battle began, and the combat lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my friends victorious and exulting. By the grace and mercy of Almighty God, this arduous undertaking was rendered easy for me, and this mighty army, in the space of half a day, laid in the dust. Five or six thousand men were discovered lying slain, in one spot, near Ibrâhim. We reckoned that the number lying slain, in different parts of this field of battle, amounted to fifteen or sixteen thousand men. On reaching Agra, we found, from the accounts of the natives of Hindustân, that forty or fifty thousand men had fallen in this field. After routing the enemy, we continued the pursuit, slaughtering, and making them prisoners. Those who were ahead, began to bring in the Amîrs and Afghâns as prisoners. They brought in a very great number of elephants with their drivers, and offered them to me as peshkesh. Having pursued the enemy to some distance, and supposing that Ibrâhim had escaped from the battle, I appointed Kismâi Mirza, Bâba Chihreh, and Bujkeh, with a party of my immediate adherents, to follow him in close pursuit down as far as Agra. Having passed through the middle of Ibrâhim's camp, and visited his pavilions and accommodations, we encamped on the banks of the Siâh-ab.[1]

But are completely defeated.

It was now afternoon prayers when Tahir Taberi, the younger brother of Khalifeh, having found Ibrâhim lying dead amidst a number of slain, cut off his head, and brought it in.

Ibrâhim found among the slain.

That very day I directed Hûmâiûn Mirza, Khwâjeh Kilân, Muhammedi, Shah Mansûr Birlâs, Yunis Ali, Abdalla, and Wali Khazin, to set out without baggage or encumbrances, and proceed with all possible expedition to occupy Agra, and take possession of the treasuries. I at the same time ordered Mehdi Khwâjeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Aadel Sultan, Sultan Jûnid Birlâs, and Kutluk Kedem, to leave their baggage behind, to push on by forced marches, to enter the Fort of Delhi, and seize the treasuries.

Baber sends a detachment to occupy Agra and Delhi.

Next morning we marched, and having proceeded about a kos,[2] halted on the banks of the Jumna in order to refresh our horses.

April 22.

After other two marches, on Tuesday I visited the mausoleum of Nizâm Aulîa,[3] and at the end of the third march encamped near Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna.

April 23, and 24. Visits the mausoleum of Nizâm Aulîa.

[1] Black River.

[2] A mile and a half.

[3] The mausoleum of Nizâm ed-dîn Aulîa is within four or five miles of Delhi, on the south. It is surrounded by numerous remarkable buildings, chiefly tombs, among which are those of the Great Moghul Muhammed Shah, and of the famous poet Amîr Khosrou. The tomb of Khwâjeh Kûtbeddîn is about eleven miles south of Delhi. Near it is a famous minaret, built in honour of that saint by one of the Kings of Delhi, and probably noticed here under the name of Alâeddîn. It is a very handsome column of red stone, 260 feet high. It is formed into three divisions, separated from each other by projecting galleries. Each division is fluted, and ornamented with Arabic inscriptions, in a different manner from the rest. The whole was crowned by a cupola, now thrown down by an earthquake.

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A.D. 1526. April 25. That same night, being Wednesday, I circumambulated the tomb of Khwâjeh Kûtbeddîn, and visited the tomb and palaces of Sultan Ghîasêddîn Bilban, of Sultan Alâeddîn Kilji, and his minaret, the Shems tank, the royal tank, the tombs and gardens of Sultan Behlûl and Sultan Sekander; after which I returned into the camp, and went on board of a boat, where we drank arak. I bestowed the office of Shekdar (or military collector) of Delhi on Wali Kîzîl; I made Dost the Dîwân of Delhi, and directed the different treasuries to be sealed, and given into their charge.

April 26. On Thursday we moved thence, and halted hard by Toghlakâbâd,[1] on the banks of the Jumna.

April 27. On Friday we continued to halt in the same station. Moulâna Mahmûd, Sheikh Zîn, and some others, went into Delhi, to Friday-prayers, read the khûtbeh in my name, distributed some money among the Fakîrs and beggars, and then returned back.

April 28. On Saturday we marched from our ground, and proceeded, march after march, upon Agra. I went and saw Toghlakâbâd; after which I rejoined the camp.

Arrives at Agra. May 4. On Friday, the 22d of Rejeb, I halted in the suburbs of Agra, at the palace of Sulimân Fermuli. As this position was very far from the fort, I next morning moved and took up my quarters at the palace of Jilâl Khân Jighat. The people of the fort had put off Hûmâiûn, who arrived before me, with excuses; and he, on his part, considering that they were under no control, and wishing to prevent their plundering the treasure, had taken a position to shut up the issues from the place.

Bikermâjit, a Hindu, who was Raja of Gualiâr, had governed that country for upwards of a hundred years. Sekander had remained several years in Agra, employed in an attempt to take Gualiâr. Afterwards, in the reign of Ibrâhim, Azim Hûmâiûn Sirwâni invested it for some time, made several attacks, and at length succeeded in gaining it by treaty, Shemsâbâd being given as an indemnification. In the battle in which Ibrâhim was defeated, Bikermâjit was sent to hell.[2] Bikermâjit's family, and the heads of his clan, were at this moment in Agra. When Hûmâiûn arrived, Bikermâjit's people attempted to escape, but were taken by the parties which Hûmâiûn had placed upon the watch, and put in custody. Hûmâiûn did not permit them to be plundered. Of their own free will they presented to Hûmâiûn a peshkesh, consisting of a quantity of jewels and precious stones. Among these was one famous diamond, which had been acquired by Sultan Alâeddîn. It is so valuable, that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense of the whole world. It is about eight mishkals.[3] On my arrival, Hûmâiûn presented it to me as a peshkesh, and I gave it back to him as a present.

Among the officers of superior importance in the fort were Malek Dâd Kerâni, Milli Sûrdek, and Firoz Khan Miswâni, who, having been convicted of some frauds, were ordered for punishment. When Malek Dâd Kerâni was carried out, much intercession was made for him. Backwards and forwards, the matter was not settled for four or five days, when, according to the desire of his intercessors, I pardoned him, and

[1] Toghlakâbâd stood to the south of Delhi, between the Kutb Minâr and the Jumna. Its massy fortifications still testify its former greatness, but it is now totally deserted.

[2] The charitable mode in which a good Musulman signifies the death of an infidel.

[3] Or 320 ratis.

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even conferred on him some marks of favour; I also permitted all his adherents to retain their property.

A Perganna of the value of seven laks[1] was bestowed on Ibrâhim's mother. Pergannas were also given to each of her Amîrs. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace which was assigned for her residence, about a kos below Agra.

May 10. Baber enters Agra.

On Thursday, the 28th of Rejeb, about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took up my residence at Sultan Ibrâhim's palace. From the time when I conquered the country of Kâbul, which was in the year 910, till the present time, I had always been bent on subduing Hindustân. Sometimes, however, from the misconduct of my Amîrs and their dislike of the plan, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my brothers, I was prevented from prosecuting any expedition into that country, and its provinces escaped being overrun. At length these obstacles were removed. There was now no one left, great or small, noble or private man, who could dare to utter a word in opposition to the enterprise. In the year 925 I collected an army, and having taken the fort of Bajour by storm in two or three geris, put all the garrison to the sword. I next advanced into Behreh, where I prevented all marauding and plunder, imposed a contribution on the inhabitants, and having levied it to the amount of four hundred thousand shahrokhis in money and goods, divided the proceeds among the troops who were in my service, and returned back to Kâbul. From that time till the year 932, I attached myself in a peculiar degree to the affairs of Hindustân, and in the space of these seven or eight years entered it five times at the head of an army. The fifth time, the Most High God, of his grace and mercy, cast down and defeated an enemy so mighty as Sultan Ibrâhim, and made me the master and conqueror of the powerful empire of Hindustân. From the time of the blessed Prophet, (on whom and on his family be peace and salvation!) down to the present time, three foreign kings had subdued the country, and acquired the sovereignty of Hindustân. One of these was Sultan Mahmûd Ghazi, whose family long continued to fill the throne of that country. The second was Sultan Shehâbeddîn Ghûri, and for many years his slaves and dependants swayed the sceptre of these realms. I am the third. But my achievement is not to be put on the same level with theirs; for Sultan Mahmûd, at the time when he conquered Hindustân, occupied the throne of Khorasân, and had absolute power and dominion over the Sultans of Khwârizm and the surrounding chiefs. The King of Samarkand, too, was subject to him. If his army did not amount to two hundred thousand, yet grant that it was only one hundred thousand, and it is plain that the comparison between the two conquests must cease. Moreover, his enemies were Rajas. All Hindustân was not at that period subject to a single Emperor: every Raja set up for a Monarch on his own account, in his own petty territories. Again, though Sultan Shehâbeddîn Ghûri did not himself enjoy the sovereignty of Khorasân, yet his elder brother, Sultan Ghiaseddîn Ghûri, held it. In the Tabakât-e-Nâsiri[2] it is said, that on one occasion he marched

Reflections on the conquest of Hindustân.

[1] Probably of dams, or about £1750.

[2] The Tabakât-e-Nâsiri is an excellent history of the Musulman world down to the time of Sultan Nâsir of Delhi, A. D. 1252. It was written by Abu Omer Menhâj al Jorjâni. See Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo's Library, p. 7.

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into Hindustân with one hundred and twenty thousand cataphract horse. His enemies, too, were Rais and Rajas; a single monarch did not govern the whole of Hindustân. When I marched into Behreh, we might amount to one thousand five hundred, or two thousand men at the utmost. When I invaded the country for the fifth time, overthrew Sultan Ibrâhim, and subdued the empire of Hindustân, I had a larger army than I had ever before brought into it. My servants, the merchants and their servants, and the followers of all descriptions that were in the camp along with me, were numbered, and amounted to twelve thousand men. The kingdoms that depended on me were Badakhshan, Kundez, Kâbul, and Kandahâr; but these countries did not furnish me with assistance equal to their resources; and, indeed, some of them, from their vicinity to the enemy, were so circumstanced, that, far from affording me assistance, I was obliged to send them extensive supplies from my other territories. Besides this, all Mâweralnaher was occupied by the Khans and Sultans of the Uzbeks, whose armies were calculated to amount to about a hundred thousand men, and who were my ancient foes. Finally, the whole empire of Hindustân, from Behreh to Behâr, was in the hands of the Afghâns. Their prince, Sultan Ibrâhim, from the resources of his kingdom, could bring into the field an army of five hundred thousand men. At that time some of the Amîrs to the east were in a state of rebellion. His army on foot was computed to be a hundred thousand strong; his own elephants, with those of his Amîrs, were reckoned at nearly a thousand. Yet, under such circumstances, and in spite of this power, placing my trust in God, and leaving behind me my old and inveterate enemy the Uzbeks, who had an army of a hundred thousand men, I advanced to meet so powerful a prince as Sultan Ibrâhim, the lord of numerous armies, and emperor of extensive territories. In consideration of my confidence in Divine aid, the Most High God did not suffer the distress and hardships that I had undergone to be thrown away, but defeated my formidable enemy, and made me the conqueror of the noble country of Hindustân. This success I do not ascribe to my own strength, nor did this good fortune flow from my own efforts, but from the fountain of the favour and mercy of God.

Description of Hindustân.

The empire of Hindustân is extensive, populous, and rich. On the east, the south, and even the west, it is bounded by the Great Ocean. On the north, it has Kâbul, Ghazni, and Kandahâr. The capital of all Hindustân is Delhi. From the time of Sultan Shehâbeddîn Ghûri, to the end of Sultan Firôz Shah's time, the greater part of Hindustân was in the possession of the Emperors of Delhi. At the period when I

Musulman Princes.

conquered that country, five Musulman Kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable Rais and Rajas in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance.

Kingdom of the Afghâns or of Delhi; including the Purebi kingdom.

One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose government included the capital, and extended from Behreh to Behar. Jonpûr, before it fell into the power of the Afghâns, was held by Sultan Hussain Sherki. This dynasty they called the Pûrebi[1] (or eastern). Their forefathers had been cup-bearers to Sultan Firôz Shah and that race of Sultans. After Sultan Firôz Shah's death, they gained possession of the kingdom of Jonpûr.

[1] Pûrebi, in Hindustâni, has the same meaning with Sherki in Arabic or Persian, Eastern.

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Delhi was at that period in the hands of Sultan Alâeddîn, whose family were Syeds. When Taimur Beg invaded Hindustân, before leaving the country, he had bestowed the government of Delhi on their ancestors. Sultan Behlûl Lodi Afghân and his son Sultan Sekander, afterwards seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Jonpûr, and reduced both kingdoms under one government.

Kingdom of Gujrât.

The second prince was Sultan Muhammed Mozeffer, in Gujrât. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrâhim's defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the Hadîs (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Korân. They call this race Tang. Their ancestors were cup-bearers to the Sultan Firôz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Firôz Shah they took possession of the throne of Gujrât.

Kingdom of the Bahmanîs.

The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanîs in the Dekhan, but at the present time the Sultans of the Dekhan have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and, when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own Amîrs.

Kingdom of Mâlwâ.

The fourth King was Sultan Mahmûd, who reigned in the country of Mâlwâ, which they likewise call Mându. This dynasty was called the Kilji. Rana Sanka, a Pagan, had defeated them, and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak. Their ancestors, too, had been originally brought forward and patronized by Sultan Firôz Shah, after whose demise they occupied the kingdom of Mâlwâ.

Kingdom of Bengal.

Singular custom.

The fifth Prince was Nusrat Shah[1] in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been King of Bengal, and was a Syed of the name of Sultan Alâeddîn. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal, that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty. There is a throne allotted for the King; there is, in like manner, a seat or station assigned for each of the Amîrs, Vazîrs, and Mansabdârs. It is that throne and these stations alone which engage the reverence of the people of Bengal. A set of dependants, servants, and attendants, are annexed to each of these situations. When the King wishes to dismiss or appoint any person, whosoever is placed in the seat of the one dismissed, is immediately attended and obeyed by the whole establishment of dependants, servants, and retainers annexed to the seat which he occupies. Nay, this rule obtains even as to the royal throne itself. Whoever kills the King and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as King;[2] all the Amîrs, Vazîrs, soldiers, and peasants, instantly obey and submit to him, and consider him as being as much their sovereign as

[1] He reigned from A. D. 1507 to 1529. His father is called by historians in general Hussain Shah, the son of Ushraf al Hussaini.

[2] Strange as this custom may seem, a similar one prevailed, down to a very late period, in Malabar. There was a jubilee, every twelve years, in the Samorin's country, and any one who succeeded in forcing his way through the Samorin's guards and slew him, reigned in his stead. "A jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the end of twelve years, and a tent is pitched for him in a spacious plain, and a great feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day, so, at the end of the feast, any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a crown by a desperate action, in fighting their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill the Samorin in his tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his empire." See Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. I. p. 309. The attempt was made in 1695, and again a very few years ago, but without success.

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they did their former prince, and obey his orders as implicitly. The people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne—whoever fills the throne, we are obedient and true to it." As, for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shah's father, an Abyssinian having killed the reigning King, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time. Sultan Alâeddîn killed the Abyssinian,[1] ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as King. After Sultan Alâeddîn's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned. There is another usage in Bengal; it is reckoned disgraceful and mean for any king to spend or diminish the treasures of his predecessors. It is reckoned necessary for every king, on mounting the throne, to collect a new treasure for himself. To collect a treasure is, by these people, deemed a great glory and ground of distinction. There is another custom, that Pergannahs have been assigned from ancient times to defray the expenses of each department, the treasury, the stable, and all the royal establishments; no expenses are paid in any other manner.

Hindû princes.

The five kings who have been mentioned are great princes, and are all Musulmans, and possessed of formidable armies. The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bîjnager.[2] Another is the Rana Sanka, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chîtûr. During the confusions that prevailed among princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu, such as Rantpûr,[3] Sârangpûr, Bhilsân, and Chânderi. In the year

A. D. 1528.

934, by the divine favour, in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chânderi, which was commanded by Meidâni Rao, one of the highest and most distinguished of Rana Sanka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long been, converted it into the mansion of the faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed. There were a number of other Rais and Rajas on the borders and within the territory of Hindustân; many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Musulman kings.

Geographical position.

Hindustân is situated on the first, second, and third climates. No part of it is in the fourth. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its h lls and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. Although the Germsîls (or hot districts), in the territory of Kâbul, bear, in many respects, some resemblance to Hindustân, while in other particulars they differ, yet you have no sooner passed the river Sind than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes,[4] the manners and customs of the people, are all entirely those of Hindustân.

Northern hills.

The northern range of hills has been mentioned. Immediately on crossing the river Sind, we come upon several countries in this range of mountains, connected with Kashmîr, such as Pekheli and Shemeng. Most of them, though now independent of Kashmîr, were formerly included in its territories. After leaving Kashmîr, these

[1] This was Mozeffer Shah Habshi, who reigned three years.
[2] In the Dekhan.
[3] The famous fortress of Rântambor, situated in latitude 26°, and longitude 76° 30′.
[4] The Ils and Ulûses.

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hills contain innumerable tribes and states, pergannahs and countries, and extend all the way to Bengal and the shores of the Great Ocean. About these hills are other tribes of men. With all the investigation and inquiry that I could make among the natives of Hindustân, I could get no sort of description or authentic information regarding them. All that I could learn was, that the men of these hills were called Kâs. It struck me, that, as the Hindustânis frequently confound *shîn* and *sîn*, and as Kashmir is the chief, and indeed, as far as I have heard, the only city in these hills, it may have taken its name from that circumstance.[1] The chief trade of the inhabitants of these hills is in musk-bags, the tails of the mountain-cow,[2] saffron, lead, and copper. The natives of Hind call these hills Sewâlik-Parbat. In the language of Hind, *Sawalâk* means a lak and a quarter (or one hundred and twenty-five thousand), and *Parbat* means a *hill*, that is, the hundred and twenty-five thousand hills. On these hills the snow never melts, and from some parts of Hindustân, such as Lahore, Sehrend, and Sambal, it is seen white on them all the year round. This range of hills takes the name of Hindû-kûsh, near Kâbul, and runs from Kâbul eastward, but inclining a little to the south. All to the south of this range is Hindustân. To the north of these hills, and of that unknown race of men whom they call Kâs, lies Tibet.[3] A great number of rivers take their rise in these mountains, and flow through Hindustân. To the north of Sehrend, six rivers, the Sind, the Behat, the Chinâb, the Râvi, the Biâh, and the Setlej,[4] take their rise in these mountains, and all uniting with the Sind in the territory of Mûltân, take the common name of the Sind, which, flowing down to the west, passes through the country of Tatta, and disembogues into the sea of Omân. Besides these six rivers, there are other rivers, such as the Jumna, the Ganges, the Rahet,[5] the Gûmti, the Gagra, the Sirûd, the Gandak, and a number of others, that all throw themselves into the Ganges,[6] which, preserving its name, proceeds towards the east, and, passing through the midst of Bengal, empties itself into the Great Ocean. The sources of all these rivers are in the Sewâlik mountains. There are, however, several other rivers, such as the Chambal, the Banâs,[7] the Betwa,[8] and the Sôn, which rise from ranges of hills that are within Hindustân. In these ranges, it never snows. These rivers likewise fall into the Ganges.

Their inhabitants.

Rivers from the northern hills.

Other rivers.

There are several ranges of hills in Hindustân. Among these is a detached branch that runs from north to south. It rises in the territory of Delhi, at the Jehân-Nûmâ,[9]

Other ranges of hills.

[1] The Persian adds, "*mir* signifying a hill, and *kâs* being the name of the natives of the hill country."

[2] The *kitâs*, or *kirtâs*, as here written, is a fringed knot made of the hair of the tail or mane of the mountain-cow, often set in gold, and hung round the necks of horses by way of ornament, or as a defence against fascination. It appears also to have been used as a banner.

[3] The name of *Sewalik* is usually confined to the hills north and east of Penjâb. Baber extends it to the great northern range. His etymology of the name is not happy.

[4] The Indus, Hydaspes, Ascesines, Hydraotes, Hesudrus, and Hyphasis.

[5] The Tûrki has Rahep. Probably the Rapti, which joins the Ganges from Nepâl.

[6] By the Persians called Gang, by the Hindûs Ganga.

[7] The Banâs, I am informed, rises to the north-west of Udipûr, and runs into the Chambal near Rântambôr. It is distinct from the Cane. The latter river is joined by the Bewâs, which Rennell seems by mistake to have called the Banas. "I find," says my informant, "in my old journals, that they called it Bewâs, or Bewuss, at Sagur."

[8] The Betwa rises in Bopâl, passes Chanderi and Jhansi, and falls into the Jumna below Kâlpi.

[9] Mirror of the world.

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a palace of Sultan Fîrôz Shah, which stands on a small rocky hillock. After passing this, it breaks, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, into a number of detached, scattered, small, rocky hills, that lie in different directions. When it gains the country of Mewât, the hills rise in height; and when it leaves Mewât, it enters the country of Biâna. The countries of Sîkri, Bâri, and Dhûlpûr, are formed by this range, although not comprehended within it; and the hill-country of Gûaliâr, which they also call Galiôr, is formed by a detached offset from it. The hill-country of Rantambôr, Chitûr, Mandû, and Chânderi, is formed by branches of this same range. In some places it is interrupted for seven or eight kos.[1] This hilly tract is composed of very low, rough, rugged, stony, and jungly hills. In this range it never snows; but several of the rivers of Hindustân originate among the hills of which it is composed.

Irrigation of the country.

Most of the districts of Hindustân are plain and level. Though Hindustân contains so many provinces, none of them has any artificial canals[2] for irrigation. It is watered only by rivers, though in some places, too, there is standing water.[3] Even in those cities which are so situated as to admit of digging a water-course, and thereby bringing water into them, yet no water has been brought in. There may be several reasons for this. One of them is, that water is not absolutely requisite for the crops and gardens. The autumnal crop is nourished by the rains of the rainy season. It is remarkable that there is a spring crop even though no rain falls. They raise water for the young trees, till they are one or two years old, by means of a water-wheel or buckets; after that time it is not at all necessary to water them. Some vegetables they water. In Lahore, Debâlpûr, Sehrend, and the neighbouring districts, they water by means of a wheel. They first take two ropes, of a length suited to the depth of the well, and fasten each of them so as to form a circle; between the two circular ropes they insert pieces of wood connecting them, and to these they fix water-pitchers. The ropes so prepared, with the pitchers attached to them by means of the pieces of wood, they throw over a wheel that is placed on the top of the well. On the one end of the axletree of this wheel they place another wheel with teeth, and to the side of this last they apply a third, which they make with an upright axle. When the bullocks turn this last wheel round, its teeth working upon those of the second wheel, turn the large wheel on which is the circle of pitchers. They make a trough under the place where the water is discharged by the revolution of the pitchers, and from this trough convey the water to whatever place it may be required. They have another contrivance for raising water for irrigation in Agra, Biâna, Châdwâr, and that quarter, by means of a bucket. This is very troublesome, and filthy besides. On the brink of a well they fix in strongly two forked pieces of wood, and between their prongs insert a roller. They then fasten a great water-bucket to long ropes, which they bring over the roller; one end of this rope they tie to the bullock, and while one man drives the bullock, another is employed to pour the water out of the bucket (when it reaches the top of the well). Every time that the bullock raises the bucket from the well, as it is let down again, the rope slides along the bullock-course, is defiled with urine and dung, and in this filthy condition falls into

[1] Ten or twelve miles.

[2] Ab-rewân, perhaps small rivulets.

[3] Kara-sûlar, literally black waters. These are chiefly large tanks.

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the well. In many instances, where fields require to be watered, the men and women draw water in buckets and irrigate them.

The country and towns of Hindustân are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have an uniform look; its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places, the plain is covered by a thorny brush-wood, to such a degree that the people of the Pergannas, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and, trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustân, if you except the rivers, there is little running water.[1] Now and then some standing water is to be met with. All these cities and countries derive their water from wells or tanks, in which it is collected during the rainy season. In Hindustân, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population.[2] And if, on the other hand, they intend to settle on any particular spot, as they do not need to run water-courses, or to build flood-mounds, their crops being produced without irrigation,[3] and the population of Hindustân being unlimited, inhabitants swarm in in every direction. They make a tank or dig a well; there is no need of building a strong house or erecting a firm wall; they have abundance of strong grass, and plenty of timber, of which they run up hovels, and a village or town is constructed in an instant. Its aspect.

As for the animals peculiar to Hindustân, one is the elephant, the Hindustânis call it *Hathi*, which inhabits the district of Kalpi; and the higher you advance from thence towards the east, the more do the wild elephants increase in number. That is the tract in which the elephant is chiefly taken. There may be thirty or forty villages in Karrah and Manikpûr that are occupied solely in this employment of taking elephants.[4] Its quadrupeds. The elephant.

[1] In Persia there are few rivers, but numbers of artificial canals or water-runs for irrigation, and for the supply of water to towns and villages. The same is the case in the valley of Soghd, and the richer parts of Mâweralnaher.

[2] This is the *wulsa* or *walsa*, so well described by Colonel Wilks in his Historical Sketches, vol. I. p. 309, note: "On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman, and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy; and if this should be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger." See the note itself. The Historical Sketches should be read by every one who desires to have an accurate idea of the South of India. It is to be regretted that we do not possess the history of any other part of India, written with the same knowledge or research.

[3] Lalmi.

[4] The improvement of Hindustân since Baber's time must be prodigious. The wild elephant is now confined to the forests under Hemâla, and to the Ghats of Malabar. A wild elephant near Karrah (Currah), Manikpûr, or Kalpi, is a thing, at the present day, totally unknown. May not their familiar existence in these countries, down to Baber's days, be considered as rather hostile to the accounts given of the superabundant population of Hindustân in remote times?

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They account to the government for the elephants which they take. The elephant is an immense animal, and of great sagacity. It understands whatever you tell it, and does whatever it is bid. Its value is in proportion to its size. When it arrives at a proper age they sell it, and the largest brings the highest price. They say that in some islands the elephant grows to the height of ten gez.[1] I have never, in these countries, seen one above four or five gez.[2] The elephant eats and drinks entirely by means of his trunk. He cannot live if he loses it. On the two sides of his trunk, in his upper jaw, he has two tusks; it is by applying these teeth, and exerting all his force, that he overturns walls and tears up trees; and, when he fights or performs any operation that requires great exertion, he makes use of these tusks, which they call *Aaj*. The tusks are highly valued by the Hindûs. The elephant is not covered with hair or wool[3] like other animals. The natives of Hindustân place great reliance on their elephants; in their armies, every division has invariably a certain number with it. The elephant has some valuable qualities; it can carry a great quantity of baggage over deep and rapid torrents, and passes them with ease; gun-carriages, which it takes four or five hundred men to drag, two or three elephants draw without difficulty. But it has a great stomach, and a single elephant will consume the grain of seven or fourteen camels.

Rhinoceros. The rhinoceros is another. This also is a huge animal. Its bulk is equal to that of three buffaloes. The opinion prevalent in our countries, that a rhinoceros can lift an elephant on its horn, is probably a mistake. It has a single horn over its nose, upwards of a span in length, but I never saw one of two spans. Out of one of the largest of these horns I had a drinking-vessel[4] made, and a dice-box, and about three or four fingers' bulk of it might be left. Its hide is very thick. If it be shot at with a powerful bow, drawn up to the armpit with much force, and if the arrow pierces at all, it enters only three or four fingers' breadth. They say, however, that there are parts of his skin that may be pierced, and the arrows enter deep. On the sides of its two shoulder-blades, and of its two thighs, are folds that hang loose, and appear at a distance like cloth housings dangling over it. It bears more resemblance to the horse than to any other animal.[5] As the horse has a large stomach, so has this; as the pastern of the horse is composed of a single bone, so also is that of the rhinoceros; as there is a gumek[6] in the horse's fore leg, so is there in that of the rhinoceros. It is more ferocious than the elephant, and cannot be rendered so tame or obedient. There are numbers of them in the jungles of Pershâwer and Hashnaghar, as well as between the river Sind and Behreh in the jungles. In Hindustân too, they abound on the banks of the river Sirwû.[7] In the course of my expeditions into Hindustân, in the jungles of Pershâwer, and Hashnaghar,[8] I frequently killed the rhinoceros. It strikes powerfully with its horn, with which, in the course of these hunts, many men, and many horses,

[1] About twenty feet. [2] Eight or ten feet. [3] Its skin is scattered with thin hair.

[4] The rhinoceros's horn was supposed to sweat on the approach of poison, a quality which fitted it, in a peculiar manner, for being made into a drinking-cup for an eastern king.

[5] It is to the eye more like the elephant, or a huge overgrown hog.

[6] A marginal note on the Tûrki copy, translates *gumek*, marrow. [7] The Gogra.

[8] The rhinoceros is now entirely expelled from the countries about the Indus.

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were gored. In one hunt, it tossed with its horn, a full spear's length, the horse of a young man named Maksûd, whence he got the name of Rhinoceros Maksûd.

Another animal is the wild buffalo. It is much larger than the common buffalo. Its horns go back like those of the common buffalo, but not so as to grow into the flesh. It is a very destructive and ferocious animal. Wild buffalo.

Another is the nîlgaû. Its height is about equal to that of a horse. It is somewhat slenderer. The male is bluish, whence it is called the nîlgaû.[1] It has two small horns, and on its neck has some hair, more than a span in length,[2] which bears much resemblance to the mountain-cow tassels.[3] Its tail is like the bull's. The colour of the female is like that of the gawezin deer; she has no horns, nor any hair on the under part of her neck; and is plumper than the male. Nîlgaû.

Another is the kotah-paicheh.[4] Its size may be equal to that of the white deer. Its two fore legs as well as its thighs are short, whence its name—(short-legged). Its horns are branching like those of the gawezin, but less. Every year too it casts its horns like the stag. It is a bad runner, and therefore never leaves the jungle. Kotah-paicheh.

There is another species of deer that resembles the male honeh or jîrân. Its back is black, its belly white, its horns longer than those of the honeh, and more crooked. The Hindustânis call it kilhereh. This word was probably originally *kalahern*, that is (black deer), which they have corrupted into kilhereh. The female is white. They take deer by means of this kilhereh. They make fast a running-net to its horns, and tie a stone larger than a foot-ball to its leg, that, after it is separated from the deer, it may be hindered from running far. When the deer sees the wild kilhereh, it advances up to it, presenting its head. This species of deer is very fond of fighting, and comes on to butt with its horns. When they have engaged and pushed at each other with their horns, in the course of their moving backwards and forwards, the net which has been fastened on the tame one's horns, gets entangled in those of the wild deer, and prevents its escape. Though the wild deer uses every effort to flee, the tame one does not run off, and is greatly impeded by the stone tied to its leg, which keeps back the other also. In this way they take a number of deer,[5] which they afterwards tame. They likewise take deer by setting nets. They breed this tame deer to fight in their houses; it makes an excellent battle. Antelope.

There is on the skirts of the mountains of Hindustân another deer which is smaller. It may be equal in size to a sheep[6] of a year old. Deer.

Another is the gaû-kini; it is a small species of cow, like the larger kochkar (or ram) of our country. Its flesh is very tender and savoury. Gaû-kini.

The monkey is another of the animals of the country. The Hindustânis call it *Bander*. There are many species of them. One species is the same that is brought to our countries. The jugglers teach them tricks. It is met with in the hill-country Monkey.

[1] Blue ox.

[2] On the lower part of its neck is a thick circumscribed tuft of hair.—D. W. (For this and the succeeding notes marked *D. W.* I am indebted to David White, M.D. second Member of the Medical Board of Bombay, and well known for his botanical researches.)

[3] Kitâs.

[4] Short-legged.

[5] This way of catching the antelope is still in constant use in India.

[6] Tugli ghalchen.

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of the Dera (or valley of) Nûr, on the Koh Sefid, in the skirts of the hills in the neighbourhood of Khaiber, and from thence downward throughout all Hindustân. It is not found any higher up than the places I have mentioned. Its hair is yellow, its face white, its tail is not very long. There is another species of monkey, which is not found in Bajour, Sewâd, and these districts, and is much larger than the kinds that are brought into our country. Its tail is very long, its hair whitish, its face entirely black. They call this species of monkey *langur*,[1] and it is met with in the hills and woods of Hindustân. There is still another species of monkey, whose hair, face, and all its limbs are quite black; they bring it from several islands of the sea. There is yet another species of monkey brought from some islands. Its colour approaches to a yellowish blue, somewhat like the skin of the fig. Its head is broadish, and it is of a much larger size than other monkeys. It is very fierce and destructive.[2]

Mungoose. Another is the nol[3] (or mungoose). It is a little smaller than the kish. It mounts on trees. Many also call it the mûs-khûrma.[4] They reckon it lucky. There is another

Squirrel. of the mouse species, which they call gilherî (the squirrel); it always lives in trees, and runs up and down them with surprising nimbleness.

Its birds. Peacock. Of the birds, one is the peacock. It is a beautifully coloured, and splendid animal. It is less remarkable for its bulk than for its colour and beauty. Its size may be about that of a crane, but it is not so tall. On the head of the peacock, and of the pea-hen, there may be about twenty or thirty feathers, rising two or three fingers' breadth in height. The pea-hen is neither richly coloured nor beautiful. The head of the male has a lustrous and undulating colour. Its neck is of a fine azure. Lower down than the neck, its back is painted with the richest yellow, green, azure, and violet; the flowers or stars on its back are but small; below, they increase in size, still preserving the same colour and splendour, down to the very extremity of the tail. The tail of some peacocks is as high as a man. Below these richly-painted feathers of its tail, it has another smaller tail like that of other birds, and this ordinary tail, and the feathers of its sides, are red. It is found in Bajour and Sewâd, and in the countries below, but not in Kuner or Lemghanât, or in any place higher up. It flies even worse than the kerghâwel (or pheasant), and cannot take more than one or two flights at a time.[5] On account of its flying so ill, it always frequents either a hilly country or a jungle. It is remarkable, that whenever there are many peacocks in a wood, there are also a number of jackals in it; and as they have to drag after them a tail the size of a man, it may easily be supposed how much they are molested by the jackals, in their passage from one thicket to another. The Hindustânis call them *mor*. According to the doctrines of Imâm Abu Hanifeh, this bird is lawful food. Its flesh is not unpleasant. It resembles that of the quail, but it is eaten with some degree of loathing, like that of the camel.

[1] The Baboon.

[2] Baber adds,—it is singular, quod penis ejus semper sit erecta, et nunquam non ad coitum idonea.

[3] A note on the Turki copy calls the nol, *Rasu, which is the weasel of Tartary*. Newâl is still the Hindustâni name for the mungoose.

[4] The palm-rat.

[5] The kerghâwel, which is of the pheasant species, when pursued, will take several flights immediately after each other, though none long; peacocks, it seems, soon get tired, and take to running.

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Another is the parrot, which also is found in Bajour and the countries below it. In the Spring, when the mulberry ripens, it comes up into Nangenhâr and Lemghanât, but is found there at no other season. There are many species of parrot. One is that which they carry into our countries, and teach to talk. There is another species, of smaller size, which is also taught to speak. They call it the wood-parrot. Great numbers of this species are found in Bajour, Sewâd, and the neighbouring districts, insomuch, that they go in flights of five and six thousand. These two species differ only in bulk; both have the same colours. There is another species of parrot, which is still smaller than the wood-parrot. Its head is red, as well as its upper feathers. From the tip of its tail, to within two fingers' breadth of its feet, it is white. The head of many of this species is lustrous, and they do not speak. They call it the Kashmîr parrot. There is another species of parrot like the wood-parrot, but a little less. Its beak is red; round its neck is a broad black circle like a collar. Its upper feathers are crimson; it learns to speak well. I had imagined that a parrot, or shârak, only repeated what it had been taught, and that it could reduce nothing into words from its own reflections. Abul Kâsim Jilâir, who is one of my most familiar servants, lately told me a remarkable incident. The cage of a parrot of this last-mentioned species having been covered up, the parrot called out, "Uncover my face; I cannot breathe." On another occasion, when the bearers who were employed to carry it had set it down to rest themselves, and a number of people passed by, the parrot called out, "Everybody is going by, why don't you go on?" Let the credit rest with the relater! Yet till one hears such things with his own ears, he never can believe them. There is another kind of parrot, of a beautiful red colour; it has also other colours. As I do not precisely recollect its appearance, I therefore do not describe it particularly. It is a very elegant bird, and learns to talk. It has one great defect, that its voice is particularly disagreeable, having a sharp and grating sound,[1] as if you rubbed a piece of broken china on a copper plate. Parrot.

Another of the birds of Hindustân is the shârak, which abounds in the Lemghanât, and everywhere lower down, over the whole of Hindustân. The shârak is of different species. One is that which is found in great numbers in the Lemghanât. Its head is black, its wings white; its size rather larger than the chughur,[2] and slenderer. It learns to speak. There is another sort, which they call Pindâweli. They bring it from Bengal. It is all black. It is much larger than the other shârak. Its bill and foot are yellow. In its two ears are two yellow leathers, which hang down, and look very ugly. They call it the *Meina*.[3] It learns to speak, and speaks well and fluently. There is another kind of shârak a little slenderer than this last.[4] It is red round the eye. This kind does not talk. When I threw a bridge over the Ganges, and crossed it, driving the enemy before me, I saw in Luknow, Oud, and these countries, a species of shârak, which had a white breast, and a piebald head, with a black back. I had never seen it before. This species probably does not earn to speak at all. Shârak.

[1] Perhaps the Loory.
[2] The Persian has *jil*, which Wilkins says is a species of singing-bird.—Richardson's Dictionary.
[3] Hunter calls it the *Coracias Indica*. See his Hindustani Dictionary.
[4] The Persian adds,—"they call it Wan-shârak" (the wild or wood shârak.)

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Lûjeh. Another is the lûjeh.[1] This fowl they also call the bûkalemûn.[2] From the head to the tail, it has five or six different colours. Its neck has a bright glancing tinge like the pigeon's. In size, it is equal to the kepki durri. It may be regarded as the kepki durri[3] of Hindustân; as the kepki durri inhabits the summits of the mountains, this also inhabits the tops of the mountains. They are met with in the country of Kâbul and the hill-country of Nijrow, and from thence downward, wherever there are hills; but they are not found any higher up.[4] A remarkable circumstance is told of them. It is said, that in winter they come down to the skirts of the hills, and that if in their flight one of them happens to pass over a vineyard, it can no longer fly,[5] and is taken. God knows the truth! Its flesh is very savoury.

Durrâj (or black partridge) Another bird is the dûrraj (or partridge). It is not peculiar to Hindustân. It is found everywhere in the countries of the *Germsîl*. But, as certain species of it are found only in Hindustân, I have included it in this descriptive enumeration. The partridge may be equal to the kepki durri in size. The colour of its back is like that of the female of the murgh-e-deshti (or jungle fowl). Its neck and breast are black, with bright white spots. On both sides of both its eyes is a line of red. It has a cry like *Shîr dârem, Shekrek*.[6] From its cry it gets its name. It pronounces *Shîr* short, *dârem Shekrek* it pronounces distinctly. The partridges of Asterâbâd are said to cry *Bat mini, tûti lâr*. The cry of the partridges of Arabia and the neighbouring countries is, *Bil shûker tidûm al naam*.[7] The colour of the hen bird resembles that of the young kerghâwel (or pheasant). They are found below Nijrow. There is another fowl of the partridge kind, which they call kenjel. It is about the size of the partridge. Its cry is very like that of a kepk, but shriller. There is little difference in colour between the male and female. It is found in the country of Pershâwer, Hashnaghar, and in the countries lower down, but in no district higher up.

Palpekâr. Another bird is the palpekâr. Its size is equal to that of the kepki durri. Its figure resembles the dung-hill cock, and in colour it is like the hen. From its forehead down to its breast, it is of a beautiful scarlet colour. The palpekâr inhabits the hill-country of Hindustân.

Murgh-e-sihra (or fowl of the wild.) The mûrgh-e-sihra[8] (fowl of the wild) is another. The difference between it and the barn-door fowl is, that the fowl of the wild flies like the kerghâwel (or pheasant); it is not of every colour like the barn-door fowl. It is found in the hill-country of Bajour, and the hill-country lower down. It is not met with above Bajour.

Chelsi. Another is the chelsi, which is like the palpekâr, but the palpekâr has finer colours. It inhabits the hill-country of Bâjour.

Shâm. Another is the shâm. It may be about the size of the common cock, and is of various colours. It also is found in the hill-country of Bajour.

Bûdineh, or quail. Another is the bûdineh (or quail), which is not peculiar to Hindustân, but there

[1] The Persian has *lûkheh*.
[2] Camelion bird.
[3] The kepki deri, or durri, is much larger than the common *kepk* of Persia, and is peculiar to Khorâsân. It is said to be a beautiful bird. The common kepk of Persia and Kâbul is the hill chikôr of India.
[4] The lûjeh may perhaps be the chikôr of the plains, which Hunter calls bartavelle, or Greek partridge.
[5] See Note p. 145.
[6] I have milk and sugar.
[7] God grant that happiness may always continue.
[8] Perhaps the common jungle fowl.

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are four or five species of it peculiar to that country. There is one species that visits our countries.[1] It is larger, and more spreading than the common bûdineh. There is another species, which is less than the bûdinehs that visit us. Its wings and tail are reddish. This bûdineh goes in flights like the *Chîr*. There is still another species, which is smaller than the bûdinehs that visit our country. They are generally black on the throat and breast. There is another species which seldom visits Kâbul. It is small, somewhat larger than the karcheh; in Kâbul they call it kûratû.

Another is the kherjil (or bustard), which may be about the size of the tûghdâk, and is in reality the taghdâk[2] of Hindustân. Its flesh is very savoury. The flesh of the leg of some fowls, and of the breast of others, is excellent; the flesh of every part of the kherjil is delicious. Kherjil (or bustard).

Another is the cherz[3] (or floriken). Its size is somewhat less than the tûghderi. The back of the male is like that of the tûghderi; its breast is black. The female is all of a single colour. The flesh of the cherz is very delicate. As the kherjil resembles the tûghdâk, the cherz resembles the tûghderi. Cherz (or floriken).

Another is the bâghri-kara[4] (or rock-pigeon) of Hindustân, which is less than the bâghri-kara of the west, and slenderer; its cry, too, is sharper. Bâghri-kara (or rock-pigeon).

There are other fowls, that frequent the water and the banks of rivers. One of these is the dîng[5] (or adjutant), which is a large bird. Each of its wings is the length of a man; on its head and neck there is no hair; something like a bag hangs from its neck; its back is black, its breast white; it frequently visits Kâbul. One year they caught and brought me a dîng, which became very tame. The flesh which they threw it, it never failed to catch in its beak, and swallowed without ceremony. On one occasion, it swallowed a shoe well shod with iron; on another occasion, it swallowed a good-sized fowl right down, with its wings and feathers. Water-fowl. Dîng (or adjutant).

Another is the sâras.[6] The Tûrks who are in Hindustân call it *tîweh-tûrneh*.[7] It is a little less than the dîng. The neck of the dîng is longer than that of the sâras. Its head is red. They keep it about their houses, and it becomes very tame. Sâras.

Another is the minkisâ, which is nearly of the height of the sâras, but its size is less. It resembles the stork,[8] but is much larger. Its bill is longer than the stork's, and is black. Its head is polished and shining, its neck white, its wings party-coloured. The edges and roots of the feathers of its wings are white, and the middle black.[9] Minkisâ.

There is another sort of stork, which has a white neck, while its head and all the rest of its body are black. It migrates to our countries. It is rather less than the Yak Dîng.

[1] That is, the country north of the Oxus.

[2] The bustard is common in the Dekhan, where it is bigger than a turkey, and is called toghdâr, probably corrupted from toghdâk.

[3] A sort of bustard; Otis Bengalensis.

[4] On the margin of the Tûrki, it is explained as signifying the Balkeh.

[5] The Hindustâni name of the adjutant is *Pîr-e-Dang*.

[6] A kind of heron; the Ardea Antigone. [7] Camel-like. [8] Leklek.

[9] This answers the description of the jânglûl or jânghal called dôkh in the Dekhan, which Hunter indicates as the Ardea Indica.

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common stork. This stork the Hindustânis call *yak ding*.[1] There is another stork, which resembles in colour and shape the stork that visits our countries. Its beak is generally black and white, and it is much smaller than the other. There is yet another fowl which resembles the stork and heron. The bill of this bird is longer than the heron's and larger. In size it is less than the stork.

Bûzek (or curlew).

Another is the large bûzek[2] (or curlew). Its bulk may be about that of the starling. Its head and two wings are white. It has a loud cry. Another is the white bûzek.[3] Its head and bill are black. It is considerably larger than the bûzek of our countries, but less than the bûzek of Hindustân.[4]

Gheret-pâi.

There is another water-fowl, which they call gheret-pâi.[5] It is larger than the sona burchin. The male and female are of the same colour. It is always found in Hashnaghar, and sometimes visits the Lemghanât. Its flesh is very delicate.

Shah-murgh.

There is another waterfowl which they call shâhmûrgh.[6] It may be rather less than the goose. It has a swelling above its nose. Its breast is white, its back black, and its flesh is excellent.

Zemej.

Another is the zemej, which is about the size of a bûrkût (or falcon). It is of a black colour.

Starling.

Another is the starling.[7] Its tail and back are red.

Ala-kûrgheh (or magpie).

Another is the ala-kûrgheh (or magpie) of Hindustân. It is slender, and less than the ala-kûrgheh (or magpie) of my native country. It has some white on its neck.

pheasant.

There is another bird, which bears some resemblance to the carrion crow. In Lemghanât they call it the wood-fowl.[8] Its head and breast are black, its wings and tail red, its eyes a very deep red.[9] From its being weak and flying ill, it never comes out of the woods, whence it is that it gets the name of the wood-fowl.

Chemgudri (or flying fox).

Another is the great bat; they call it chemgudri. It is about the size of the owl,[10] and its head resembles that of a young whelp. It lays hold of a branch of the tree on which it intends to roost, turns head undermost, and so hangs, presenting a very singular appearance.

Aakeh.

Another is the aakeh of Hindustân; they call it mitâ. It is a little smaller than the common aakeh, which is party-coloured black and white, while the mitâ is party-coloured brown and black.

There is another bird whose size may be equal to that of the sandûlaj-mamûla. It is of a beautiful red, and on its wings has a little black.

[1] The yak dîng is probably one of two kinds of storks common in India. The largest is called *kalli*, and the smallest *laglag*. Baber appears to reverse this. The laglag, which is a black bird, with a white neck and head, does not at all resemble the common stork, and its right to the name seems doubtful.

[2] Perhaps the royal curlew.

[3] White curlew.

[4] Perhaps the spoonbill, called, in India, Chamach Bûzeh.

[5] Ghazin-pai.—*Tûrki*. There is a kind of water-fowl called gazpâ, which seems to be a redshank.

[6] The bird called nakta, a sort of duck, but nearly as big as a wild-goose; it has a black beak, with a high knob on it.

[7] Sâr.

[8] Murgh-jengli.

[9] This is the crow-pheasant, or Malabar pheasant, the Cuculus Castaneus.

[10] Yapalagh.

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Another is the gercheh. It resembles the kârlughâch,[1] but is much larger than that bird; it is entirely of a black colour. Gercheh.

Another is the koel,[2] which in length may be equal to the crow, but is much thinner. It has a kind of song, and is the nightingale of Hindustân. It is respected by the natives of Hindustân as much as the nightingale by us. It inhabits gardens where the trees are close planted. Koel.

There is another bird resembling the shakrâk. It lives close among and about trees, and may be about the size of a shakrâk. It is green-coloured like the parrot.

Of the aquatic animals, one is the alligator.[3] It dwells in standing waters, and resembles the crocodile.[4] They say that it carries off men, and even buffaloes. Another is the sipsar (another species of alligator). This, too, is like the crocodile. It inhabits all the rivers of Hindustân. One was caught and brought to me. It may be about four or five gez[5] in length, and some are even larger. Its snout is upwards of half a gez[6] long. Both in its upper and lower jaw it has several very small ranges of teeth. It comes out and sleeps on the edge of the water. Aquatic animals. Alligator.

Another is the water-hog,[7] which is also found in all the rivers of Hindustân. It springs up from the water with a jerk, puts up its head and plunges it down again, leaving no part of its body visible but the tail.[8] The jaw of this animal, too, is like that of the alligator. It is long, and has the same kind of ranges of teeth; in other respects its head and body are like a fish. While it is playing in the water it resembles a water-bag. The water-hogs that are in the river Sirwû,[9] while sporting, leap right out of the water. This animal, too, resembles a fish in never leaving the water. Water-hog.

Another is the geriâl, which is a large fish. Many of the army saw it in the river Sirwû.[10] It carries off men. During the time that we remained on the river Sirwû, one or two slave boys were seized by it and carried down. Between Ghâzipûr and Benâres it also carried off two, three, or four of our men. In that vicinity I saw the geriâl[11] from a distance, but I could not get a distinct view of it. Geriâl.

The kekeh is another fish. On a line with its two ears issue two bones, three fingers-breadth in length. When caught it shakes these two bones, which return a singular sound, whence they have given this fish its name of kekeh. Kekeh.

The flesh of the fishes of Hindustân is delicate, and they have few small bones. They are surprisingly active. On one occasion a net was laid in a river, from side to side. The fish entered it. Each side of the net was then raised a gez[12] above the water; yet many of the fish leaped, one after the other, a full gez over the net, and escaped. There

[1] Also called the terashterek.

[2] Cuculus. The koel is something like a sparrow-hawk; the female black, the male brown like a hawk.

[3] The shîrâbi, or water lion, is the alligator.

[4] Gilis.

[5] Eight or ten feet.

[6] About a foot.

[7] Khûk-âbi.

[8] This description agrees much with the appearancee of the porpoise, which is common in the Ganges.

[9] The Sirjoo, or Gogra.

[10] The Gogra.

[11] The *geriâl* is one of the two kinds of crocodile: the other is called *magar*. The latter has a long, sharp snout: the snout of the former is round.

[12] About a couple of feet.

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are, besides, in many rivers of Hindustân small fishes, which, if they hear a harsh sound, or the treading of a foot, instantly leap a gez, or a gez and a half, out of the water.

Frogs. The frogs of Hindustân are worthy of notice. Though of the same species as our own, yet they will run six or seven gez[1] on the face of the water.

Fruits. Mango. Of the vegetable productions peculiar to Hindustân, one is the mango (ambeh). The natives of Hindustân generally pronounce the *bi* in it, as if no vowel followed; but as this makes the word difficult to articulate, it is sometimes called *naghzak*, as Khwâjeh Khosrou says—

My mango (my fair[2]) is the embellisher of the garden,
The most lovely fruit of Hindustân.

Such mangoes as are good are excellent. Many are eaten, but few are good of their kind. They pluck most of them unripe, and ripen them in the house. While unripe the mango makes excellent tarts, and extremely good marmalade. In short, this is the best fruit of Hindustân. The tree bears a great weight of fruit. Many praise the mango so highly as to give it the preference to every kind of fruit, the musk-melon excepted; but it does not appear to me to justify their praises. It resembles the kardi-peach, and ripens in the rains. There are two kinds of it. One kind they squeeze and soften in the hand, and then, making a hole in its side, press it and suck the juice. The other is like the kardi-peach. They take off its skin, and eat it. Its leaf somewhat resembles that of the peach. Its trunk is ill-looking, and ill-shaped. In Bengal and Gûjrât the mangoes are excellent.

Plantain. Another of their fruits is the plantain.[3] The Arabs call it mauz. Its tree is not very tall, and, indeed, is not entitled to the appellation of tree; it is something between a tree and a vegetable.[4] Its leaf bears some likeness to that of the Amân-kara, but the plantain leaf is two gez[5] in length, and nearly one in breadth. A shoot resembling a heart springs up from its centre. The bud of the plantain is on this shoot. This large bud resembles a sheep's heart. From the root of every leaf that opens round this bud, a row of six or seven flowers springs out. These flowers so rising in a row, afterwards become rows of plantains. When the shoot which resembles a heart expands and blows, the leaves of that large bud opening, the rows of the plantain flowers become visible. The plaintain has two good qualities; the one is, that it is easily peeled—the other, that it has no stones, and is not stringy. It is rather longer and thinner than the brinjâl. It is not very sweet. The plaintain of Bengal, however, is extremely sweet, and has a very beautiful tree. It has very broad leaves of bright green, and is an elegant plant.

Ambli, or Indian date. Another is the ambli,[6] which name they give to the Indian date. It has small indented leaves, precisely like the bûia, but the leaves of this tree are smaller. It is a very beautiful tree, and yields a profusion of shade. It grows to a great size, and abounds in a wild state.

[1] Twelve or fourteen feet.
[2] Naghzak.
[3] Kileh.
[4] That is, is herbaceous.—D. W.
[5] About four feet.
[6] Tamarindus Indica, so called from *Tamar Hindi*, the Indian date.

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Another is the mehweh,[1] which is also called the gal-chekan. This also is a very wide-spreading tree. The houses of the natives of Hindustân are chiefly constructed of the timber of this tree. They extract a spirit from the flowers of the mehweh. They dry its flowers, and eat them like raisins. It is from them likewise that they extract the liquor.[2] They bear a great resemblance to the kishmish,[3] and have rather a disagreeable, sickly taste; but the smell of the flower is not disagreeable. It may be eaten. This tree likewise grows wild. Its fruit is ill tasted. The stone is rather large, and its shell thin. They extract an oil from the kernel. Mehweh, or moura.

Another is the kirni.[4] This, though not a wide-spreading tree, at the same time is not a small one. Its fruit is of a yellow colour. It is smaller than the jujube. In taste it bears a perfect resemblance to the grape. It leaves rather a bad flavour behind, but it is a good fruit, and is eaten. The skin of its stone is thin. Kirni.

Another is the jaman.[5] Its leaf perfectly resembles that of the tâl, but is thicker and greener. It is on the whole a fine-looking tree. Its fruit resembles the black grape, but[6] has a more acid taste, and is not very good. Jâman.

Another is the kermerik.[7] It is fluted with five sides. In size it may be equal to a ghînalû,[8] and in length four or five fingers-breadth. When ripe it is yellow. This fruit, too, has no stone. If plucked unripe, it is very bitter; when well ripened, it has an agreeably sweet acid, and is a pleasant sweet-flavoured fruit. Kermerick.

Another is the kadhil (or jack). This has a very bad look and flavour. It looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis.[9] It has a sweet sickly taste. Within it are stones[10] like a filbert; they bear a considerable resemblance to the date, but the stones are rounder and not so long, and the substance softer than that of the date. They are eaten. This fruit is very adhesive; on account of this adhesive quality, many rub their mouths with oil before eating them. They grow not only from the branches and trunk of the tree, but even from its root. You would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises. Kadhil (or jack).

Another is the badhil, which may be about the size of an apple. It is not bad-smelling, but is very insipid and tasteless. Badhil.

[1] A description of the mehweh, or moura, may be found in the *Asiatick Researches*, vol. I. p. 300, by Lieut. Charles Hamilton.

[2] In Bombay this liquor is well known by the name of Moura, or Parsee Brandy. The farm of it is a considerable article of revenue.

[3] A small kind of grape, or currant, brought from the Persian Gulph.

[4] The kirni is a tall tree with a small yellow fruit, with a stone. It is very common in Guzerat.—(It is the Mimusops hexandra of Roxburgh; fruit oblong, pointed, covered with a soft yellow saccharine pulp.—D. W.)

[5] This, Dr Hunter says, is the Eugenia jambolana, the rose-apple.—(Eugenia jambolana, but not the rose-apple, which is now called Eugenia jambu.—D. W.) The jâman has no resemblance to the rose-apple; it is more like an oblong sloe than anything else, but grows on a tall tree.

[6] Mr Metcalfe's copy has, "but leaves a disagreeable flavour upon the palate, and has," &c.

[7] According to Dr Hunter, the Averrhoa carambola.

[8] The Tûrki has ghatâlu, Mr Metcalfe's copy ghabalu, and the Persian ghinalu.

[9] The *gipa* is the sheep's stomach stuffed with rice, minced meat, and spices, and boiled as a pudding. The resemblance of the jack to the haggis as it hangs on the tree is wonderfully complete.

[10] The stones of the jack, when roasted, resemble the chesnut in taste.

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Ber. Another is the ber,[1] which in Persian they call kunâr. It is of various kinds, and is rather longer than the alûcheh[2] (or plum). There is another species of it, of the bulk and appearance of the Hussaini grape; but this last sort is seldom good. I have seen a ber in Bandîr which was very excellent. This species casts its leaves under the constellations of Taurus and Gemini;[3] in Cancer and Leo, which is the season of the rains, it regains its leaves, and becomes fresh and flourishing; in Aquarius and Pisces, its fruit ripens.

Karonda. Another is the karonda,[4] which grows on shrubby bushes like the jikeh of my native country. The jikeh grows in the hill country; this grows in the plain. Its flavour is like that of the marmenjân, but is sweeter and less juicy.

Paniâla. Another is the paniâla,[5] which is larger than the plum, and resembles the red crab apple. It has an acid taste, and is pleasant. Its tree is taller than the pomegranate, and its leaf resembles the almond leaf, but is less.

Guler. Another is the guler,[6] whose fruit springs from the trunk of the tree. It resembles the fig. The guler is a very tasteless thing.

Amleh. Another is the amleh,[7] which is likewise fluted with five sides. It is like the unblown cotton pod, and is a wretched harsh-tasted fruit. When made into marmalade it is not bad, and is very wholesome. Its tree is handsome, with very small leaves.

Chirûnji. Another is the chirûnji. This tree grows on the hills. Its kernel is very pleasant. It is somewhat between the kernel of the walnut and that of the almond, and is rather smaller than that of the pistachio, and round. It is put into custards and sweetmeats.[8]

Date. Another is the date, which, though not peculiar to Hindustân, yet is described here, as it is not found in our country. The date-tree is found likewise in Lemghan. Its branches all issue from one place, near the top of the tree. Its leaves extend from the one end of the branch to the other, shooting out on each side. The trunk of the tree is uneven and ill-coloured. Its fruit is like a bunch of grapes, but much larger. They say that the date alone, of all the vegetable kingdom, resembles the animal kingdom in two respects: the one is, that when you cut off the head of an animal it perishes; and if you cut off the top of the date-tree, it withers and dies: the other is, that as no animal bears without concourse with the male, in like manner, if you do not bring a branch of the male date-tree, and shake it over the female, it bears no fruit. I cannot vouch for the truth of these remarks. The top of the date-tree which has been mentioned is called its cheese. The cheese of the date is that place where its branches and

[1] Ber, the Zizyphus jujuba. Jujubes—*Hunter's Hind. Dict.*

[2] The alûcheh is the Bullace plum. It is small, not more than twice as big as a sloe, and not high-flavoured. It is generally yellow, sometimes red.

[3] The Muhammedan months going round the solar year, those concerned in agriculture, or in operations dependent on the seasons, are often obliged to direct themselves by the appearance of the constellations.

[4] The corinda, or carissa carandas.—*Hunter.*

[5] The flaucortia catafracta.—*Hunter.*

[6] Ficus guleria. Hort. Beng.—D. W.

[7] Perhaps the Hindustâni gooseberry, called Harfa Reôri.—(It is doubtful whether this be the cicca disticha or phyllanthus emblica, the description being too general.—D. W.)

[8] Palûdehs and halwâis. The palûdeh is a sweet preparation from wheaten flour, like a custard. The halwâi is any kind of sweetmeat or confectionery.

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leaves shoot out, and it has very much the appearance of a white cheese. From this white cheesy substance the branches and leaves shoot out. When these branches and leaves have somewhat expanded, the leaves wax greener. This white substance, which they call the cheese of the date, is rather pleasant tasted. The pith bears some resemblance to the kernel of the walnut. They make an incision in that part of the tree where the cheese lies, and insert a date-leaf in the wound, in such a way, that whatever water flows from the opening, must run down this leaf; this leaf they fix to the mouth of an earthen pot, and tie the pot to the tree; all the liquid that flows from the wound is collected in this pot. If drank immediately, the liquor is sweetish; if it stand three or four days, they say that it acquires an intoxicating quality. On one occasion, when I had gone out to survey Bari, while examining the districts on the banks of the river Chambal, in the course of our journey we chanced upon a valley, inhabited by people who employed themselves in drawing this liquor. We drank a great deal of it, and felt no symptoms of intoxication.[1] A great quantity of it must probably be taken, as its intoxicating powers are very small.

Another is the coconut-tree, or nargîl, which the Arabs call nârjil, and the Hindustânis[2] nâlîr by a vulgar error. The fruit of the coconut-tree is the Hindi nut, of which the black spoons are made. Of the larger sort they also make the sounding-cup of the ghechek (or guitar.) The tree resembles the date, but the branch of the coco is much fuller of leaves, and the leaves are of a much brighter colour. As the walnut has a green outer skin, so has this; but the outer covering of the coconut is in threads, and the cordage of all the ships and boats of the rivers are made of this outer covering of the coconut, and the joinings of boats are sewn with threads made of the same stuff. When this skin is stripped off, three holes are seen, forming a triangle on one side of the nut, two of them closed and hard; the other is soft, and with little trouble is made into a hole. Before the kernel is formed within, the whole inside of the coconut is filled with water, which they drink by opening this hole; it has an agreeable taste. You would say that it was the cheese of the date melted. Coconut-tree.

Another is the târ, or palm-tree. The branches of this tree also are on its top. They tie a pot on the palm as they do on the date-tree, and so extract and drink its juice. This juice they call *târi*. It is more intoxicating than the liquid of the date-tree. There is no leaf on the branches of the palm for a gez or a gez and a-half[3] from its root. After that, thirty or forty leaves sprout out from the same centre at the end of the branch, spreading like the fingers of the hand. These leaves may be about a gez[4] in length. Hindi letters are often written bookwise on these leaves. The natives of Hindustan, also, at the times when they do not wear ear-rings, put into the large open holes in their ear, slips of the palm leaf, which are sold in the Bazar, ready made for the purpose. The trunk of this tree is handsomer than that of the date, and more stately. Tar (or palm).

They have, besides, the nâranj (or Seville orange), and the various fruits of the orange species. The orange grows in Lemghanât, Bajour, and Sewâd, where it is Naranj (or orange).

[1] Baber must have drunk it fresh and unfermented, as the date wine or sendi is very strong.

[2] The common Hindustâni name for it is *narial*.

[3] Two or three feet.

[4] Two feet.

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both plenty and good. The orange of Lemghanât is small, but juicy, and pleasant for quenching thirst. It is sweet-smelling, delicate, and fresh. It is not, however, to be compared with the oranges about Khorasân. Its delicacy is such, that in carrying from Lemghanât to Kâbul, which is only thirteen or fourteen farsangs,[1] many of them are spoilt by the way. They carry the oranges of Asterâbâd to Samarkand, which is two hundred and seventy or two hundred and eighty farsangs[2] off; but as they have a thick peel and little juice, they are not apt to be much injured. The size of the oranges of Bajour may be about that of the quince.[3] They are very juicy, and their juice is more acid than that of other oranges. Khwâjeh Kilân tells me that he made the oranges of a single tree of this species in Bajour be plucked off, and counted, and they amounted to seven thousand. It always struck me that the word nâranj (orange) was accented in the Arab fashion; and I found that it really was so: the men of Bajour and Siwâd call *nâranj*, *nârank*.[4]

Lime. Another is the lime,[5] which is very plentiful. Its size is about that of a hen's egg, which it resembles in shape. If one who is poisoned, boils and eats its fibres, the injury done by the poison is averted.[6]

Târanj (or citron). Another fruit resembling the nâranj (or orange) is the taranj (or citron). The inhabitants of Bajour and Siwâd call it *baleng*. On this account, marmalades of citron-peel are called baleng marmalade. The Hindustânis call the *târanj*, the *Bajouri*. It is of two species. One is insipid and sweet, but of a sickly sweet, and is of no value for eating; but its peel is used for marmalade. The citrons of Lemghanât are all of this sickly sweet. The other is the citron of Hindustân and Bajour, which is acid, and its sherbet is very pleasant and tasteful. The size of the citron may be about that of the Khosravi musk-melon. Its skin is rough, rising and falling in knobs. Its extremity is thin and knobbed. The citron is of a deeper yellow than the orange. Its tree has not a large trunk. It is small and shrubby, and has larger leaves than the orange.

Sengtereh (or common orange). The sengtereh (or orange) is another fruit resembling the naranj (or Seville orange). In colour and appearance it is like the citron, but the skin of this fruit is smooth, and without any unevennesses. It is rather smaller than the small citron. Its tree is large, perhaps about the size of the small apricot-tree. Its leaf resembles the naranj leaf. It has a pleasant acid, and its sherbet is extremely agreeable and wholesome. Like the lime it is a powerful stomachic, and it is not a weakening fruit like the citron.

Kilkil (or large lime). Another fruit of the orange kind, is the larger lime, which, in Hindustân, they call the kil-kil-lime.[7] In shape, it is like a goose's egg, but does not, like the egg, taper

[1] Between fifty and sixty miles. [2] About eleven hundred miles.
[3] Behi. [4] Or, perhaps, rather *nârang*. [5] Limu.
[6] The same quality is ascribed to the citron by Virgil, in the Praises of Italy:—

Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
Felicis mali, quo non præsentius ullum,
Pocula si quando sævæ infecere novercæ,
Miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena.

Georg. II. v. 126.

[7] *Kilmek* is the name by which it now goes.

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away at the two extremities. The skin of this species is smooth, like that of the sengtereh. It has a remarkable quantity of juice.

Another fruit resembling the orange is the jambîri.[1] In shape, it is like the orange, but is of a deeper yellow. It is not, however, an orange, though its smell is like that of the orange. This fruit, too, yields a pleasant acid. Jambîri.

Another of the orange kind is the sadaphal,[2] which is shaped like a pear, and in colour resembles the quince. It has a sweet taste, but not so mawkish as the sweet orange. Sadaphal.

The amratphal[3] is another of the fruits resembling the orange.[4] Amratphal.

Another of the orange kind is the kirneh,[5] which may be about the size of the kil-kil lime. This too is tart. Kirneh.

Another resembling the orange is the *amil-bîd*.[6] I have seen it first during this Amil-bîd.

[1] Or Jabîri.

[2] A kind of lemon.—*Hunter.* Its name seems to mean *everlasting fruit.*

[3] Literally, *nectar-fruit*, is probably the Mandarin orange, by the natives called Naringi. The name *Amrat*, or pear, in India, is applied to the Guava or Psidium pyriferum—(Spondias mangifera. Hort. Ben. —D. W.)

[4] On this notice of the amratphal there is, in the Tûrki copy, the following note of the Emperor Hûmâiûn. It is not found in either of the Persian translations:—

"His Majesty, whose abode is in Paradise,* may Heaven exalt his splendour! has not attended sufficiently to the amratphal. As he observed that it was sweet and mild-tasted, he compared it to the sweet orange, and was not fond of it; for he had a dislike to the sweet orange, and everybody, on account of the amratphal's mild sweet, called it like the orange. At that time, particularly on his first coming to Hindustân, he had been long and much addicted to the use of strong drinks, whence he naturally did not like sweet things. The amratphal is, however, an excellent fruit. Its juice, though not extremely sweet, yet is very pleasant. At a later period, in my time, we discovered its nature and excellence. Its acidity, when unripe, resembles that of the orange. While yet very acid, its sourness affects the stomach; but, in the course of time, it ripens and becomes sweet.

"In Bengal there are other two fruits which have an acid flavour, though they are not of equal excellence with the amratphal. The one is called kâmilah, and grows to the size of an orange (naranj); many hold it to be the larger lemon (narang), but it is much pleasanter than the lemon. It has not an elegant appearance or shape. The other is the samtereh,† and is larger than the orange, but is not sour, and is not so tasteless as the amratphal, nor is it very sweet either. Indeed, there is no pleasanter fruit than the samtereh. It is a very fine-shaped, pleasant, and wholesome fruit. No person thinks of any other fruit, or has a longing for any other, where he can find it. Its peel may be taken off by the hand, and however many you eat, you are not surfeited, but desire more. It does not dirty the hand by its juice. Its peel is easily separated from the pulp. It may be eaten after food. This samtereh is seldom met with. It is found at Bengal at one village called Senargam; and, even in Senargam, it is found in the greatest perfection only in one place. In general, among this class of fruits, there is no species so pleasant as the samtereh; nor indeed is there among any other." Kâmilah. Samtereh.

* Hezret Ferdous-makân. Every Emperor of Hindustân has an epithet given him after his death to distinguish him, and prevent the necessity of repeating his name too familiarly. Thus, Ferdous-makân is Baber's; Hûmâiûn's is Jinnet-ashiâni—he whose nest is in Heaven; Muhâmmed Shah's, Ferdous-arâmgâh—he whose place of rest is Paradise, &c.

† The kâmilah and samtereh are the real oranges (koungla and sangtereh), which are now common all over India. Dr Hunter conjectures that the sangtereh may take its name from Cintra, in Portugal. This early mention of it by Baber and Hûmâiûn, may be considered as subversive of that supposition. (This description of the samtereh, vague as it is, applies closer to the citrus decumana or pampelmus, than to any other.—D. W.)

[5] Probably the kirna, a kind of citron; Citrus, *Hunter's Dict.*

[6] Lit. the acid willow.

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present year. They say that if a needle be thrust into the heart of it, it melts away.[1] Perhaps this may proceed from its extreme acidity, or from some other of its properties. Its acidity may be about equal to that of the orange and lime.[2]

Jâsûn or gurhil.

In Hindustân there is great variety of flowers. One is the *jâsûn*,[3] which some Hindustânis call the *gurhil*. It is not a grass; the shrub on which it grows is tall; its bush is larger than the red-rose bush; its colour is deeper than that of the pomegranate. Its size may be about that of the red rose; but the red rose, after the bud is formed, opens all at once, whereas when the jâsûn opens from its bud, from the midst of the cup that first expands, a thing like a heart becomes visible, after which the other leaves of the flower spring out; though these two form a single flower, yet the thing like a heart in the midst of it, which springs from these leaves and forms another flower, has a very singular appearance. It looks very rich-coloured and beautiful on the tree, but does not last long, as it withers in a single day, and disappears. It blows very charmingly for the four months of the rainy season. It continues to flower during the greater part of the year, but has no perfume.

Kanîr.

Another is the *kanîr*,[4] which is sometimes white, and sometimes red; and is five-leaved, like the flower of the peach. The red kanîr resembles the peach-flower, but fourteen or fifteen kanîr-flowers blow from the same place, and from a distance they look like one large flower. The shrub of this flower is larger than the bush of the jâsûn. The smell of the red kanîr, though weak, is pleasant. This also blossoms incessantly, and in great beauty, during the whole three or four months of the rainy season; and is, besides, to be met with during the greater part of the year.

Keûreh.

Another is *keûreh*,[5] which has a very sweet smell. The Arabs call it kâri. The fault of musk is, that it is rather drying. This may be called the moist musk. It has a singular appearance. Its flower may be about a span and a half or two spans in length. It has long leaves like the gherav. This flower, too, is prickly, like the rose-bud, when unblown; its outer leaves are very green and prickly, while its inner leaves are white and soft. Among its inner leaves is something like a centre or heart.[6] It has a sweet smell. It resembles a new-blown shrub, the trunk of which is not yet grown up, but its leaves are broader and more prickly. Its trunk is very ill proportioned. It springs in stalks from the ground.

Chambeli, or white jasmine.

Another is the white jasmine, which they call *chambeli*.[7] It is larger than our jasmine, and its perfume stronger.

[1] This story of the needle is believed, by the natives, of all the citron kind, which are hence called in the Dekhan sûi-gal (needle-melter).

[2] Abulfazl informs us, (Ayeen Akbery, vol. I. p. 74), that Akber gave great encouragement to the cultivation of fruit trees; and that people of skill were invited from Persia and Tartary to attend to their cultivation. He enumerates musk-melons, grapes, water-melons, peaches, almonds, pistachioes, and pomegranates, as being of the number introduced. His account of the annual bringing of the fruits from Kâbul, Kandahâr, and Kâshmîr, is curious. I am informed that the annual importation of fruits from Kâbul into Hindustân is still carried on to a great extent, though daily declining.

[3] Called also jâsûndi.

[4] The nerium odorum; called by Europeans in India, the almond-flower, from its smell.

[5] The pandanus odoratissimus of Roxburgh.

[6] The Persian translator here adds, "Not knowing what this is, I have written it in the same way." The Tûrki, however, has *yumshak*, probably a ball or clue, while the Persian has *miângi* or *wâsiteh*.

[7] Jasminum gradiflorum.

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In other countries there are four seasons; in Hindustân there are three; four months of summer, four of the rainy season, and four of winter. Its months begin with the new moon. Every three years they add a month to the rainy season; again, at the end of the next three years they add a single month to one of their winters; and in the course of the succeeding three years they add one month to a summer. This is their mode of intercalation. Cheit, Beisâk, Jesht, and Asad,[1] are the summer months, corresponding to Pisces, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini; Sâwan, Bhâdun, Kewâr, and Kâtik, form the rainy months, corresponding, to Cancer, Leo, Virgo, and Libra; Aghen, Pûs, Mah, and Phagûn, are the winter, and include Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius. The natives of Hindustân, who have divided their seasons into terms of four months each, have confined the appellation of the violence of the season to two months of each term, and call them the period of summer, the period of the rains, the period of winter. The two last months of summer, which are Jesht and Asad, they separate from the others, calling them the period of the heats. The two first months of the rainy season, Sâwan and Bhâdun, they regard as the period of the rains; the two middle months of winter, which are Pûs and Mah, they consider as the period of winter. By this arrangement they have six seasons.[2] Seasons.

They also assign names to the days of the week; Sanicher is Saturday; Aitwâr is Sunday; Somwâr, Monday; Mangelwâr, Tuesday; Bûdhwâr, Wednesday; Brispatwâr, Thursday; and Sukrwâr, Friday. Days of the week.

As, by the usage of our country, the day and night are divided into twenty-four parts, each called an hour, and each hour into sixty minutes; so that the day and night are composed of one thousand four hundred and forty minutes; and as in the space of a minute, the Fâtihe (or first chapter of the Korân), with the Bismillâh (or blessing), may be repeated six times, they may be repeated eight thousand six hundred and forty times in the space of a night and day. The natives of Hindustân divide the night and day into sixty parts, each of which they denominate a Gheri; they likewise divide the night into four parts, and the day into the same number, each of which they call a Pahar (or *Watch*), which the Persians call a Pâs. In our country I had heard of Pâs and Pâsbân,[3] though I did not understand the custom. In all the principal cities of Hindustân, there is a sort of people called Gheriâli, who are appointed and stationed for this express purpose. They cast a broad brass plate about the size of a tray, and two fingers-breadth deep. This brass vessel they call Gheriâl. The Gheriâl is suspended from a high place. They have another vessel like an hour-cup, which has a hole in its bottom. One of these is filled every hour; and the Gheriâlis, who watch by turns, attend to the cup that is put into the water. In this way, beginning from day-break, when they put in the cup, as soon as it is filled for the first time, they strike one stroke on the Gheriâl with a wooden club which they have; and when it has been filled a second time, they strike two, and so on for the first watch. The sig- Day and night. Division of time. Their Clepsydra. Mode of marking time.

[1] The names of the months, as pronounced and written by the Musulmans, differ considerably from the genuine Hindu names. In Sanscrit the summer months are called Cheitra, Visakha, Jeshta, Ashadha; the rainy months, Sravana, Bhadrapada, Aswini, Kritika; those of winter, Mrigasira, Pûshîa, Magha, and Phalguni. The Hindustânis soften most of these names by omitting consonants.

[2] See Ayeen Akberi, vol. i. p. 265.

[3] Watch and watchman.

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nal that the first watch is past, is their striking very fast for a number of times on the Gheriâl with the wooden club. If it is the first watch of the day, after striking repeatedly and fast, they stop a little, and strike one blow; if it be the second watch, after striking fast for some time, they deliberately strike two; and after the third they strike three, and after the fourth four. With the fourth watch the day closing, the night watch begins; and they go through the night watches in precisely the same way.

Alteration introduced by Baber.

Formerly the Gheriâlis, whether by day or night, beat the sign of the watch at the end of each watch only; so that when a man waked from sleep, and heard the sound of three or four Gheris, he did not know whether it was the second watch or the third. I directed, that after beating the sign of the Gheri, whether by night or day, they should likewise beat the sign of the watch. For example, that after beating three Gheris of the first watch, they should stop, and after an interval, beat one other blow as the mark of the watch, so that it might be known that it was three Gheris of the first watch. After beating four Gheris of the third watch of the night, if they stopped and beat three, it would indicate that it was four Gheris of the third watch. This answers particularly well; for when a man wakes by night and hears the Gheriâl, he knows with certainty how many Gheris of a particular watch are past.

Division of time.

Again, they divide every Gheri into sixty parts, each called a *Pal;* so that every day and night consists of three thousand six hundred Pals. They reckon each Pal equal to the time in which the eyelids may be shut and opened sixty times; and reckon a day and night equal to two hundred and sixteen thousand times of shutting and opening the eyes. By experiment, I found that one Pal admitted of the Kul-howullah and Bismillah being repeated nearly eight times, so that, in the space of a single night and day, they admit of being repeated twenty-eight thousand six hundred times.

Measures.

The inhabitants of Hindustân have a peculiar method of reckoning as to measures; they allow eight ratis to one masheh; four mashehs to one tang, or thirty-two ratis to one tang; five mashehs to one mishkâl, which is equal to forty ratis; twelve mashehs make one tola or ninety-six ratis; fourteen tolas make one sîr; and it is fixed that everywhere forty sîrs make one man, and twelve mans one mâni, and one hundred mânis one minâseh. They reckon jewels and precious stones by the tang.

Mode of reckoning.

The natives of Hindustân have a distinct and clear mode of reckoning. They call a hundred thousand a lak, a hundred laks a kror, a hundred krors an arb, a hundred arbs a kerb, a hundred kerbs a nîl, a hundred nîls a padam, a hundred padams a sang. The fixing such a high mode of calculation is a proof of the abundance of wealth in Hindustân.

Hindu inhabitants.

Most of the natives of Hindustân are Pagans. They call the Pagan inhabitants of Hindustân, Hindus. Most of the Hindus hold the doctrine of transmigration. The officers of revenue, merchants, and work-people, are all Hindus. In our native countries, the tribes that inhabit the plains and deserts have all names, according to their respective families; but here everybody, whether they live in the country or in villages, have names according to their families. Again, every tradesman has received his trade from his forefathers,[1] who for generations have all practised the same trade.

[1] This refers to the institution of castes.

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Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it.[1] The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons,[2] no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle and torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows, whom they call Deûtis, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the top of a candlestick; they fasten a pliant wick, of the size of the middle finger, by an iron pin, to another of the legs. In their right hand they hold a gourd, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these Deûtis. This is the way in which they supply the want of candles and candlesticks. If their emperors or chief nobility, at any time, have occasion for a light by night, these filthy Deûtis bring in their lamp, which they carry up to their master, and there stand holding it close by his side. Defects of Hindustân.

Besides their rivers and standing waters, they have some running water in their ravines and hollows; they have no aqueducts or canals[3] in their gardens or palaces. In their buildings they study neither elegance nor climate, appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and the lower classes all go about naked. They tie on a thing which they call a *langoti*, which is a piece of clout that hangs down two spans from the navel, as a cover to their nakedness. Below this pendant modesty-clout is another slip of cloth, one end of which they fasten before to a string that ties on the langoti, and then passing the slip of cloth between the two legs, bring it up and fix it to the string of the langoti behind. The women, too, have a *lang*—one end of it they tie about their waist, and the other they throw over their head. Houses and dress.

The chief excellency of Hindustân is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once, and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, insomuch that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. Its defect is, that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless. Nor is it the bow alone that becomes useless; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. Their houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built. There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season; but Advantages of Hindustân. Pleasant climate.

[1] Baber's opinions regarding India, are nearly the same with those of most Europeans of the upper class, even at the present day.

[2] Grapes and musk-melons, particularly the latter, are now common all over India.

[3] Ab-rewân.

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then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an Andhi.[1] It gets warm during Taurus and Gemini, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahâr. It is not above half so warm as in these places. Another convenience of Hindustân is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable and without end. For any work, or any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages. In the Zefer-Nâmeh of Mûlla Sherîf-ed-dîn Ali Yezdi, it is mentioned as a surprising fact, that when Taimur Beg was building the Sangîn (or stone) mosque, there were stone-cutters of Azerbaejan, Fârs, Hindustân, and other countries, to the number of two hundred, working every day on the mosque. In Agra alone, and of stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces six hundred and eighty persons; and in Agra, Sîkri, Biâna, Dhulpûr, Guâliâr, and Koel, there were every day employed on my works one thousand four hundred and ninety-one stone-cutters. In the same way, men of every trade and occupation are numberless and without stint in Hindustân.

Abundance of work people.

Revenue. The countries from Behreh to Behâr, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two krors,[2] as will appear from the particular and detailed statement.[3] Of this amount, Pergannas to the value of eight or nine krors[4] are in the possession of some Rais and Rajas, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these Pergannas for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.

I have thus described the particulars regarding the country of Hindustân, its situation, its territory, and inhabitants, that have come to my knowledge, and that I have been able to verify. Hereafter, if I observe anything worthy of being described, I shall take notice of it; and if I hear anything worth repeating, I will insert it.

Distribution of the treasure. 1526. May 11. On Saturday, the 29th of Rejeb,[5] I began to examine and to distribute the treasure. I gave Hûmâiûn seventy lacks from the treasury, and, over and above this treasure, a palace, of which no account or inventory had been taken. To some Amîrs I gave ten laks, to others eight laks, seven laks, and six laks. On the Afghâns, Hazâras, Arabs, Balûches, and others that were in the army, I bestowed gratuities from the treasury, suited to their rank and circumstances. Every merchant, every man of letters, in a word, every person who had come in the army along with me, carried off presents and gratuities, which marked their great good fortune and superior luck. Many who were not in the army also received ample presents from these treasures; as for in-

[1] This is still the Hindustâni term for a storm, or tempest.

[2] About a million and a half sterling, or rather £1,300,000.

[3] This statement unfortunately has not been preserved.

[4] About £225,000 sterling.

[5] Baber, just before the description of Hindustân, says that he entered Agra on Thursday, the 28th Rejeb. The date in the text is an error, the 29th of Rejeb being a Friday. Perhaps he thought that the distribution of treasure on a Friday might have seemed to interfere with his religious duties. If the distribution occurred on Saturday, the date is the 12th May 1526; if on Friday, May the 11th.

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stance, Kamrân received seventeen laks, Muhammed Zemân Mirza fifteen laks, Askeri Mirza[1] and Hindâl, in a word, all my relations and friends, great and small, had presents sent them in silver and gold, in cloth, and jewels, and captive slaves. Many presents were also sent for the Begs in our old territories, and their soldiers. I sent presents for my relations and friends to Samarkand, Khorasân, Kashghâr, and Irâk. Offerings were sent to the Sheikhs (or holy men) in Khorasân and Samarkand, as likewise to Mekka and Medîna. To the country of Kabûl, as an incentive to emulation, to every soul, man or woman, slave or free, of age or not, I sent one shahrokhi[2] as a gift.

When I first arrived in Agra, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in Delhi and Agra, the inhabitants fortified different posts, while the governors of towns put their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey. Kâsim Sambali was in Sambal, Nizâm Khan in Biâna, the Raja Hassan Khan Mewâti himself in Mewât. That infidel was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections. Muhammed Zeitûn was in Dhûlpûr, Tâtâr Khan Sarang-khani in Guâliâr, Hussain Khan Lohâni in Râberi, Kutab Khan in Etâwa, and in Kâlpi Ali Khân. Kunauj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of the refractory Afghâns, such as Nasîr Khan Lohâni, Maaruf Fermûli, and a number of other Amîrs, who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Ibrâhim. At the period when I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kunauj and the countries in that quarter, and had advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kunauj. They elected Behâr Khan, the son of Deria Khan, as their king, and gave him the name of Sultan Muhammed. Marghûb, a slave, was in Mâhâbun.[3] This confederation, though approaching, yet did not come near for some time. When I came to Agra, it was the hot season. All the inhabitants fled from terror, so that we could not find grain nor provender, either for ourselves or our horses. The villages, out of hostility and hatred to us, had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable. I had not had time, after the division of the treasure, to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different Pergannas and stations. It happened too that the heats were this year uncommonly oppressive. Many men about the same time dropped down, as if they had been affected by the Simûm wind, and died on the spot.

The inhabitants disaffected to Baber.

Their different chiefs.

On these accounts, not a few of my Begs and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustân, and even began to make preparations for their return. If the older Begs, who were men of experience, had made these representations, there would have been no harm in it; for, if such men had communicated their sentiments

Discontents in Baber's army.

[1] Askeri and Hindâl were sons of Baber; Muhammed Zemân Mirza was a son of Badia-ez-zemân Mirza, the late Sultan of Khorasân.

[2] Abul-fazl tells us, that eight laks of shahrokhis are equivalent to one krôr, 28 laks of dams, (*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 169,) which, allowing 40 dams to the rupee, makes it equal to 2¼ shahrokhis. This would give the shahrokhi the value of tenpence or elevenpence.

[3] The Persian reads Mâhâwun.

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to me, I might have got credit for possessing at least so much sense and judgment as, after hearing what they had to urge, to be qualified to decide on the expediency or inexpediency of their opinions; to distinguish the good from the evil. But what sense or propriety was there in eternally repeating the same tale in different words, to one who himself saw the facts with his own eyes, and had formed a cool and fixed resolution in regard to the business in which he was engaged? What propriety was there in the whole army, down to the very dregs, giving their stupid and unformed opinions? It is singular, that, when I set out from Kâbul this last time, I had raised many of low rank to the dignity of Beg, in the expectation, that if I had chosen to go through fire and water, they would have followed me back and forward without hesitation; and that they would have accompanied me cheerfully, march where I would. It never surely entered my imagination, that they were to be the persons who were to arraign my measures, nor that, before rising from the council, they should show a determined opposition to every plan and opinion which I proposed and supported in the council and assembly. Though they behaved ill, yet Ahmedi Perwânchi and Wali Khâzin behaved still worse. From the time we left Kâbul, till we had defeated Ibrâhim and taken Agra, Khwâjeh Kilân had behaved admirably, and had always spoken gallantly, giving such opinions as befitted a brave man; but a few days after the taking of Agra, all his opinions underwent a complete change. Khwâjeh Kilân was now, of all others, the most determined on turning back.

Baber assembles his nobles, and addresses them.

I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my Begs to a council. I told them that empire and conquest could not be acquired without the materials and means of war: That royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces: That, by the labours of many years, after undergoing great hardships, measuring many a toilsome journey, and raising various armies; after exposing myself and my troops to circumstances of great danger, to battle and bloodshed, by the divine favour, I had routed my formidable enemy, and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held: "And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kâbul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let not any one who calls himself my friend ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart." Having made them this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes. Khwâjeh Kilân not being disposed to remain, it was arranged, that as he had a numerous retinue, he should return back to guard the presents; I had but few troops in Kâbul and Ghaznin, and he was directed to see that these places were all kept in proper order, and amply supplied with the necessary stores. I bestowed on him Ghazni, Gerdêz, and the Sultan Masaûdi Hazâras; I also gave him the Perganna of Kehrâm in Hindustân, yielding a revenue of three or four laks.[1] Khwâjeh Mîr Mirân was likewise directed to proceed

[1] This sum, at forty dams to the rupee, and taking the rupee at two shillings, would be L.800 or L.1000 Sterling.

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to Kâbul. The presents were intrusted to his charge, and put into the immediate custody of Mûlla Hassan Sirâf and Noukeh Hindû. Khwâjeh Kilân, who was heartily tired of Hindustân, at the time of going, wrote the following verses on the walls of some houses in Delhi:— Khwâjeh Kilân's verses.

(*Turki.*)—If I pass the Sind safe and sound,
May shame take me if I ever again wish for Hind.

When I still continued in Hindustân, there was an evident impropriety in his composing and publishing such vituperative verses. If I had previously cause to be offended at his leaving me, this conduct of his doubled the offence. I composed a few extempore lines, which I wrote down and sent him.

(*Turki.*)—Return a hundred thanks, O Baber! for the bounty of the merciful God
Has given you Sind, Hind, and numerous kingdoms;
If unable to stand the heat, you long for cold;
You have only to recollect the frost and cold of Ghazni. Baber's answer.

At this period I sent to Koel, Mûlla Apâk, who had formerly been in a very low station, but who, two or three years before, having gathered together his brethren and a considerable body of other followers, had received the command of the Urûkzais and of several Afghân tribes on the banks of the Sind. I sent by him firmâns containing assurances of safety and protection, to the bowmen[1] and soldiers about Koel. Sheikh Kûren, availing himself of these assurances, came voluntarily and entered into my service. He brought with him two or three thousand bowmen from the Doâb, who all joined my army. Baber joined by some Doâb men.

The sons and clansmen of Ali Khan Fermuli,[2] fell in with Yunis Ali, between Delhi and Agra, at a time when he had mistaken the road and separated from Hûmâiûn; but, after a short engagement, were defeated, and the sons of Ali Khan made prisoners, and brought to the camp. At this juncture, I dispatched Mirza Moghûl, the son of Doulet Kedem the Turk, accompanied by one of the sons of Ali Khan, who had been taken prisoner, with firmâns containing assurances of protection and honour, to Ali Khan, who, during these commotions, had gone to Mewât. That nobleman returned back in his company. I received Ali Khan with distinction and kindness, and bestowed on him one of the most desirable Pergannas, worth twenty-five laks.[3] And by Ali Khan Fermuli.

Sultan Ibrâbim had sent Mustafa Fermuli and Firûz Khan Sarungkhâni, with several other Amîrs, against the rebellious lords of the Purab (East). Mustafa had some well-fought and desperate actions with the rebels, and had given them several severe defeats. He had died, however, before the defeat of Ibrâhim, and Sheikh Bayezîd, his younger brother, had assumed the command in his room, while Ibrâhim was yet on the throne. Firûz Khan, Sheikh Bayezîd, Mahmûd Khan Lohani, and Kazi Jia, now entered my service. I bestowed on them honours and rewards beyond their expectations. To Firûz Khan I gave a grant of upwards of a kror out of Jonpûr; on Sheikh Bayezîd one of a kror from Oud; on Mahmûd Khan, nine laks and thirty-five thousand dams out of Ghâzipur, and on Kazi Jia twenty laks[4] from Jonpûr. By Firûz Khan, Sheikh Bayezîd, Mahmûd Khan, and Kazi Jia.

[1] Terkishbend. [2] This seems to be the Ali Khan who held Kâlpi. [3] Probably about £6250.
[4] A kror may be about £25,000; nine laks and 35,000 dams, about £2440; twenty laks, nearly £5000.

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Baber distributes rewards to his officers.

A few days after the Id,[1] or festival of Shawâl, we had a great feast in the grand hall, which is adorned with the peristyle of stone pillars, under the dome in the centre of Sultan Ibrâhim's[2] private palace. On that occasion, I presented Hûmâiûn with a charkob,[3] a sword with the belt, and a tipchâk horse with a gold saddle. To Chin Taimur Sultan, to Mehdi Khwâjeh, and Muhammed Sultan Mirza, I gave a charkob, a sword with the belt, and a dagger. To the other Begs and officers I gave, according to their circumstances, a sword with a belt, a dagger, and dresses of honour; so that on the whole there were given one tipchâk horse with the saddle, two pairs of swords with the belts, twenty-five sets of enamelled daggers, sixteen enamelled kitârehs, two daggers[4] (jamdher) set with precious stones, four pair of charkobs, and twenty-eight vests of purpet. On the day of the feast there was a great deal of rain; it rained thirteen times. Many of those who were seated on the outside were completely drenched.

Expedition against Sambal:

I had at first bestowed the country of Samâneh on Muhammedi Gokultâsh, and sent him on a plundering expedition into Sambal.[5] I had bestowed Hissar Firozeh on Hûmâiûn by way of gift, and now gave him Sambal likewise. As I had placed Hindû Beg in Hûmâiûn's service, I, therefore, in the room of Muhammedi, sent Hindû Beg, accompanied by Kiteh Beg, Malek Kâsim, and Bâba Kishkeh, with their brothers and relations,[6] Mûlla Apâk, Sheikh Kuren, and the bowmen from the Doâb, with orders to proceed on duty to Sambal. Intimations had come three or four times from Kâsim Sambali, that the traitor Biban had laid siege to Sambal, and reduced him to the last extremity, so that it was desirable that they should advance by forced marches. Biban, with the same force and array with which he had fled from us, had occupied the skirts of the hills, collected the fugitive and discomfited Afghâns, and, finding the place ill garrisoned, during these troubles, had gone and laid siege to Sambal. Hindû Beg, Kiteh Beg, and the whole detachment that had been dispatched to the relief of the place, on reaching the Ahar-ford,[7] while busy in passing the river, sent on Malek Kâsim, and Bâba Kishkeh with his brothers, in advance. As soon as Malek Kâsim had crossed the river, he pushed on with great expedition, accompanied by a hundred or a hundred and fifty of his brethren,[8] and reached Sambal about the time of noon-day prayers. Biban, on his side, drew out his men from his camp, and ranged them in order of battle. Malek Kâsim and his party having advanced rapidly, and got the fort in their rear, began to engage him. Biban, unable to keep his ground, took to flight. They killed a number of his men, whose heads they cut off, and took several elephants and a number of horses. Next morning, the Begs who had been sent to relieve the place arrived. Kâsim Sambali came out and had an interview with them, but made some difficulties as to giving up the fort, always contriving evasions. One day, Sheikh Kuren having concerted measures with Hindû Beg and the rest of the generals,

which is taken.

[1] The Id of Shawâl, it will be remembered, is celebrated at the conclusion of the Ramzân, on seeing the first new moon of Shawâl. In A.H. 932, it must have fallen about 11th July 1525.

[2] Haram-serâi.

[3] A square shawl, or napkin of cloth of gold, bestowed as a mark of rank and distinction.

[4] The khanjer, kitareh, and jamdher, are peculiar kinds of daggers.

[5] Sambal is a divison of Rohilkand.

[6] That is, their clansmen.

[7] The Ahar-ford is on the Ganges, a little above Anopsheher, or Anopshir.

[8] Clansmen.

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brought Kâsim Sambali before them by stratagem, and introduced my men into the fort of Sambal. The family and dependants of Kâsim Sambali were suffered to leave the place in safety, and were conducted to Biâna.

Kalender Piâdeh was now sent to Nizâm Khan with letters, in which threats were mingled with promises. I wrote extempore, and sent the following fragment:— Nizâm Khan holds out Biâna.

Contend not with Tûrks, O Mîr of Biâna![1]
The speed and bravery of Tûrks are surpassing.
Now is the time to present yourself, and to lend an ear to counsel.
What is the use of telling a man of what is before his eyes?

The fort of Biâna is one of the most famous in Hindustân; and the foolish man, confiding too much in its strength, had cherished expectations, and instructed his envoy to make demands, far beyond what he was able to command. I returned him a sharp answer by the man whom he sent to treat, and made every exertion to collect whatever was necessary for the siege.

I sent Baba Kûli Beg to Muhammed Zeitûn[2] with letters, in which menaces were mixed with conciliation. He likewise made excuses to waste the time, and practised a variety of artifices. Muhammed Zeitûn holds out Dhûlpûr.

Although Rana Sanka,[3] the pagan, when I was in Kâbul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agra; yet, when I defeated Ibrâhim, and took Delhi and Agra, the pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement. After some time, he advanced and laid siege to Kandâr,[4] the name of a fort which was held by Hassan, the son of Makon. Hassan Makon had several times sent me envoys, though Makon himself had not waited on me with his submissions. The forts around, such as Etâwa, Dhûlpûr, Guâliâr, and Biâna,[5] were not yet in my possession. The Afghans to the eastward were in a state of rebellion and contumacy; they had even advanced two or three marches from Kunauj towards Agra, and had then encamped and fortified their position. I was by no means secure of the fidelity of the country immediately about us. It was impossible for me, therefore, to send any detachment to his relief; and Hassan, in the course of two or three months, having been reduced to extremity, entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the fort of Kandâr. Rana Sanka takes Kandâr.

[1] Biâna, which lies south-west from Agra, was formerly one of the most important places in India, from its vicinity to the capital, which it defended on the side of the Rajpût states.

[2] Muhammed Zeitûn held Dhûlpûr, which lies south from Agra, on the Chambal, and is a very strong place.

[3] Rana Sanka, the Raja of Udipûr, had made the principal Rajpût states dependent upon him. He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of several provinces in Malwa, that had formerly belonged to the King of Mandu; and was, upon the whole, the most formidable opponent whom Baber had to dread.

[4] Kandâr is a strong hill-fort, a few miles east of Rantambôr.

[5] These are the chief forts to the south of Agra. Etâwa lies on the Jumna, between Agra and Kâlpi. Guâliâr is a celebrated hill-fort, well known as the prison of the princes of the house of Taimur, and the chief place in Gohud.

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Râberi given to Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng.

Hussain Khan, who was in possession of Râberi,[1] being seized witha panic, abandoned the place, and made his escape. I bestowed it upon Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng.

Etâwa given to Mehdi Khwâjeh.

I had several times summoned Kutab Khan, who was in Etâwa, to come out and wait upon me; but he neither waited upon me nor surrendered the fort. I now bestowed the fort of Etâwa on Mehdi Khwâjeh, and sent along with him Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Sultan Muhammed Dûldi, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Abdal-azîz, the master of horse, with some other Begs, several of my inferior Begs and adherents, and a number of other troops, to occupy the place. I had lately bestowed Kunauj[2] on Sultan Muhammed Duldi; but, in the meanwhile, I ordered him also to march against Etâwa, accompanied by Firôz Khan, Mahmûd Khan, Sheikh Bayezîd, Kazi Jia, and the Begs of their party, to whom I had shown great favour, and given Pergannas on the side of Purab.

Dhûlpûr given to Sultan Junîd Birlâs.

Muhammed Zeitûn continued in Dhûlpûr, and, under various false pretences, would neither leave the place nor make his submission. I bestowed Dhûlpûr[3] on Sultan Junîd Birlâs, and appointed Adil Sultan, Muhammedi Gokultâsh, Shah Mansûr Birlâs, Kûtluk Kedem, Wali Jân Beg, Abdalla, Pir Kûli, and Shah Hussain Bargi, to proceed against that place, giving them instructions to assault and take it by storm, and to deliver it into the custody of Sultan Junîd Birlâs; after which they were to march against Biâna.

Baber holds a council.

Having appointed these armies to proceed in execution of their various objects, I sent for the Tûrki nobles and those of Hind, and held a consultation. I stated to them that the rebellious lords in the east, Nasîr Khan Lohani, Maarûf Fermuli, and their adherents, had passed the Ganges, to the number of forty or fifty thousand men, had occupied Kunauj, and advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of it; that the Pagan Rana Sanka had taken Kandâr, and was in a state of open disobedience and revolt; that the rainy season was now nearly over; that it seemed expedient and necessary to march against either the rebels or the pagans; that it would be an easy matter to reduce the neighbouring forts after getting rid of these formidable enemies; that then they would cost no trouble; that Rana Sanka was not, upon the whole, a very formidable enemy. All unanimously answered, that Rana Sanka was not only far off, but that it was not even plain that it was in his power to come near us: that the rebel chiefs had advanced closer up to us; that to repulse them should be our first object; and they therefore begged to be led against that enemy. Hûmâiûn represented, that it was quite unnecessary for the Emperor to accompany the expedition, and asked to be permitted to undertake the service. All having agreed in this plan, and the Tûrki Begs, as well as those of Hind, being pleased with the arrangement, it was settled that Hûmâiûn should march towards the east, with the armies

[1] Râberi was a place of importance on the Jumna, below Chandwâr.

[2] Kunauj, or Canouge, a famous city on the Ganges, about the 27th degree of N. Lat. It lies on the right bank of the river.

[3] It will be observed, that the greater part of these governments bestowed by Baber, were of places yet to be conquered.

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that had been appointed to proceed against Dhûlpûr; and Kâbuli Ahmed Kâsim was in consequence despatched with all speed, to make these armies change the course of their march, so as to meet Hûmâiûn in Chandwâr.[1] Mehdi Khwâjeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the armies that had been sent against Etâwa, were likewise ordered to march and form a junction with Hûmâiûn.

On Thursday, the 13th of Zilkadeh, Hûmâiûn marched to the village of Jilisir,[2] sixteen kos from Agra, where he encamped. Having halted there one day, he proceeded march after march towards the enemy. On Thursday, the 20th of the same month, Khwajeh Kilan took leave on setting out for Kâbul.

who marches to the eastward. Aug. 21. Aug. 28.

It always appears to me, that one of the chief defects of Hindustân is the want of artificial water-courses.[3] I had intended, wherever I might fix my residence, to construct water-wheels, to produce an artificial stream, and to lay out an elegant and regularly planned pleasure-ground.[4] Shortly after coming to Agra, I passed the Jumna with this object in view, and examined the country, to pitch upon a fit spot for a garden. The whole was so ugly and detestable, that I repassed the river quite repulsed and disgusted. In consequence of the want of beauty, and of the disagreeable aspect of the country, I gave up my intention of making a charbagh; but as no better situation presented itself near Agra, I was finally compelled to make the best of this same spot. I first of all began to sink the large well which supplies the baths with water; I next fell to work on that piece of ground on which are the ambli (or Indian tamarind) trees, and the octangular tank; I then proceeded to form the large tank and its inclosure; and afterwards the tank and tâlâr[5] (or grand hall of audience) that are in front of the stone palace. I next finished the garden of the private apartments, and the apartments themselves, after which I completed the baths. In this way, going on, without neatness and without order, in the Hindu fashion, I, however, produced edifices and gardens which possessed considerable regularity. In every corner I planted suitable gardens; in every garden I sowed roses and narcissuses regularly, and in beds corresponding to each other. We were annoyed with three things in Hindustân: one was its heat, another its strong winds, the third its dust. Baths were the means of removing all three inconveniences. In the bath we could not be affected by the winds. During the hot winds, the cold can there be rendered so intense, that a person often feels as if quite powerless from it. The room of the bath, in which is the tub or cistern, is finished wholly of stone. The water-run is of white stone; all the rest of it, its floor and roof, is of a red stone, which is the stone of Biâna. Khalîfeh, Sheikh Zîn, Yunis Ali, and several others, who procured situations on the banks of the river, made regular and elegant gardens and tanks, and constructed wheels after the fashion of Lahore and Debâlpûr, by means of which they procured a supply of water. The men of Hind, who had never before seen places formed on such a plan, or laid out with so

Baber makes a garden near Agra, beyond the Jumna; and a palace.

[1] Chandwâr lies on the Jumna below Agra, and above Etâwa.

[2] There are several places of this name. The one in question is below Agra, on the Jumna.

[3] Ab-rewân may be running water.

[4] In Persia and India, a house or palace is always understood to be comprehended under the name of garden.

[5] Tâlâr is an apartment open in front, and supported on pillars. It is frequently a hall of audience.

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much elegance, gave the name of Kâbul to the side of the Jumna on which these palaces were built.

Baber excavates a wâîn in Agra.

There was an empty space within the fort (of Agra), between Ibrâhim's palace and the ramparts. I directed a large *wâîn* to be constructed on it, ten gez by ten.[1] In the language of Hindustân, they denominate a large well, having a staircase down it, wâîn. This wâîn was begun before the charbagh was laid out; they were busy digging it during the rains, but it fell in several times, and smothered the workmen. After my holy war against Rana Sanka, as is mentioned in the Memoirs, I gave orders for finishing it, and a very excellent wâîn was completed. In the inside of the wâîn there was constructed an edifice of three different stories. The lowest story has three open halls, and you descend to it by the well; the descent is by means of a flight of steps, and there is a passage leading to each of the three different halls. Each hall is higher than the other by three steps. In the lowest hall of all, at the season when the waters subside, there is a flight of steps that descends into the well. In the rainy season, when the water is high, the water comes up into the uppermost of these halls. In the middle story there is a hall of carved stone, and close by it a dome, in which the oxen that turn the water-wheel move round. The uppermost story consists of a single hall. From the extremity of the area that is at the top of the well, at the bottom of a flight of five or six steps, a staircase goes off from each side to this hall, and proceeds down to its right side. Straight opposite to the entrance is a stone, containing the date of the building. By the side of this well, a shaft or pit has been dug, in such a way, that the bottom of it is a little higher than the middle of the well. The cattle, moving in the dome that has been mentioned, turn a water-wheel, by which the water is raised from the one well into the other well or shaft. On this last-mentioned shaft they have erected another wheel, by which the water is raised to a level with the ramparts, and flows into the upper gardens. At the place where the staircase issues from the well, they have built a house of stone; and beyond the inclosure that surrounds the well, a stone mosque has been built; but it is ill built, and after the style of Hindustân.

The Afghâns of the east fall back from Jajmâu.

By the time that Hûmâiûn had made some progress in his march, Nasîr Khan Lohâni, Maarûf Fermuli, and the rebel lords, had assembled and encamped at Jajmâu.[2] Hûmâiûn, when about fifteen kos[3] off, sent Mûmin Atkeh, in order to gain intelligence, and to push on, to plunder and beat up their quarters. He could not get any accurate information of their motions, but the rebels, having notice of his approach, took to flight, without waiting for his appearance. Hûmâiûn sent out Kasimnâi with Bâba Chehreh and Buchkeh, after Mûmin Atkeh, in order to get intelligence. They brought news of the panic and flight of the enemy; whereupon, Hûmâiûn advanced and occupied Jajmâu, from whence he proceeded onward. When he arrived near Dilmâu,[4] Fateh Khan Sirwâni came and made his submission. He sent that nobleman to me, accompanied by Mehdi Khwâjeh and Muhammed Sultan Mirza.

Fateh Khan Sirwâni submits.

Transactions in Khorasân.

This same year, Abîd Khan raised an army, and advanced from Bokhâra against

[1] Upwards of twenty feet square.

[2] Jajmâû is in the Doâb, below Kawnpor.

[3] About twenty-three miles.

[4] Dilmâu stands on the left bank of the Ganges, south-east from Bereilli.

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Merv. Ten or fifteen peasants, who were in the citadel of Merv, were taken and put to the sword. Having settled the revenue of Merv, he, in the course of forty or fifty days, proceeded against Sirakhs. In Sirakhs he found about thirty or forty Kizelbashes, who shut the gates, and refused to give up the fort. The inhabitants being divided in their affections, some of them opened a gate, by which the Uzbeks entered, and put all the Kizelbashes to the sword. Having taken Sirakhs, he moved upon Tûs and Meshhid. The inhabitants of Meshhid, having no means of defence, submitted. Tûs was blockaded for eight months, and finally surrendered on capitulation, the terms of which were not observed; all the men in the place being put to the sword, and the women reduced to slavery.

Behâder Khan succeeds his father, Sultan Mozeffer, in Gujrât.

This same year Behâder Khan, the son of Sultan Mozeffer of Gujrât, succeeded his father in the throne of Gujrât, of which country he is now king. Upon some difference with his father, he had fled to Sultan Ibrâhim, by whom he was treated with great slight; during the time that I was in the vicinity of Pânipat, I received from him letters asking for assistance. I returned him a gracious and encouraging answer, inviting him to join me. He at first intended to wait upon me, but afterwards changed his plan, and, separating from Ibrâhim's army, took the road of Gujrât. His father, Sultan Mozeffer, having died at this very crisis, his elder brother Sekander Shâh, the eldest son of Sultan Mozeffer, succeeded his father in the throne of Gujrât. In consequence of his bad conduct, one of his slaves, Emâd-al-mûlk, conspired with some others, and put him to death by strangling him. They then sent for Behâder Khan, who was still on the road, and on his arrival, placed him in his father's throne, under the name of Behâder Shah. This prince acted rightly in enforcing the law of retaliation, by putting to death Emâd-al-Mûlk, who had behaved so treacherously; but unfortunately, besides this, he put to death a number of his father's Amîrs, and gave proofs of his being a blood-thirsty and ungovernable young man.

Short reign of Sekander Shah.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 933.

Birth of Farûk.

In the month of Moharrem,[1] Beg Weis arrived with news of the birth of Farûk; although a messenger on foot had previously brought me the news, yet Beg Weis came this month for the purpose of communicating the good tidings. He was born on Friday eve, the 23d of the month of Shâwâl, and named Farûk.

August 2.

Ustâd Ali Kûli casts a large cannon.

I had directed Ustâd Ali Kuli to cast a large cannon, for the purpose of battering Biâna, and some other places which had not submitted. Having prepared the forges and all the necessary implements, he sent a messenger to give me notice that everything was ready. On Monday, the 25th of Moharrem,[2] we went to see Ustâd Ali

[1] Moharrem, A.H. 933, began on 8th October 1526.

[2] Moharrem 25th, November 1, happens on a Thursday. There is probably an error in the text, of Doshembeh for Penjshembeh.

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Kûli cast his gun. Around the place where it was to be cast were eight forges, and all the implements in readiness. Below each forge they had formed a channel, which went down to the mould in which the gun was to be cast. On my arrival, they opened the holes of all the different forges. The metal flowed down by each channel in a liquid state, and entered the mould. After waiting some time, the flowing of the melted metal from the various forges ceased, one after another, before the mould was full. There was some oversight either in regard to the forges or the metal. Ustâd Ali Kûli was in terrible distress; he was like to throw himself into the melted metal that was in the mould. Having cheered him up, and given him a dress of honour, we contrived to soften his shame. Two days after, when the mould was cool, they opened it. Ustâd Ali Kûli, with great delight, sent a person to let me know that the chamber of the gun for the shot was without a flaw, and that it was easy to form the powder chamber. Having raised the bullet-chamber of the gun, he set a party to work to put it to rights, while he betook himself to completing the powder chamber.[1]

Mehdi Khwâjeh, who had received the charge of Fateh Khan Sirwâni from Hûmâiûn, brought him to court. He had parted from Hûmâiûn at Dilmau. I gave Fateh Khan a favourable reception, and bestowed on him the Pergannahs of his father, Azîm Hûmâiûn, with some places in addition, to the value of a kror and sixty laks.[2] In Hindustân it is customary to bestow on the Amîrs who are in the highest favour certain titles. One of these is Azîm Hûmâiûn; another is Khan Jehân; another Khan Khânân.[3] His father's title was Azîm Hûmâiûn. As I saw no propriety in any one's bearing this title except Hûmâiûn himself, I abolished it, and bestowed the name of Khan Jehân on Fateh Khan Sirwâni.[4]

On Wednesday, the 20th of Sefer,[5] I erected awnings on the banks of the tank, on the side above the tamarind trees, and had a feast, when I invited Fateh Khan Sirwâni to a drinking party, made him drink wine, invested him with a turban, and a complete dress of honour from head to foot,[6] and, after distinguishing him by these marks of favour and grace, gave him leave to return to his own country. It was arranged that his son Mahmûd Khan should always remain at court.

Hûmâiûn's army recalled. October 31.

On Wednesday, the 24th of Moharrem, Muhammed Ali Haider Rikâbdâr was despatched with all speed to Hûmâiûn, to desire him, as the army of the rebels of the Purab (east) had been put to flight and dispersed, that, immediately on Muhammed Ali's arrival, he should proceed to Jonpûr,[7] leave in the place some Amîrs adequate to the trust, and then immediately set out with his army in order to rejoin me; that the Pagan Rana Sanka had taken advantage of the absence of the army, to approach very close upon me, and was now the first object to be attended to.

[1] It would appear, from this account, that cannon were sometimes made of parts bound or clamped together. They were frequently formed of iron bars strongly compacted into a circular shape. The description, however, is not very distinct.

[2] About £40,000 sterling.

[3] These titles signify the Mighty August, the Lord of the World, and the Lord of Lords.

[4] In the original Fateh Ali Sirwâni.

[5] 26th November is a Monday. The text should probably be 22d Sefer, (28th November.)

[6] The siropâ was a complete dress of honour, consisting of a robe, and some other articles.

[7] Jûnpûr, Jûnapûr, or Jionpûr, a considerable city north-west of Benares.

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After the army had marched to the eastward, I had ordered Terdi Beg, Kûch Beg, with his younger brother, Shîr-efken, and Muhammed Khalîl Akhtehbegi, with his brothers and Akhtajian,[1] Rustom Turkoman with his brothers, as well as other chiefs of Hindustân, and Rao Wadi Sirwâni, to proceed to plunder and lay waste the country about Biâna: if they could prevail on the garrison in the fort by any assurances of safety and indemnity to join me, they were to do it; if this failed, they were to waste and plunder the country, and to reduce the enemy to as great distress as possible. *Alim Khan's expedition against Biâna.*

Alim Khan, who was in the fort of Tehenger, was an elder brother of Nizâm Khan of Biâna. Repeated messengers had come from him, bringing professions of submission and allegiance. This Alim Khan undertook, if I would give him charge of a body of troops, to bring all the archers[2] of Biâna to listen to terms of capitulation, and to deliver Biâna into my hands. I gave instructions to the troops who had been sent on the plundering expedition along with Terdi Beg, that as Alim Khan, who was a Zemindâr of consequence, had undertaken this duty and service, they should be guided by his advice and opinion in whatever regarded the reduction of Biâna. Though many of the men of Hindustân are brave swordsmen, yet they are extremely ignorant and inexperienced in the art of war, and in the disposition and conduct of their force as commanders. This Alim, who was accompanied by the whole of our detachment, paid no attention to a single word that fell from anybody, and with a total indifference as to what was expedient and what was not, carried it close up to Biâna. The detachment consisted of two hundred and fifty, or nearly three hundred Tûrks, and somewhat above two thousand Hindustânis, and men from different quarters. Nizâm Khan, with his Afghâns, and the troops of Biâna, amounted to above four thousand horse, with upwards of ten thousand infantry. Observing the advance of our troops, and perceiving the error which Alim had committed, they made a sudden sally with their whole force; and being much superior in numbers, charged the detachment at full speed, and put them to flight in a moment. Alîm Khan Tehengeri, who was Nizam Khan's elder brother, was taken prisoner, with five or six others. In spite of this, I still consented to overlook Nizâm Khan's past offences, and again sent him letters, offering him terms and assurances of indemnity. As soon as he had certain information of the near approach of Rana Sanka the Pagan, seeing no remedy, he sent for Syed Rafaa, and, by his mediation, delivered up the fort to my troops; after which he accompanied the Syed to the presence, and was graciously received and taken into my service. I bestowed on him a Perganna of twenty laks[3] in the Doâb. Dost Ishek-Agha had been sent to take the temporary command of Biâna till a governor was appointed. A few days after, I appointed Mehdi Khwâjeh[4] to the charge, with an allowance and appointment of seventy laks,[5] and sent him to his government. *He is surprised and taken.* *Biâna surrenders.*

Tâtâr Khan Sarangkhâni, who held Guâliâr, had repeatedly sent messengers with professions of submission and attachment. After the Pagan had taken Kandâr, and *Guâliâr taken by stratagem.*

[1] D'Herbelot explains akhtaji to mean a vassal who holds lands of a superior lord. In voce *Akhtagi.*

[2] Terkishbends. [3] Nearly £5000.

[4] This is probably the Mehdi Khwâjeh who married a daughter of Baber's, and who afterwards aspired to the throne.

[5] About £17,500.

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when he was approaching Biâna, one of the Rajas of Guâliâr, Dermenket, and one Khan Jehân, a Pagan, came into the vicinity of Guâliâr, and began to attempt, by raising an insurrection and gaining a party, to produce a defection and seize the fortress. Tâtâr Khan finding himself in considerable difficulty, was willing to deliver up the fort to me. My Begs and confidential servants, as well as the greater part of my best men, had all been sent off with the armies, or in various scattered detachments. I, however, despatched Rahîmdâd with a party of Behreh-men and Lahoris, and made Imshiji Tinkitar with his brothers accompany them, having previously assigned Pergannas in Guâliâr to the whole party. I likewise sent along with them Mûlla Apak and Sheikh Kuren, who were directed to return after establishing Rahîmdâd in Guâliâr. When they got near Guâliâr, Tâtâr Khan had changed his mind, and would not suffer them to enter the fort. At this period Sheikh Muhammed Ghûs, well known as a Derwîsh, and celebrated for his piety, and whose followers and disciples are very numerous, sent a man from the fort to Rahîmdâd, to advise him to procure admission any way that he could; that Tâtâr Khan's intentions were changed, and that now he was resolved to hold out. Rahîmdâd, on receiving this information, sent in notice that he was afraid to remain without, from dread of the Pagans; and proposed that he should be allowed to enter the fort with a few of his men, while the rest staid without the walls. After much entreaty, Tâtâr Khan assented to this arrangement. Rahîmdâd had no sooner secured his own admission, and that of a few of his men, than he requested that some of his people might be permitted to attend at the gate, which was granted; and accordingly some of his people were stationed at the Hastiapol, or Elephant-gate. That very night he introduced the whole of his men by that gate. In the morning Tâtâr Khan, seeing that there was no help for it, surrendered the fort very unwillingly, and came and waited upon me at Agra. I assigned for his support the Perganna of Biâwan, with twenty laks.[1]

Dhûlpûr also surrenders.

Muhammed Zeitûn likewise, seeing that nothing could be done, surrendered Dhûlpûr, and came and waited on me. I bestowed on him also a Perganna of several laks, and made Dhûlpûr an imperial domain, bestowing the Shekdari[2] (or military collectorship) of it, on Abul Fateh Tûrkomân, whom I sent to Dhûlpûr.

The Pani Afghâns infest Hissâr-Firôzeh.

In the neighbourhood of Hissâr Firôzeh, Hamîd Khan Sarangkhâni, and a party of the Pani Afghâns, having collected a number of Afghâns and others from the countries around, to the number of three or four thousand men, were in a state of open and active revolt.

Novem. 21.

On Wednesday the 15th of Sefer, I ordered Chin Taimur to take with him Sultan Ahmedi Perwânchi, Abul Fateh Tûrkomân, Malekdâd Kerrani, and Majâhid Khan Mûltâni, and to proceed with a light-armed force against these Afghâns. They accordingly set out, and advancing by a circuitous road, fell upon the Afghâns, whom they completely routed, and killed a number of men, whose heads they cut off, and sent to me.

Defeated.

Embassy from Persia.

In the end of the month of Sefer, Khwâjehgi Asad, who had been sent into Irâk, on

[1] About £5000.

[2] The Shekdâr was a kind of military collector of the revenue.

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a mission to the Prince Tahmâsp, returned accompanied by a Tûrkomân, named Sulimân, bringing several curiosities of the country, as presents. Among these were two Circassian[1] female slaves.

On Friday the 16th of the first Rabîa, a strange occurrence happened. As the particulars are circumstantially detailed in a letter which I wrote to Kâbul, the letter itself is inserted here, without adding or taking away. It was as follows:— Decem. 21. Attempt to poison Baber.

" A very important incident happened on Friday the 16th day of the first Rabîa, in the year 933. The circumstances are these:—The mother of Ibrâhim, an ill-fated lady, had heard that I had eaten some things from the hands of natives of Hindustân. It happened in this way. Three or four months ago, never having seen any of the dishes of Hindustân, I desired Ibrâhim's cooks to be called, and out of fifty or sixty cooks, four were chosen and retained. The lady, having heard the circumstance, sent a person to Etâweh to call Ahmed, the taster, whom the Hindustânis call Bekâwel, and delivered into the hands of a female slave a tola[2] of poison, wrapped up in a folded paper, desiring it to be given to the taster Ahmed. Ahmed gave it to a Hindustâni cook who was in my kitchen, seducing him with the promise of four Perganas, and desiring him, by some means or other, to throw it into my food. She sent another female slave after the one whom she had desired to carry the poison to Ahmed, in order to observe if the first slave delivered the poison or not. It was fortunate that the poison was not thrown into the pot, it was thrown into the tray. He did not throw it into the pot, because I had strictly enjoined the tasters to watch the Hindustânis, and they had tasted the food in the pot while it was cooking. When they were dishing the meat, my graceless tasters[3] were inattentive, and he threw it upon a plate of thin slices of bread; he did not throw above one half of the poison that was in the paper upon the bread, and put some meat fried in butter upon the slices of bread. If he had thrown it above the fried meat, or into the cooking pot, it would have been still worse; but in his confusion, he spilt the better half of it on the fire-place. Baber's letter.

" On Friday, when afternoon prayers were past, they dished the dinner. I was very fond of hare, and ate some, as well as a good deal of fried carrot. I was not, however, sensible of any disagreeable taste; I likewise ate a morsel or two of smoke-dried meat, when I felt nausea. The day before, while eating some smoke-dried flesh, I had felt an unpleasant taste in a particular part of it. I ascribed my nausea to that incident. The nausea again returned, and I was seized with so violent a retching, two or three times while the tray was before me, that I had nearly vomited. At last, perceiving that I could not check it, I went to the water-closet. While on the way to it my heart

[1] Cherkes or Circassians.

[2] The tola is about the weight of a silver rupee.

[3] The account of the management of the imperial kitchen as contained in the Ayeen Akbery, is curious. " Ordinary people are not permitted to enter the kitchen."—" During the time of dressing and taking up the victuals, an awning is spread over the top of the kitchen, and care taken that nothing falls therefrom. The cooks tuck up the sleeves and the skirts of their garments, and hold their hands before their mouths and nostrils. Before the victuals are taken up, a cook and one of the inferior Bekâwels taste them; after which they are tasted by the Mîr Bekâwel, and then put into dishes."

" The Mîr Bekâwel puts his seal upon every dish," &c.—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. I. p. 62, where the whole arrangement may be seen.

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rose, and I had again nearly vomited. When I had got in front of the water-closet I vomited a great deal.

" I had never before vomited after my food, and not even after drinking wine. Some suspicions crossed my mind. I ordered the cooks to be taken into custody, and desired the meat to be given to a dog, which I directed to be shut up. Next morning about the first watch, the dog became sick, his belly swelled, and he seemed distressed. Although they threw stones at him, and shoved him, they could not make him rise. He remained in this condition till noon, after which he rose and recovered. Two young men had also eaten of this food. Next morning they too vomited much, one of them was extremely ill, but both in the end escaped.

(*Persian.*)—A calamity fell upon me, but I escaped in safety.
Almighty God bestowed a new life upon me,—
I came from the other world,—
I was again born from my mother's womb.

(*Tûrki.*)—I was broken and dead, but am again raised to life;
Now, in the salvation of my life, I recognise the hand of God.

" I ordered Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi to guard and examine the cooks, and at last all the particulars came to light, as they have been detailed.

" On Monday, being a court day, I directed all the grandees and chief men, the Begs and Vazîrs, to attend the Diwân. I brought in the two men and the two women, who, being questioned, detailed the whole circumstances of the affair in all its particulars. The taster was ordered to be cut to pieces. I commanded the cook to be flayed alive. One of the women was ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant; the other I commanded to be shot with a matchlock. The lady I directed to be thrown into custody. She too, pursued by her guilt, will one day meet with due retribution. On Saturday I eat a bowl of milk. I also drank some of the makhtum flower, brayed and mixed in spirits. On Monday I drank the makhtum flower, and Teriâke Farûk,[1] mixed in milk. The milk scoured my inside extremely. On Saturday, as on the first day, a quantity of extremely black substance, like parched bile, was voided. Thanks be to God, there are now no remains of illness! I did not fully comprehend before that life was so sweet a thing. The poet says,

(*Tûrki.*)—Whoever comes to the gates of death, knows the value of life.

" Whenever these awful occurrences pass before my memory, I feel myself involuntarily turn faint. The mercy of God has bestowed a new life on me, and how can my tongue express my gratitude? Having resolved with myself to overcome my repugnance, I have written fully and circumstantially everything that happened. Although the occurrences were awful, and not to be expressed by the tongue or lips, yet by the favour of Almighty God, other days awaited me, and have passed in happiness and health. That no alarm or uneasiness might find its way among you, I have written this on the 20th of the first Rabîa, while in the Charbagh."

A. D. 1526. Decem. 25.

[1] These Teriâks are antidotes used to avert the effects of poison.

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When I had recovered from this danger, I wrote and sent this letter to Kâbul. As the ill-fated princess had been guilty of so enormous a crime, I gave her up to Yunis Ali, and Khwâjeh Asad, to be put under contribution. After seizing her ready money and effects, her male and female slaves, she was given to Abderrahîm's charge, to be kept in custody. Her grandson, the son of Ibrâhim, had previously been guarded with the greatest respect and delicacy. When an attempt of so heinous a nature was discovered to have been made by the family, I did not think it prudent to have a son of Ibrâhim's[1] in this country. On Thursday the 29th of the first Rabîa, I sent him to Kamrân along with Mûlla Sirsân, who had come from that prince on some business.

Ibrahim's mother confined.

Ibrahim's son sent to Kâbul.

A. D. 1527. January 3.

Hûmâiûn, who had proceeded against the rebels of the East, having taken Jonpûr, marched expeditiously to Ghazipûr,[2] for the purpose of attacking Nasîr Khan. The Afghâns in that quarter, on getting notice of his approach, passed the river Sirû.[3] The light detachment of the army, that had advanced, marched back again, after plundering the country. Hûmâiûn then arranged everything as I had directed. He left Sultan Junîd and a body of his best troops, to support Shah Mîr Hussain in Jonpûr. He also ordered Kazi Jîa to remain behind, and left Sheikh Bayezîd in Oud. Having left these posts well fortified, and with every means of defence, he crossed the Ganges at Kureh-Manikpur,[4] and marched by way of Kalpi to join me. Alim Khan Jilâl Khan Jighet, who was in Kalpi,[5] had sent letters of submission, but had not himself come to court. Hûmâiûn, on arriving opposite to Kalpi, sent a person who removed all distrust from his mind, and Alim Khan accompanied Hûmâiûn and was introduced to me. On Sunday the 3d of the last Rabîa, Hûmâiûn waited on me in the garden of the Hesht-Behisht. That very same day Khwâjeh Dost Khâwend arrived from Kâbul.

Hûmâiûn leaves Sultan Junîd in Jonpûr,

And rejoins Baber at Agra. January 6.

At this time messengers began to come close upon each other from Mehdi Khwâjeh, to announce that the Rana Sanka was undoubtedly on his march, and had been joined by Hassan Khan Mewâti; that it was become indispensably necessary to attend to their proceedings, in preference to every other object. That it would be beneficial to my affairs if a detachment could be sent on, before the Grand Army, to the assistance of Biâna. In order, therefore, to harass the Rana's army, I pushed on before me towards Biâna, a light force, under the command of Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Yunis Ali, Shah Mansûr Birlâs, Kitteh Beg, and Kismi Bûjkeh. Nâher Khan, a son of Hassan Khan Mewâti, had fallen into my hands in the battle with Ibrâhim; I had kept him as a hostage, and his father, Hassan Khan, had ostentatiously maintained a correspondence, and constantly asked back his son. Many imagined, that if I gratified Hassan Khan by sending his son to him, he would be extremely sensible of the obligation, and

Approach of Rana Sanka towards Biâna.

Detachment sent to the succour of Biâna.

He is joined by Hassan Khan of Alwâr.

[1] It is worthy of notice, that Baber refrains from mentioning his name.

[2] Ghazipûr is east from Jonpûr, on the left bank of the Ganges, and like that city is in Behâr.

[3] The Sirwu or Sirjoo, is a branch of the Goger or Gogra, which joins it a little above Oud. Baber, however, applies that name to the joint stream, till it falls into the Ganges.

[4] Kureh-Manikpur, so called to distinguish it from another Kureh or Currah, is about twenty miles above Allahâbâd on the Ganges, Kureh or Currah being on the right bank, and Manikpur higher up on the left.

[5] Kâlpi stands on the right bank of the Jumna, between Agra and Allahâbâd, and has always been a place of consequence.

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exert himself actively in my service. I therefore invested his son, Nâher Khan, with a dress of honour, and on his entering into an engagement, sent him back to his father; but that wretch, as soon as he had ascertained that his son was released, and before the young man had reached him, totally forgetful of the obligation conferred on him, marched out of Alûr, and went to join Rana Sanka. I was certainly guilty of a piece of imprudence in dismissing his son at such a crisis.

A great deal of rain fell about this time, and we had several parties at which Hûmâiûn too was present; although he did not like wine, yet during these few days he drank it.

Kitîn Kara Sultan takes Balkh, Sarabagh, &c.

One of the most remarkable incidents of this period occurred at Balkh. When Hûmâiûn was on his way from the fort of Zefer[1] to Hindustân, Mûlla Bâba Beshâgheri and his younger brother Bâba Sheikh deserted from him by the road, and went and joined Kitîn Kara Sultan. The troops in Balkh being hard pressed, that place fell into Kitîn Kara Sultan's hands. The traitor now taking on himself and his brother the management of an expedition against my dominions, entered the territory of Ibek, Kharim, and Sarabagh.[2] Shah Sekander, being confounded by the fall of Balkh, surrendered the fort of Ghûri to the Uzbeks, and Mulla Baba and Baba Sheikh, with some Uzbeks, took possession of it. As Mîr Hameh's fort was close at hand, he saw nothing left for it but to declare for the Uzbeks. A few days afterwards, the Mîr and his party were ordered to Balkh, as a place of safety, while Baba Sheikh, with a body of Uzbeks, proceeded to occupy his castle. Mîr Hameh introduced Baba Sheikh himself into the castle, and appointed the rest of his party their quarters in different parts, at some distance from each other. Mîr Hameh having wounded Bâba Sheikh, and made him and some of the others prisoners, dispatched messengers full speed to Tengri Berdi at Kundez, to give him notice of what had happened. Tengri Berdi immediately sent Yâr Ali, Abdal-Latîf, and a party of his best men, to his assistance. Before their arrival, Mûlla Bâba had reached the castle with a party of Uzbeks, intending to have attacked it; he was, however, unable to effect anything, and the garrison having succeeded in joining the detachment sent by Tengri Berdi, reached Kûndez in safety. As Bâba Sheikh's wound was very severe, they cut off his head, which Mîr Hameh brought along with him. I distinguished him by particular marks of honour and regard, and ranked him in the number of my most intimate and favourite servants. When Bâki Shaghâwel marched against these two old traitors, I had promised him a reward of a ser of gold for each of their heads. In addition to all the other marks of favour which I showed Mîr Hameh, I gave him a ser[3] of gold according to that promise.

Success of Mîr Hameh.

Hassan Khan Mewâti joins Rana Sanka.

Kismi, who had proceeded at this time with a light force towards Biâna, had cut off and brought away several heads. Kismi and Bujkeh, while riding out with a few marauders to procure intelligence, defeated two parties of the enemy's skirmishers, and took seventy or eighty men; from whom Kismi having gained authentic information,

[1] The Fort of Zefer was in Badakhshân.

[2] Ibek, Kharim, and Sarabagh, all stand on the Khûlm river between Khûlm and Kehmerd.

[3] If the ser here mentioned be of 14 tolas, the value is about £27; if of 24 tolas, about £45.

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that Hassan Khan Mewâti had arrived and formed a junction with the Rana, he immediately returned back with the intelligence.

On Sunday the 8th of the month [1] I went to see Ustâd Ali Kuli fire that same great gun, of which the ball-chamber had been uninjured at the time of casting, and the powder-chamber of which he had afterward cast and finished, as has been mentioned. We went to see how far it would throw. It was discharged about afternoon prayers, and carried one thousand six hundred paces. I bestowed on Ustâd a dagger, a complete dress, and a Tipchâk horse, as an honorary reward. Ustâd Ali Khan's gun.

On Monday the 9th of the first Jemâdi, I began my march to the holy war against the heathen. Having passed the suburbs, I encamped on the plain, where I halted three or four days, to collect the army and communicate the necessary instructions. As I did not place great reliance on the men of Hindustân, I employed their Amîrs in making desultory excursions in different directions. Alim Khan was directed to proceed with a light force to Guâliâr, to carry assistance to Rahîmdâd, while I appointed Makon, Kâsim Sambali, Hamîd with his brothers, and Muhammed Zeitûn, to proceed with a light-armed party towards Sambal. [2] Baber marches against Rana Sanka. Feb. 11.

At this station we received information that Rana Sanka had pushed on with all his army nearly as far as Biâna. [3] The party that had been sent out in advance were not able to reach the fort, nor even to communicate with it. The garrison of Biâna had advanced too far from the fort, and with too little caution, and the enemy having unexpectedly fallen upon them in great force, completely routed them. Sanger Khan Jenjuheh fell on this occasion. When the affair began, Kitteh Beg came galloping up without his armour, and joined in the action. He had dismounted a Pagan, and was in the act of laying hold of him, when the Hindu, snatching a sword from a servant of Kitteh Beg, struck the Beg on the shoulder, and wounded him so severely, that he was not able to come into the field during the rest of the war against Rana Sanka. He, however, recovered long after, but never was completely well. Kismi, Shah Mansûr Birlâs, and every man that came from Biâna, I know not whether from fear, or for the purpose of striking a panic into the people, bestowed unbounded praise on the courage and hardihood of the Pagan army. Defeat of the detachment.

Marching hence, I sent forward Kâsim, the master [4] of horse, with the pioneers, to open a number of wells in the Perganna of Medhakûr, which was the place where the army was to encamp.

On Saturday the fourteenth of the first Jemâdi, I marched from the vicinity of Agra, and encamped in the ground where the wells had been dug. Feb. 16.

Next morning I marched from that ground. It occurred to me that, situated as I was, of all the places in this neighbourhood, Sîkri [5] being that in which water was Feb. 17. Baber marches for Sîkri.

[1] Of the first Jemâdi, which is the 10th of February 1527.

[2] Sambal lies to the east of the Ganges, nearly in the latitude of Delhi, and not far from Anopshîr.

[3] Biâna lies between Agra and Rantambôr, but nearer the former.

[4] Mîr Akhûr.

[5] Sîkri was a favourite place of Baber's; he built a palace and laid out a garden there. When his grandson Akber made his pilgrimage on foot, from Agra to Ajmîr, to the tomb of Khwâjeh Mundi, and back, to procure the saint's intercession for his having male children, he visited a Dervish named Selim at Sîkri, and learned from him that God had heard his prayers, and that he would have three sons.—

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most abundant, was, upon the whole, the most desirable station for a camp; but that it was possible that the Pagans might anticipate us, take possession of the water and encamp there. I therefore drew up my army in order of battle, with right and left wing and main body, and advanced forward in battle array. I sent on Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân with Kismnai,[1] who had gone to Biâna and returned back, and who had seen and knew every part of the country; ordering him to proceed to the banks of the Tank of Sîkri, and to look out for a good ground for encamping. On reaching my station, I sent a messenger to Mehdi Khwâjeh, to direct him to come and join me without delay, with the force that was in Biâna. At the same time I sent a servant of Hûmâiûn's, one Beg Mirak Moghûl, with a body of troops, to get notice of the motions of the Pagans. They accordingly set out by night, and next morning returned with information, that the enemy were encamped a kos on this side of Bisâwer.[2] The same day Mehdi Khwâjeh, with Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the light troops that had been sent to Biâna, returned and joined us.

Discomfiture of Abdal-aziz's detachment.

I had directed that the different Begs should have charge of the advance and scouts in turn. When it was Abdal-aziz's day, without taking any precautions, he advanced as far as Kanwâheh, which is five kos from Sîkri. The Pagans were on their march forward when they got notice of his imprudent and disorderly advance, which they no sooner learned, than a body of four or five thousand of them at once pushed on and fell upon him. Abdal-aziz and Mûlla Apâk had with them about a thousand or fifteen hundred men. Without taking into consideration the numbers or position of the enemy, they immediately engaged. On the very first charge, a number of their men were taken prisoners and carried off the field.

The moment this intelligence arrived, I dispatched Mohib Ali Khâlîfeh, with his followers, to reinforce them. Mûlla Hûssain and some others were sent close after to their support, being directed to push on, each according to the speed of his horse.[3] I then detached Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng to cover their retreat. Before the arrival of the first reinforcement, consisting of Mohib Ali Khâlîfeh and his party, they had reduced Abdal-aziz and his detachment to great straits, had taken his horse-tail standard, and taken and put to death Mûlla Niamet, Mûlla Daûd, and Mûlla Apâk's younger brother, besides a number of others. No sooner did the first reinforcement come up, than Tâhir Tebri, the maternal uncle of Mohib Ali, made a push forward, but was unable to effect a junction with his friends, and got into the midst of the enemy. Mohib Ali himself was thrown down in the action, but Baltû making a charge from behind, succeeded in bringing him off. They pursued our troops a full kos, but halted the moment they descried Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng's troops from a distance.

Messengers now arrived in rapid succession, to inform me that the enemy had advanced close upon us. We lost no time in buckling on our armour; we arrayed our

"This prophecy," says Thevenot, "was so pleasing to Akber, especially when it began to be accomplished, that he called his eldest son Selim after the Dervish, and gave the town, which formerly had been called Sikri, the name of Fatehpur, which signifies place of joy and pleasure, and built there a very beautiful palace, with the intention of making it his capital."—*Thevenot's Travels*, vol. V. p. 148.

[1] Or Kismi.

[2] Bisâwer is a small town ten or twelve miles north-west from Biâna.

[3] Abruk-sabruk.

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horses in their mail, and were no sooner accoutred than we mounted and rode out; I likewise ordered the guns to advance. After marching a kos we found that the enemy had retreated.

There being a large tank on our left, I encamped there to have the benefit of the water. We fortified the guns in front, and connected them by chains. Between every two guns we left a space of seven or eight gez,[1] which was defended by a chain. Mustafa Rûmi had disposed the guns according to the Rûmi[2] fashion. He was extremely active, intelligent, and skilful in the management of artillery. As Ustâd Ali Kûli was jealous of him, I had stationed Mûstafa in the right with Hûmâiûn. In the places where there were no guns, I caused the Hindustâni and Khorasâni pioneers and spademen to run a ditch. In consequence of the bold and unexpected advance of the Pagans, joined to the result of the engagement that had taken place at Biâna, aided by the praises and encomiums passed on them by Shah Mansûr, Kismi, and those who had come from Biâna, there was an evident alarm diffused among the troops; the defeat of Abdal-aziz completed this panic. In order to reassure my troops, and to add to the apparent strength of my position, wherever there were not guns, I directed things like tripods to be made of wood, and the spaces between each of them, being seven or eight gez,[3] to be connected and strengthened by bull's hides twisted into ropes. Twenty or twenty-five days elapsed before these machines and furniture were finished. During this interval, Kâsim Hussain Sultan, who was the grandson of Sultan Hussain Mirza by one of his daughters, Ahmed Yûsef, Syed Yûsef, with some who belonged to the royal camp, and a number of other men who had gathered by ones and twos from different quarters, amounting in all to five hundred persons, arrived from Kâbul. Muhammed Sherîf the astrologer, a rascally fellow, came along with them. Bâba Dost Sûchi,[4] who had been sent to Kâbul for wine, came back with some choice wine of Ghazni, laden on three strings of camels,[5] and arrived in their company. While the army was yet in the state of alarm and panic that has been mentioned, in consequence of past events and of ill-timed and idle observations that had been spread abroad, that evil-minded wretch Muhammed Sherîf, instead of giving me any assistance, loudly proclaimed to every person whom he met in the camp, that at this time Mars was in the west, and that whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter would be defeated. The courage of such as consulted this villainous soothsayer, was consequently still farther depressed. Without listening to his foolish predictions, I proceeded in taking the steps which the emergency seemed to demand, and used every exertion to put my troops in a fit state to engage the enemy.

Baber fortifies his position.

Muhammed Sherîf the astrologer.

On Sunday the 21st[6] I sent Sheikh Jemâli to collect as many bowmen of the Doâb and Delhi as he could, to proceed with them to plunder the country of Mewât, and to leave nothing undone to annoy and distress these districts. Mûlla Tûrk Ali, who had come from Kâbul, was instructed to accompany Sheikh Jemâli, and to see that every-

Sheikh Jemâli sent to lay waste Mewât.

[1] Fifteen or sixteen feet.
[2] Turkish or Ottoman.
[3] Fourteen or sixteen feet.
[4] Sûchi probably means Abdar (waterman), butler.
[5] The *kitar* or string of camels, contained five, according to Abulfazl, *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. I. p. 145; who assigns the same number to that of the mule, p. 157.
[6] This probably should be Sunday, the 22d of the first Jemâdi (Feb. 24.)

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thing possible was done to plunder and ruin Mewât. Similar orders were given to Maghfûr Dîwân, who was instructed to proceed to ravage and desolate some of the bordering and remoter districts, ruining the country, and carrying off the inhabitants into captivity. They did not, however, appear to have suffered much from these proceedings.

Baber's penitence. Feb. 25.

On Monday the 23d of the first Jemâdi, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart. I said to myself, O, my soul!

(*Persian Verse.*)—How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin?
Repentance is not unpalatable—Taste it.
(*Túrki Verse.*)—How great has been thy defilement from sin!—
How much pleasure thou didst take in despair!—
How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions!—
How much of thy life hast thou thrown away!—
Since thou hast set out on a Holy War,
Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.
He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself,
Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest.
Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyments;
Cleanse thyself from all thy sins.
Having withdrawn myself from such temptation,
I vowed never more to drink wine.

He destroys the drinking vessels, and renounces the use of wine.

Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, and other utensils of gold and silver, I directed to be divided among Derwîshes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow.[1] That night and the following, numbers of Amîrs and courtiers, soldiers and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Bâba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out, I directed a wâîn to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the wâîn an alms-house to be erected. In the month of Moharrem, in the year 935, when I went to visit Guâliâr, in my way from Dhûlpûr to Sikri, I found this wâîn completed. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory over Rana Sanka the pagan, I would remit the temgha (or stamp-tax) levied from Musulmans. At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân and Sheikh Zîn put me in mind of my promise. I said, "You did right to remind me of this. I renounce the temgha in all my dominions, so far as concerns Musulmans;" and I sent for my secretaries, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions Firmâns, conveying intelligence of the two important incidents that had occurred.

Renounces the stamp-duty, so far as regards Musulmans.

[1] This vow was sometimes made by persons who set out on a war against the Infidels. They did not trim the beard till they returned victorious. Some vows of a similar nature may be found in Scripture.

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The following is a copy of the Firmân written by Sheikh Zeineddin, and sent round my dominions.[1]

The Firmân of Zehireddin Muhammed Baber.[2]

Let us[3] *return praise to the Forgiver, for that he holds as his friends the repentant, and such as have cleansed themselves from their sins; and let us return thanksgiving to Him who shows the right road to sinners, and bestows favours on such as ask his blessing; and let us give praises to the best of created Beings, Muhammed, and to his family who are pure, and his friends who are pure;* and blessed be the mirror-like minds of men of understanding, which are the place in which the affairs of the world are seen in their true light, and which are the treasury of the pearls that adorn the forms of truth and right, and will be the receivers of the figures of the brilliant jewels of this truth—that the human constitution, from the mode of its creation, is prone to desire the gratification of earthly passions, though the renunciation of such desires is inseparably connected with the favour of God and celestial aid. Human passions are not far removed from evil desires; *and I feel that my mind is not pure, since it certainly draws me towards evil.* And this abstinence from wickedness is a boon not to be gained, but by the mercy of the most merciful King—*Yet such is the graciousness of God, that he gives it to every one that asks it; And God is the author of mighty kindness.* The purpose of writing these lines, and of enouncing these truths, is, that from the frailty of human nature, in compliance with the usage of kings, the seductions of royalty, and the custom of men of rank, both kings and soldiers, during the times of early youth, many forbidden acts and unlawful deeds have been obstinately committed; and after a few days' repentance and sorrow having ensued, these forbidden acts have in succession been renounced, and the door of relapse shut on such criminal transgressions by unfeigned repentance. But the renunciation of wine, which is the most indispensable of all renunciations, and the most important of all these resolutions of amendment, remained hid behind a veil, *since every act has its due season,* and did not show itself until, in this blessed and auspicious hour, when, exerting all our energies, and binding on the badge of a holy war,[4] we sat down, along with the armies whose sign is the Faith, over against the Pagans in warfare; having heard from secret inspiration, and from the warnings of a voice that cannot err, the blessed tidings of A. L. M.[5] or of, *O ye that have received the faith, and whose hearts bend down at the mention of God,* for the purpose of plucking up the *roots* of sin, we knocked with all our might at the door of penitence; and the pointer of the way assisting, in conformity to the saying, *He who*

Baber's Firmân.

[1] There is a lacuna in the Tûrki copy from this place till the beginning of the year 935. Till then I therefore follow only Mr Metcalfe's and my own Persian copies.

[2] Mr Metcalfe's copy reads, *Padshah Ghazi,* the "Emperor victorious over the Infidels," but erroneously, as Baber did not assume the title of Ghazi till after the battle with Rana Sanka.

[3] The passages in italics are Arabic in the original.

[4] *Ekhrâm* is properly the napkin which pilgrims tie round their middle, when on the pilgrimage of Mekka. It is here used as the symbol of what may be called a Muhammedan crusade.

[5] For the meaning of the three letters, Alif, Lam, Mim, prefixed to several chapters of the Koran, see Sale's very learned Preliminary Discourse to that work, section 3.

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knocks at the door, and persists in knocking, shall be admitted, opened the door of his mercy: and we have directed this holy warfare to commence with the Grand Warfare, the War against our Evil Passions. In short, after saying with the tongue of truth and sincerity, *O, my Creator! we have subjected our passions; fix us on thy side*, for I have written on the tablets of my heart, that *now, for the first time, I have indeed become a Musulman*, I have blazoned abroad the desire to renounce wine, which was formerly hid in the treasury of my heart. And the servants, victory-adorned, in obedience to the commands which terminate in blessing, have, for the glory of religion, dashed upon the ground of contempt and ruin, and broken in pieces, the goblets, and cups, and all the utensils and vessels of silver and of gold, which, resembling in their number and splendour the stars of the lofty sky, were the ornaments of the Assembly of Wickedness, and were like unto those idols which, God willing, we shall quickly be aided in breaking to pieces; and every fragment was thrown to a needy or helpless one. And by the blessing of this repentance which draws near unto remission of sins, many of those near the presence, as the custom is *that courtiers follow the usage and fashion of the prince*, in that same meeting were exalted by the glory of repentance, and entirely renounced the use of strong drinks; and still, crowds of those who are subjected to us, hourly find their blessing and exaltation in this self-denial. And hopes are entertained, according to the saying, *He who shows the road to goodness is as the door of good*, that the blessing of these acts will terminate in the good fortune and greatness of the Nawâb whose undertakings are successful, the emperor: And that from the happy influence of these good deeds, victory and success may day by day increase; and after the conclusion of this enterprize, and the fulfilment of this wish, that the Firmân which the world obeys, may receive such perfect execution, that, in the regions protected by our sway, *God keeping watch to protect them from all evil and all enmity*, there may not be a creature who shall indulge in the use of intoxicating liquor, or employ himself in procuring, or in making spirits, or in selling them; or who shall purchase them, or keep them, or carry them out or bring them in. *Abstain from intoxication: perhaps you may be justified; and there is a blessing on this self-conquest.* And, as an offering made on occasion of this sincere repentance, the sea of royal bounty has risen, and displayed the waves of liberality, which is the source of the populousness of the world, and of the glory of the sons of men. And a Firmân has issued, renouncing, as far as concerns the Musulmans, the temgha of all our dominions, the amount of which exceeds all limits and calculation; for although, in the time of former sultans, the usage was to levy it, yet the practice was opposite to the constitutions of the laws delivered by the holy prophets; and orders have been given, that in no city, or town, or road, or street, or passage, or port, should the temgha be received or levied; and that there shall be no delay or deviation in the execution of these commands. *And if any one alters these commands after having heard them, then, of a truth, the crime of such act shall fall on that person who shall change these commands*; the duty of the soldiers who are shielded under the royal favour, whether Türks or Tâjiks, or Arabs or Ajems,[1] or Hindus or Persians, of subjects civil or military, and of

[1] Arabs, or not Arabs.

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all the followers of every religion, and of all the tribes of the sons of men, is, that being strengthened and filled with hope by this sustaining generosity, they may employ themselves in the praises of the mightiness of Him who exists for ever; and may never deviate from the injunctions of the mandate whose termination is in good; but adhering to their duty, according to the Firmân that has been published, fulfil its intention. And as soon as it reaches the seal, that the great, the exalted, the lofty, obey it. *Written by the High Command. May the great God exalt this Firmân, and the Almighty always protect its inviolability.* Dated the 24th of the first Jemâdi, in the year 933. Feb. 26, 1527.

At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. The Vazîrs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amîrs, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness. During the whole course of this expedition Khalifeh conducted himself admirably, and was unremitting and indefatigable in his endeavours to put everything in the best order. At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amîrs and officers, and addressed them,—"Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life, must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality, must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy!

Alarm in Baber's army.

His speech to his officers.

With fame, even if I die, I am contented;
Let fame be mine, since my body is Death's. [1]

The Most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the blessed Korân in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe.

Its powerful effects.

The danger and confusion on all sides were particularly alarming at this very moment. Hussain Khan Lohâni had advanced and taken Râberi.[2] Kutb Khan's people had taken Chandwâr.[3] A man of the name of Rustam Khan having assembled a body of Doâb bowmen, had come and taken Koel,[4] and made Kichek Ali prisoner. Zahîd had

Baber's danger.

He loses many districts.

[1] Those beautiful verses are from the Shahnâmeh of Ferdausi.

[2] Râberi, a fort in the Doâb, below Chandwâr. [3] Chandwâr lies on the Jumna below Agra.

[4] Koel, Coel, or Kaul, is in the Doâb, between Agra and Anopshir.

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been compelled to evacuate Sambal, and had rejoined me. Sultan Muhammed Duldai had retired from Kunauj, and joined my army. The Pagans of the surrounding country came and blockaded Guâliâr. Alim Khan, who had been sent to the succour of Guâliâr, instead of proceeding to that place, had marched off to his own country. Every day some unpleasant news reached us from one place or another. Many Hindustânis began to desert from the army. Haibet Khan Gurg-endaz[1] fled to Sambal. Hassan Khan Bariwal fled and joined the Pagans. Without minding the fugitives, we continued to regard only our own force. On Tuesday, the 9th of the latter Jemâdi, on the day of the Nouroz, I advanced my guns, and tripods that moved on wheels, with all the apparatus and machines which I had prepared, and marched forward with my army, regularly drawn up and divided into right and left wing and centre, in battle order. I sent forward in front the guns and tripods placed on wheel-carriages. Behind them was stationed Ustâd Ali Kûli, with a body of his matchlock-men, to prevent the communication between the artillery and infantry, who were behind, from being cut off, and to enable them to advance and form into line. After the ranks were formed, and every man stationed in his place, I galloped along the line, animating the Begs and troops of the centre, right and left, giving each division special instructions how they were to act, and to every man orders how to conduct himself, and in what manner he was to engage; and, having made these arrangements, I ordered the army to move on in order of battle for about a kos, when we halted to encamp. The Pagans, on getting notice of our motions, were on the alert, and several parties drew out to face us, and advanced close up to our guns and ditch. After our army had encamped, and when we had strengthened and fortified our position in front, as I did not intend fighting that day, I pushed on a few of our troops to skirmish with a party of the enemy, by way of taking an omen. They took a number of Pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought away. Malek Kâsim also cut off and brought in some heads. He behaved extremely well. This incident raised the spirits of our army excessively, and had a wonderful effect in giving them confidence in themselves.

March 12. He advances against the enemy.

Encamps.

March 13. Next morning, I marched from that station, with the intention of offering battle; when Khâlîfeh and some of my advisers represented to me, that as the ground on which we had fixed for halting was near at hand, it would be proper, in the first place, to throw up a ditch and to fortify it, after which we might march forward and occupy the position. Khâlîfeh accordingly mounted to give directions about the ditch, and rejoined us, after having set pioneers to work on the different parts of it, and appointed proper persons to superintend their progress.

March 16. Again advances. On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jemâdi, having dragged forward our guns, and advanced our right, left, and centre in battle array, for nearly a kos, we reached the ground that had been prepared for us. Many tents were already pitched, and they were engaged in pitching others, when news was brought that the enemy's army was in sight. I immediately mounted, and gave orders that every man should, without delay, repair to his post, and that the guns and lines should be properly strengthened. As the letter announcing my subsequent victory contains a clear detailed account of the circumstances of the Army of the Faith, the number of the Pagan bands, the order

And engages the enemy.

[1] If *Gurg-endaz*, the epithet is the wolf-hunter; if *Karak-endaz*, the rhinoceros-hunter.

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of battle and arrangements of both the Musulman and Pagan armies, I shall therefore subjoin the official despatch[1] announcing the victory, as composed by Sheikh Zein, without adding or taking away.

The Firmân of Zehîreddin Muhammed Baber Ghazi (victorious over the Heathen.) Baber's Firmân.

All manner of praise[2] *be to God, for that his promises are sure, and that he assists his servants, and exalts his armies, and scatters in rout the bands of those who give associates unto Him.*[3] *He is one, and except him there is nothing. O Thou who hast exalted the standards of the Islâm, by means of the friends of the faith, who walk in the right way; and who hast dashed down the standards of idols, by dispersing in flight the enemies of the Musulmans, who are rejected; for verily he cuts down and destroys the race which practises oppression; all praise belongs unto God, who is the creator of the world; and may the blessing of God light on the best of his created beings Muhammed, the greatest of holy warriors, and of such as ever waged war on the heathen; and blessing be on his family and friends who are the pointers of the true road, even till the day of judgment.* The constant succession of God's mercies is the cause of the number of praises bestowed on the Most High; and the number of the praises and glorifyings of God is again, in its turn, the cause of the constant succession of God's mercies. For every mercy a thanksgiving is due, and every thanksgiving is followed by a mercy. To pay the due praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty, far exceeds human ability, and even the best are altogether unable to discharge the mighty debt. But, above all, thanksgiving is due for a grace, than which no more mighty favour is, or for evermore can be, in this world,—for victory over the heathen, and the defeat of powerful sinners; *for these are those heathen and sinners* concerning whom revelation has been made; and verily, in the sight of men of understanding, there can be no blessing more excellent; *all good and all blessing proceed from God.* And that grand favour, that mighty gift (which, *from the cradle till the present moment*, was the most ardent wish and most fixed desire of this heart that longs for the good of mankind, and is eager in pursuit of truth), at this fortunate and auspicious moment, showed itself from the hidden store of the mercies of the sublime majesty of the Wisest of the Wise; and the Accomplisher who never reproaches, and He who is bountiful without cause, with the keys of victory has opened the doors of bounty before the face of the wishes of us the Nawâb, success-adorned; and the illustrious names of our ever-successful armies have been inserted in the book of the illustrious warriors of the faith, while the standards of Islâm, with the aid of our victorious hosts, have attained the highest heights of exaltation and glory. The particulars of this happy transaction, and the details of this glorious event, are as follows:—When

[1] Nothing can form a more striking contrast to the simple, manly, and intelligent style of Baber himself, than the pompous laboured periods of his secretary. Yet I have never read this Firmân to any native of India, who did not bestow unlimited admiration on the official bombast of Zeineddin, while I have met with none but Türks who paid due praise to the calm simplicity of Baber. The different Firmâns are translated, like the Memoirs themselves, with scrupulous fidelity, perhaps in some instances with too much.

[2] The Italic character denotes the Arabic, many of the sentences of which are texts of the Korân, which, in some cases, gives the sense a broken and imperfect appearance.

[3] That is, the Christians and Polytheists.

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the glancing of the swords of our soldiers, who are the stay of the faith, illuminated the regions of Hindustân with the splendours of conquest and victory; and the hands of divine assistance exalted our victorious banners in the kingdoms of Delhi, and Agra, and Jonpur, and Kherîd, and Behâr, and elsewhere, as has been made known in former accounts of our victories; many tribes of men, both of the heathen and of such as professed the faith, submitted to and became subjects of us the fortunate Nawâb. When, according to what is written, *He hath waxed rebellious and presumptuous, and is become one of the heathen*, some having raised up their heads in revolt like Satan, and having become the leaders of the army of the accursed, and the generals of the soldiers of the rejected, were the cause of the gathering of these bands, composed of some who bore on their necks the zinnâr,[1] (that yoke of perdition,) and of others who fixed thorns from the pangs of apostacy in the hem of their garments; now the sway of the accursed Pagan, *May the Almighty consign him to perdition at the day of judgment*, was so extensive in the country of Hind, that before the rising of the sun of the imperial dominion, and before our attaining the Khalifat and empire, (although mighty Rajas and Rais, who, in this contest, have obeyed his mandates, and Hâkims and rulers, glorying in apostacy, who were under his control in this warfare, having regard to their own dignity, did not obey nor assist him in any former war or battle, and had never accompanied the Pagan in any of his former enterprizes, but had only deceitfully flattered and fed his vanity,) yet the standards of the heathen streamed in two hundred cities inhabited by people of the faith; whereby the destruction of mosques and holy places had ensued, and the women and children of the Musulmans of these towns and cities have been made captives; and his strength had reached such a pitch, that, calculating according to the custom in Hind, by which a country yielding a lak[2] furnishes one hundred horse, and one yielding a crore (or ten millions) ten thousand horse, the countries subject to that Pagan had attained the amount of ten crores (or one hundred millions), which afforded one hundred thousand cavalry. And at this time, many heathen of eminence, who never before in any war had any one of them assisted him, actuated by hatred to the armies of the faith, increased his villainous array, so that ten independent princes, each of whom raised on high likesmoke the boast of revolt, and who in different quarters were the leaders of the Pagan hosts, and were like the chains[3] and fetters on the limbs of these wretched Pagans; each of those ten infidels, who, unlike the ten blessed, unfolded the misery-freighted banners, *which mark them out for future torment and wailing*, possessed many dependents and armies, and wide-extended Pergannas. As, for instance, Silâh-ed-dîn possessed thirty thousand horse; Raûl Udi Sing Nagari, ten thousand horse; Medini Rai, ten thousand; Hassan Khan Mewâti, twelve thousand horse; Bârmal Idri, four thousand horse; Nirpat Hâda, seven thousand; Sittervi Kichi, six thousand; Dherm Deo, four thousand; Nirsing Deo, four thousand horse; Mahmûd Khan, the son of Sultan Sekander, though he possessed no country nor Perganna, yet had gathered about him ten thousand horse, who adhered to him in the hopes that he might succeed in

[1] The zinnâr is the Brahminical cord.

[2] A lak is one hundred thousand dams.

[3] This alludes to the Asiatic custom of wearing chains and rings of silver and gold on the feet and legs; the sense is, "these leaders, though regarded as the ornaments of the Pagan host, were really only, by the blessing of God, as the fetters on their feet."

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establishing his pretensions; insomuch, that the total number of all these wretches, who were separated from the fields of salvation and bliss, if an estimate be formed from the capacity of their dominions and Pergannas, was two hundred and one thousand. These haughty-minded, yet blind Pagans, having latterly united their hearts with those of the other black, hard-hearted, ill-fated Pagans, *like one darkness coming upon another*, advanced in hostile array, to war with the people of the Islâm, and to destroy the foundation of the religion of the Chief of Men, *on whom be praise and blessing*. The holy warriors of the imperial army, coming like the divine mandates on the head of the one-eyed Dejal,[1] showed to men of understanding the truth of the saying, *whenever fate arrives the eye becomes blind;* and having placed before their sight the text of the blessed Korân, where it is written, *Whoever engages in a holy war, of a truth fights for his own soul*, exhibited their obedience to the commandment ever to be obeyed, *engage in war with the heathen and the impious*. On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jemâdi, in the year 933, of the good fortune of which day the sacred words, *since God has given a blessing on your Saturday*, are a proof, the encampment of the victorious army of the Islâm was established in the neighbourhood of Kanweh, one of the districts of Biâna, hard by a hill which resembled the grave of the enemies of the faith. When the accounts of the glorious array and parade of the army of the Islâm reached the ears of the accursed Pagans, the enemies of the faith of Muhammed, (who, like the warriors of the elephant, were eager to destroy the Kaabeh of the people of the faith, and who made the mountain-formed, demon-looking elephants their confidence,) all with one heart and mind drew out their armies, which marched under ill-starred standards. March 16.

In these elephants the wretched Hindus
Were confident, like the warriors of the elephant.[2]
Like the evening of Death, the detested and execrable bands,
Darker than night, and more numerous than the stars,

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[1] Dejâl, or al Masîh al Dajjâl, the false or lying Messiah, is the Muhammedan Antichrist. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters K. F. R., signifying Kafer, or Infidel. He is to appear in the latter days riding on an ass, and will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispahân, and will continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days. He is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mekkan nor Medina, which are to be guarded by angels. He is to be finally slain at the gate of Lud by Jesus, for whom the Musulmans profess great veneration, calling him the breath or spirit of God.—See *Sale's Introductory Discourse to the Koran.*

[2] This alludes to the defeat of Abraha, a prince of Yemen, who marched his army and some elephants to destroy the Kaaba of Mekka. "The Meccans," says Sale, "at the approach of so considerable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend their city or temple. But God himself undertook the defence of both. For when Abraha drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one, and named Mahmûd, refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter; and while matters were in this posture, on a sudden a large flock of birds, like swallows, came flying from the sea-coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill; and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Abraha's men, certainly killing every one they struck." The rest were swept away by a flood, or perished by a plague, Abraha alone reaching Senaa, where he also died.—*Sale's Koran*, vol. II. p. 510, *note*.

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All ascending like fire, nay, rather like smoke,
Raised their heads in hostility to the azure sky.
Like ants they issue from right and left,
Horse and foot, thousands of thousands.

Eager for combat and battle, they approached the camp of the true believers. The holy warriors of the faith, who are the trees of the garden of valour, advanced in ranks straight as the rows of fir-trees, and exalted aloft their fir-like helmets and basnets, that gleamed in the sun, even as the hearts of *those that strive in the way of the Lord*. Their array, like the barrier of Sekander,[1] was of iron hue; and, like the road of the Muhammedan faith, straight and firm, and bearing indications of its strength. *And the foundation of the array was like those foundations which are strong*, and supporting success and victory; and what is written, *They are on the right road on the side of their Creator, and they are successful*, belonged to the men in that array.

(*Meaneri*)—In that array there *was no rent* occasioned by timid souls;
It was firm as the wish of the Emperor and the faith.
Their standards all swept the sky,
And the *banner-staffs were all—of a truth we have given success.*

The far-seeing guardians having concerted measures for the security of the match-lock-men and thunder-darters,[2] who were in front of the army, made a *line of carriages*, connected with each other by chains, according to the practice of the holy warriors of Rûm; and the troops of the Islâm finally displayed such array and firmness, that old Intelligence,[3] and our Heaven,[4] poured down praises on their orderer and arranger; and in making this array and arrangement, and firm front and immovable order, a personage honoured in the imperial presence, the pillar of the royal state, Nizâm-eddîn Ali Khalifeh, gave all his aid and assistance; and all his ideas were conformable to fate, and all his acts and doings were agreeable to the illuminated mind (of the Emperor). The station of the imperial grandeur was established in the centre; and on his right, the cherished brother, the high-in-rank, the respectable and favoured of fate, the selected-by-the-kindnesses of the assistance-giving king, Chin Taimur Sultan; and the son high-in-rank, who is distinguished by the gifts of the exalted majesty, Sulemân Shah; and he who is exalted by pointing the true road, the piety-adorned Khwâjeh Dost Khâwend; and the trusty in the mighty empire, faithful to the exalted royalty, the confidential *counsellor*, the chosen among persons of trust, Yunis Ali; the prop of the grandees, the perfect in friendship, Shah Mansûr Birlâs; the prop of the nobility, the chosen among the attached, Derwish Muhammed Sârbân; the prop of the nobles, the pure in attachment, Abdalla Kitâbdâr and Dost Ishik-Agha, were stationed in their posts. And in the left of the centre, the sovereignty-adorned, the Khilâfat-descended Sultan, Alaeddin Alem

[1] The barrier or iron wall supposed to have been erected by Alexander the Great at the Derbend, on the west of the Caspian, to repress the invasions of Yajuj and Mujuj (Gog and Magog).

[2] Barkendaz, or lightning-darter, is the usual word in India for a matchlock-man.

[3] Khird, Intelligence, or the First Intelligence, was supposed to be the guardian of the empyreal Heaven.

[4] The different spheres are each supposed to have a guardian angel to watch over them, and keep them steadily in their ordained courses.

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Khan, the son of Sultan Behlul Lodi, a prince who has near access to the royal majesty; and the Dastûr, the most exalted among Sadders[1] of the human race, the protector of mankind, the supporter of the Islâm, Sheikh Zein Khawâfi; and the prop of nobles, the perfect-in-friendship, Mohîb Ali, the son of him who has near access to the royal majesty above mentioned;[2] and the chosen among nobles, Terdi Beg, the brother of Kûch Beg, who has been received into mercy and purified; Shîr-efken, the son of the said Kûch Beg, who has received the divine forgiveness; and the chosen among grandees and nobles, the mighty Khan, Arâish-Khan; and the Vizîr, the greatest of Vizîrs among men, Khwâjeh Hussain, and a band of grand officers, were stationed, each in his place. And in the right wing, the exalted son, the fortunate, the honourable, befriended-of-fate, the happy, the well-regarded in the sight of the mercies of Creating Majesty, the star of the sign of monarchy and success, the sun of the sphere of Khilâfat and royalty, the praised by slave and free, the exalter of the emperor and empire, Muhammed Hûmâiûn Behâder, was stationed. On the right of that lofty prince, who is nearly allied to good fortune, was he whose rank approximates to royalty, who is distinguished by the favour of the king, the giver of all gifts, Kâsim Hussain Sultan; the column of the nobility, Ahmed Yusuf Aghlanchi; the trusted-of-royalty, the perfect-in-fidelity, Hindu Beg Kôchin; and the intrusted-of-royalty, Khosrou Gokultâsh; and the intrusted-of-royalty, Kewâm Beg Urdu-Shah; and the pillar of the royal retainers, the perfect-in-attachment, Wali Kâsim Karagûzi; and the chosen among attached adherents, Pîr Kuli Sistâni; and the pillar of vizîrs amongst mankind, Khwâjeh Pehlewân Badakhshi; and the prop of the royal bands, Abdal Shakûr; and the prop of the nobility, Sulemân Agha, the ambassador of Irak, and Hussain, the ambassador of Sistân, were stationed. On the victory-clothed left of the fortunate son who has been mentioned, of lofty extraction and Syed race, of the family of Murtiza,[3] Mîr Hâmeh; and the prop of the household troops, Muhammedi Gokultâsh, and Khwâjehgi Asad Jândâr, were stationed. And in the right wing, of the Amîrs of Hind, the Umdet-al Mulk (prop of the state), Khan Khanân (Khan of Khans), Dilâwer Khan; and the prop of the nobility, Malekdâd-e-Kirrâni; and the prop of the nobility, the Sheikh of Sheikhs, Sheikh Kuren, were stationed, each in his fixed place. And in the left wing of the Islam-exalted armies, the lord of high rank, the protection of the magistracy, the abode of greatness, the ornament of the family of Taha and Yasin,[4] Syed Mehdi; and the exalted, the fortunate brother, he who is well regarded in the sight of the Creating King, Muhammed Sultan Mirza; and the personage near to royalty, the descended of monarchs, Adel Sultan, son of Mehdi Sultan; and the intrusted-in-the-state, the perfect-in-attachment, Abdal-azîz Mîr Ahkûr;[5] and the intrusted-in-the-state, the pure-in-friendship, Muhammed Ali

[1] Dastûr and Sadder, the former of which seems originally to have meant, one who retains within rule, and the latter, one who holds an eminent seat, were both first applied to religious directors, but afterwards to political ministers. Dastûr, at the present day, is constantly used for a Visier, except among the Parsis, who give the name of Dastûr to their priests; and it is here used as a high priest. The Sadder is a chief judge.

[2] Nizâmeddin Ali Khalifeh.

[3] Murtiza is a name of Ali.

[4] That is, of Muhammed.

[5] Master of horse.

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Jeng-Jeng; and the prop of the nobility, Kutluk Kedem Kerâwal; and Shah Hussain Yeregi, Moghul Ghanchi, and Jan Beg Atkeh, extended their ranks. And in this station, of the Amîrs of Hind, of royal race, Jilâl Khan, and Kemâl Khan, the son of the Sultan Alaeddîn who has been named; and the selected among nobles, Ali Khan Sheikhzadeh Fermuli; and the prop of nobles, Nizâm Khan of Biâna, were placed. And as a tulughmeh (or flanking party), two persons of chief trust among the household retainers, Terdîkeh and Mâlek Kâsim, the brother of Bâbâ Kishkeh, with a party of the Moghul tribes, were stationed on the right wing; and two persons of trust from among the nobility, Momin Atkeh and Rustam Turkomân Bâshlîgh, with a party of the Emperor's own immediate dependants, were stationed on the left wing; and the prop of the household troops, the perfect-in-friendship, the choice of confidential advisers, Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi, having arranged the nobles and grandees of the warriors of the faith in their suitable stations and places, himself repaired to await my commands; and he sent the tewâchis[1] to execute their orders, and despatched directions worthy to be obeyed, regarding the array and disposition of the army and troops, to the Sultans high in rank, and to the great Amîrs, and to all the illustrious soldiers of the Faith. And when the pillars of the army were made firm, and every person had repaired to his post, the firmân, worthy to be obeyed, and necessary to be attended to, was published, commanding that no person should move from his station without orders, nor lift his hand to engage without instructions. And of the aforesaid day about one watch and two geris were past,[2] when the two opposing armies having approached each other, the combat and battle began. While the centres of the two armies, like light and darkness, stood opposed to each other, so desperate an engagement ensued on the right and left wings, that the ground was shaken with an earthquake, while a tumultuous clangour filled the uppermost heaven. The left wing of the ill-doomed heathen approached the right wing of the faith-clothed armies of the Islâm, and made a desperate attack on Khosrou Gokultâsh, Mâlek Kâsim, and Bâbâ Kishkeh. Our brave and elevated brother, Chin Taimur Sultan, according to orders, carried a gallant reinforcement, joined in the combat, and, having driven back the heathen, pushed on nearly to their centre. And a noble gift has been given to that our exalted brother. And the wonder of our times, Mustafa Rûmi, from the centre, directed by my exalted, upright, and fortunate son, who is regarded with favour in the sight of the Creating Majesty, and *distinguished with the particular grace of the mighty King who commands to do and not to do*, Muhammed Hûmâiûn Behâder, having brought forward the cannon, broke the ranks of the pagan army with matchlocks and guns like their hearts.[3] And during the battle, Kâsim Sultan Hussain, of royal race, and the pillar of the nobles, Ahmed Yûsef and Kewâm Beg, having received orders, hastened to his support: and as, from time to time, armies of the heathen and troops of the rebels came from behind repeatedly to the succour of their men, we also despatched to the assistance of our warriors, the intrusted-in-the-state, Hindu Beg Kochin, and after him, the prop of the nobility, Muhammed Gokultâsh and Khwâjehgi

[1] A sort of adjutants and aid-de-camps.
[2] About half past nine in the morning.
[3] That is, black and covered with smoke.

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Asad, and afterwards the intrusted in the high monarchy, the trust-worthy in the resplendent court, the most confided-in of nobles, the chosen among my confidential adherents, Yunis Ali, and the prop of the nobles, the perfect-in-attachment, Shah Mansûr Birlâs, and the prop of the grandees, the pure-in-fidelity, Abdalla Kitâbdâr, and behind him, the prop of the nobles, Dost Ishek-Agha, Muhammed Khalîl Akhtehbegi. The heathen made repeated and desperate attacks on the left wing of the army of Islâm, and fell furiously upon the holy warriors, the children of salvation; and each time the high and mighty holy warriors struck some with wounds from their arrows which lead to victory, *and sent them to the house of destruction, the worst of abodes*, and part of them they drove back. And the trusty among the nobles, Momin Atkeh and Rustam Turkomân, advancing in the rear of the dark and benighted bands of the heathen, who reposed on evil fortune; and the trusty among nobles, Mulla Mahmûd, Ali Atkeh Bâshligh, the servants of the counsellor of the imperial majesty, the trusty in the royal state, Nizâm-ed-dîn Ali Khalîfeh, were sent to support them. And our brother of high rank, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the allied-to-royalty, Adel Sultan, and the trusty in the state, Abdal-azîz Mîr Akhur, and Kutluk Kedem Kerâwel, and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, and Shah Hussain Yâregi, and Moghul Ghanchi, having engaged in action, maintained a firm position; and we sent the Vizir, the highest of Vizirs among men, Khwâjeh Hussain, with a body of our household, to their support; and all the men devoted to holy warfare, exerting every nerve, and straining all their means, entered into fight with desperate delight, and reflecting on the text of the Korân, *Say, Verily they regard me, and place before their eyes one of two blessings*, and incited by the desire of lavishing their lives, displayed their life-destroying banners; and as the combat and battle were drawn out to length and extended in time, the mandate worthy of obedience was issued, when straightway the bold warriors of the imperial household troops, and the rending warriors, united in mind, who were standing behind the cannon, like lions in chains, issuing from the right and left of the centre, and leaving in the middle the station of the outer matchlock-men, engaged on both sides, and darted forth from behind the carriages, like the rising of the van of the true dawn from below the horizon; and spilling the ruddy crepuscle-coloured blood of the infidel Pagans in combat, on the field wide as the rolling firmament, caused many of the heads of the rebels to fly like falling stars from the sky of their bodies; and the miracle of the time, Ustâd Ali Kûli, who was stationed with his men in front of the centre, having exhibited great proofs of valour, discharged huge bullets,[1] of such a size, that if one of them were placed in the basin of the scale of duty, its master, *then that man whose scale is heavy gains a name among the blessed;* and if thrown against a rooted hill, or a lofty mountain, it would drive them from their foundation like teazed wool. Such were the bullets he darted on the iron-clad lines of the heathen bands, and from the discharge of balls and guns and matchlocks, many of the suns of the bodies of the heathen were annihilated. The imperial matchlock-men, according to orders, having issued from behind the artillery in the heat of the fight, each of them made many Pagans drink the draught of death; and the infantry having advanced into the place of high and

[1] *Seng* means either a bullet or weight, whence the play of words in the text.

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fearful conflict, made their names conspicuous among the lions of the forest of bravery, and the champions of the field of valour. And at the moment while these events were passing, the firmân, worthy to be obeyed, was given to drag forward the guns in the centre. And the pure soul of the Emperor, on whose right is the victory of the state, and on whose left are pre-eminence and glory, began to move forward on the Pagan's troops; which being understood on all sides by the victory-graced armies, the whole raging sea of the victorious army rose in mighty storm, and the valour of all the crocodiles of that ocean was manifested. The blackness of the dust spreading over the sky, like dark clouds, raced back and forward over all the plain; while the flashing of the gleaming of the sword within exceeded the glancing of lightning; so that the face of the sun, like the back of a mirror, was void of light. The striker and the struck, the victor and vanquished, mingled in the fray; the marks of discrimination were concealed from view, and such a night ensued that the firmament was not visible, and the only stars that could be distinguished were the prints of the horses' feet.

(*Verse.*)—On the day of combat, the dew of blood descended to the fish, and the dust rose above the moon,
From the hoofs of the coursers in that spacious plain; so that the earths became six, and the Heavens eight.[1]

The warriors of the Faith, who were in the temper of self-devotion, and prepared to submit to martyrdom, heard from a secret voice the glad tidings, *And be not dejected nor sorry, ye are exalted;* and from the infallible informer heard the joyful words, *Assistance is from God, and victory is at hand; spread the glad tidings among the Faithful.* They fought with such delight, that praises were showered down on them from the pure above, and the angels who are near to God, hovered like butterflies around their heads. And between the first and second prayers, the fire of battle blazed so, that its flakes raised the standards above the firmament. And the right and left of the army of the Faithful, having driven the right, left, and centre, of the Infidels into one place, the indications of the superiority of the illustrious holy warriors, and the exaltation of the standards of the Islâm, began to be evident; and in the course of one hour, those damnable heathen and those atheistical wretches, being desperate and astonished at their condition, finally resigning their lives to despair, made an attack on the right and left of our centre, and having advanced their greatest force on the left, had nearly reached it; but the holy warriors distinguished by valour, exhibiting the fruits of excellence, planted the tree of their arrows on the ground of the breast of every one, and cast them all out like their black fortune. In this situation of things, the breezes of success and victory blew on the garden of the Good Fortune of us the fortunate Nawâb, and the glad tidings came, *Of a truth we have displayed on thy account a splendid victory.* The mistress Victory, whose world-adorning countenance decked with waving ringlets, and with *God will aid you with mighty aid*, had been hid behind a veil, as the ornamented Bride of Futurity, now gave her aid and came to

[1] *There* are supposed to be seven earths, and as many heavens, in Muhammedan philosophy. The poet supposes that one earth, being converted into dust and rising aloft, became an eighth heaven, leaving only six earths.

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greet the Present; the vain Hindus discovering their dangerous state, *were scattered abroad like teazed wool, and broken like bubbles on wine.* Many were slain, and fell in the battle, and some giving up their lives for lost, turned to the desert of ruin, and became the food of crows and kites; and hillocks were formed of the slain, and towers[1] raised of their heads. Hassan Khan Mewâti was enrolled in the band of the dead by a matchlock shot, and in like manner many of these bewildered and misled rebels, the leaders of that army, were struck by arrows or musket-shot, and closed their lives; of the number, Raûl Udi Sing, before named, who was Prince (Wali) of the country of Udipûr, and had twelve thousand horse; and Rai Chanderbehan Chuhân, who had four thousand horse, and Manikchand Chuhân, and Dulpat Rai, who were masters of four thousand horse, and Gangû, and Kerm Sing, and Rao Bikersi,[2] who had three thousand horse, and a number of others, who each were leaders of great clans, men of high rank and pride, measured the road to Hell, and, from this house of clay, were transferred to the Pit of Perdition. The road from the field of battle was filled like hell, with the wounded who died by the way; and the lowest hell was rendered populous, in consequence of the numbers of infidels who had delivered up their lives to the angels of hell. On whatever side of the armies of the Islâm a person went, on every hand he found men of distinction lying slain; and the illustrious camp, wherever it has moved after the fugitives, could nowhere find a spot in which to plant a foot, in consequence of the number of distinguished men lying mangled.

All the Hindus were scattered and confounded
With stones,[3] like the warriors of the elephant.
Many hills of their bodies were seen,
And from each hill flowed a rivulet of running blood.
From the dread of the arrows of the ranks full of grandeur,
They were flying and running[4] to every field and hill.

Arabic.—*They go backwards in flight. And the event happened as it had been ordained of Fate. Andnow the praise be to God, who is All-hearing and All-wise; and except from whom there is no help, for he is great and powerful.* Written in the month of the latter Jemâdi, in the year 933. Mar. 1527.

After this victory I used the epithet *Ghâzi*,[5] in the imperial titles. On the Fatehnameh (or official account of the victory), below the imperial titles (inscribed on the back of the despatches), I wrote the following verses:— Baber assumes the title of Ghazi.

(*Türki.*)—For love of the Faith I became a wanderer in the desert,
I became the antagonist of Pagans and Hindûs,
I strove to make myself a martyr;—
Thanks be to the Almighty who has made me a Ghâzi, (victorious over the enemies of the Faith.)

[1] Minâr. [2] Nagersi.—Mr Metcalfe's copy.

[3] This is again a play on the word *seng*, which means either a bullet or a stone. In the war of the elephant, the enemy's army was destroyed by pebbles, miraculously dropped on their heads by birds.

[4] Or by a double meaning, "hogs flying to every field and hill."

[5] *Ghazi* signifies victorious in a holy war.

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Sheikh Zein discovered the date of this victory in the words *Fateh bâdshâh Islâm*[1] (the victory of the Emperor of the Faith). Mîr Gîsû also, one of the men who had come from Kâbul, discovered the date in the very same words, and sent them with four verses inscribed below. There was a perfect coincidence between Sheikh Zein and Mîr Gîsû, in their best emblems. The very same words were contained in their quatrains. On another occasion, on my conquest of Dîbalpûr, Sheikh Zein discovered the date in *Wâset Sheher Rabîa-ûl avel*[2] (the middle of the month of the first Rabîa); and Mîr Gîsû hit upon the very same words.

Improves his victory.

Having defeated the enemy, we pursued them with great slaughter. Their camp might be two kos distant from ours. On reaching it, I sent on Muhammedi, Abdal-azîz, Alikhân, and some other officers, with orders to follow them in close pursuit, slaying and cutting them off, so that they should not have time to re-assemble. In this instance I was guilty of neglect; I should myself have gone on and urged the pursuit, and ought not to have intrusted that business to another. I had got about a kos[3] beyond the enemy's camp when I turned back, the day being spent, and reached my own about bed-time prayers. Muhammed Sherîf, the astrologer, whose perverse and seditious practices I have mentioned, came to congratulate me on my victory. I poured forth a torrent of abuse upon him; and when I had relieved my heart by it, although he was heathenishly inclined, perverse, extremely self-conceited, and an insufferable evil-speaker, yet, as he had been my old servant, I gave him a lak[4] as a present, and dismissed him, commanding him not to remain within my dominions.

Banishes Muhammed Sherîf the Astrologer.

Insurrection in the Doâb quelled. March 17.

Next day we continued on the same ground. I despatched Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Sheikh Kûren, and Abdal Malûk Korchi, with a large force, against Eliâs Khan, who had made an insurrection in the Doâb, surprised Koel, and taken Kechek Ali prisoner. On the arrival of my detachment, the enemy, finding that they could not cope with them, fled in all directions, in confusion and dismay. Some days after my return to Agra, Eliâs Khan was taken and brought in. I ordered him to be flayed alive.

Baber constructs a tower of skulls.

The battle was fought within view of a small hill near our camp. On this hillock, I directed a tower of the skulls of the Infidels to be constructed.

Reaches Biâna.

From this encampment, the third march brought us to Biâna. Immense numbers of the dead bodies of the Pagans and apostates had fallen in their flight, all the way to Biâna, and even as far as Alwâr[5] and Mewât. I went and surveyed Biâna, and then returned to the camp; and, having sent for the Tûrki and Hindi Amîrs, consulted about proceeding against the country of these Pagans. That plan was, however, abandoned, in consequence of the want of water on the road, and of the excessive heat of the season.

Reduces Mewât.

The country of Mewât lies not far from Delhi, and yields a revenue of three or four krors.[6] Hassan Khan Mewâti had received the government of that country from his

[1] The letters make 933.
[2] The letters make 930.
[3] Nearly two miles.
[4] About £350.
[5] Alwâr lies west from Muttra, and is the capital of the Rajah of Mocheri. It is at about an equal distance from Delhi and Agra.
[6] This may be from £75,000 to £100,000.

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ancestors, who had governed it, in uninterrupted succession, for nearly two hundred years. They had yielded an imperfect kind of submission to the Sultans of Delhi. The Sultans of Hind, whether from the extent of their territories, from want of opportunity, or from obstacles opposed by the mountainous nature of the country, had never subdued Mewât. They had never been able to reduce it to order, and were content to receive such a degree of obedience as was tendered to them. After my conquest of Hind, following the example of former Sultans, I also had shown Hassan Khan distinguished marks of favour. Yet this ungrateful man, whose affections lay all on the side of the Pagans, this infidel, regardless of my favours, and without any sense of the kindness and distinction with which he had been treated, was the grand promoter and leader of all the commotions and rebellions that ensued, as has been related. The plan for marching into the country of the Pagans having been abandoned, I resolved on the reduction of Mewât. I advanced four marches, and, after the fifth, encamped six kos[1] from the fort of Alwâr, which was the seat of government, on the banks of the river Manisni. Hassan Khan's ancestors had made their capital at Tajârah. In the year in which I invaded Hindustân, defeated Pahâr Khân, and took Lahore and Debâlpûr, being even then apprehensive of the progress of my arms, he had set about building this fort. A person named Kermchand, one of Hassan Khan's head men, who had come to visit Hassan Khan's son while he was a prisoner in Agra, now arrived from the son, commissioned to ask a pardon. I sent him back accompanied by Abdal-rahîm Shaghâwel, with letters to quiet his apprehensions, and promising him personal safety; and they returned along with Nâhir Khan, Hassan Khan's son. I again received him into favour, and bestowed on him a Perganna of several laks for his support. I had bestowed on Khosrou[2] an allowance and establishment of fifty laks,[3] and nominated him to the government of Alwâr, from a supposition, that during the battle, he had performed a certain very important piece of service. As his ill luck would have it, he put on airs and refused the boon. I afterwards discovered that the service had not been performed by him, but by Chîn Taimur Sultan. I bestowed on Sultan the city of Tajârah, which was the capital of Mewât, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty laks.[4] To Tardîkeh, who, in the battle with Rana Sanka, commanded the Tulughmeh (or flanking division) on the right, and had distinguished himself more than any other, I gave an appointment of fifteen laks,[5] with the charge of the fort of Alwâr. I bestowed the treasures of Alwâr, with everything in the fort, on Hûmâiûn.

Sends back Hûmâiûn and the Badakhshân men.

I marched from this station on Wednesday the first of Rejeb, and, having come within two kos of Alwâr, went and examined the fort, where I staid all night, and returned back to the camp in the morning. Before engaging Rana Sanka in the Holy War, as has been mentioned, when all, small and great, took the oath, I had told them, that after conquering this enemy, I had no objection to any one's returning home, and would give leave to as many as asked it. Most of Hûmâiûn's servants were from Badakhshân and the neighbouring countries, and had never served in an army on any

[1] Nine or ten miles.
[2] Perhaps Khosrou Gokultâsh. The Persian has *Khadu*.
[3] About £12,500. [4] About £12,500. [5] About £3750.

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expedition that lasted more than a month, or two months at a time. Before the battle, they had been seized with a longing for home. I had made with them the agreement which has been mentioned. Besides, Kâbul was very imperfectly defended. On these accounts, I finally resolved to send off Hûmâiûn to Kâbul. Having come to this re-
April 11. solution, I marched from Alwâr on Thursday the ninth of Rejeb, and having moved four or five kos, encamped on the banks of the Manisni. Mehdi Khwajeh appearing also to be very uncomfortable, I gave him liberty to return to Kâbul. The shekdâri[1] of Biâna I conferred on Dost Ishek-agha. As Mehdi Khwâjeh held the nominal government of Etâwa, I now bestowed it on Jaafer Khwâjeh, the son of Kutb Khan, who had fled from Etâwa and joined me. I halted three or four days in this ground, previous to taking leave of Hûmâiûn. From this station, I despatched Momin Ali Tewâchi[2] to Kâbul, with letters giving an account of the victory.

Visits the fountain of Pirôzpûr and the tank of Kotilah. April 14.

I had heard much of the fountain of Pirôzpûr, and of the great tank of Kotilah.[3] On Sunday, I mounted and rode out from the camp, for the double purpose of seeing the country, and of conducting Hûmâiûn to some distance on his way. That day I went to visit Pirôzpûr and its fountain, and took a maajûn. In the valley from which the water of the fountain flows, the Kanîr flowers were all in full bloom. It is very beautiful, though it will not support the high praises lavished upon it. Within this valley, where the stream widens, I directed a reservoir to be made of hewn stone, ten by ten.[4] We halted that night in the valley, and next morn-
April 15. ing rode to visit the tank of Kôtilah. One of its banks is formed by the side of a hill, and the river Manisni flows into it. It is a very large tank, but does not look well from either of its sides. In the midst of the tank is a rising ground, around it are a number of small boats. The inhabitants of the towns on the banks of the tank, when any alarm or confusion occurs, embark in their boats, and make their escape. When I arrived there, a number of people got into their boats, and rowed into the middle of the lake. After riding to the tank, I returned to Hûmâiûn's camp, where I rested and dined, after which I invested the Mirza and his Begs with dresses of honour, and to-

Hûmâiûn takes leave. April 16.

wards bed-time prayers, took leave of Hûmâiûn, mounted, and slept at a place on the road. I afterwards mounted again, and, towards dawn, passed the Perganna of Kuhri, where I took a little more rest, after which I continued my journey and reached the camp, which I found at Tudeh.

Baber visits the fountain near Besâwer.

Having marched from Tudeh, when we alighted at Somger, Hassan Khan's son, Nâhir Khan, who had been delivered into the custody of Abdal-rahîm, made his escape. Leaving this place, the second march brought us to the fountain which is in the face of the hill, between Besâwer and Khuseh, where we halted. I here erected an awning, and had a maajûn. When the camp passed this way, Terdi Beg Khaksâr had praised this fountain. We now went and visited it on horseback. It is a very beautiful fountain. In Hindustân there are scarcely any artificial water-courses, so that fountains for confining and conducting the water are not to be looked for. What few fountains there are ooze out, as if distilling from the ground; but do not burst forth like the

[1] The shekdâr is a collector of the revenue.
[2] A tewâchi is a sort of special messenger.
[3] Kotilah lies S. of Alwâr about thirty miles.
[4] Ten gez by ten, upwards of twenty feet square.

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springs in our countries. The water of this fountain might be about half large enough to drive a mill, and it issues bursting from the skirt of the hill. The ground all about it is meadow pasture, and is very pleasant. I gave orders that an octagonal reservoir of cut-stone should be built, where this spring issues out. While we were sitting by the fountain, under the influence of our maajûn, Terdi Beg repeatedly proposed, with some appearance of vanity, that, as we were pleased with the place, we ought to give it a name. Abdalla proposed that it should be called the Royal Fountain, Terdi Beg's delight. This proposal furnished us with great subject for merriment. Dost Ishek-Agha, who came from Biâna, waited on me at this fountain.

Proceeds to Biâna.

Setting out from this place, I again visited and surveyed Biâna, and went on to Sikri, where I halted two days, close by the garden which I had formerly directed to be laid out. After giving directions about the garden, on the morning of Thursday, the 23d of Rejeb, I pursued my way and reached Agra.

April 25. Arrives in Agra.

Baber gets possession of Chandwâr,

I have mentioned that, during the late disturbances, the enemy had made themselves masters of Chandwâr and Râberi.[1] I now sent Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Terdi Beg, Kuch Beg, Abdalmulûk Korchi, Hussain Khan, with his Deria Khânis, against Chandwâr and Râberi. They no sooner reached Chandwâr, than the garrison in the place, who were Kutb-Khan's people, on getting notice of their arrival, deserted and joined them. After taking possession of Chandwâr, they proceeded against Râberi. Hussain Khân Lohâni's people advanced beyond the suburb-fence, intending to skirmish a little; but our men had no sooner come close upon them and begun the attack, than the enemy, unable to stand their ground, took to flight. Hussain Khan, mounted on an elephant, reached the river in company with some others, but was drowned in crossing the Jumna. On receiving intelligence of this, Kutb-Khan surrendered Etâweh, and joined me. As Etâweh had at first been given to Mehdi Khwâjeh, his son Jaafer Khwâjeh was now sent to take charge of it, in his father's room.

and Etâwa.

Baber's generals repel Biban.

During the war with the Pagan Sanka, a number of Hindustânis and Afghâns had deserted, as has been mentioned; in consequence of which all their pergannas and governments had been seized. Sultan Muhammed Duldâi, who had abandoned Kunauj and rejoined me, was now unwilling, whether from fear or from shame, to return thither, and, in exchange for the government of Kunauj, which was thirty laks, took that of Sirhend, which was only fifteen. Kunauj was bestowed on Muhammed Sultan Mirza,[2] with the allowance of thirty laks.[3] Bedâun[4] was given to Kâsim Hussain Sultan, who was ordered to accompany Muhammed Sultan Mirza. Several others of the Tûrki Begs, Malek Kâsim, Bâba Kishkeh, with his brothers and Moghuls, Abul Muhammed Nezehbâz, Moayid, with his father's followers, Sultan Muhammed Duldi, and Hussain Khan, with his Deriakhânis; as well as several Amîrs of Hind, Ali Khan Fermuli, Malek-Dad Kerâni, Sheikh Muhammed, Sheikh Behkehâri, Tâtâr Khan, and Khan Jehân, were ordered to accompany Muhammed Sultan Mirza against

[1] These places lie in the Doâb below Agra, but above Etâwa.
[2] A son of Sultan Weis Mirza. [3] Nearly £7500.
[4] Bedâun is in Rohilkund, below Sambal.

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A. D. 1527. Biban,[1] who, during the confusion occasioned by the war against Sanka the Pagan, had besieged and taken Luknow.[2] When this army passed the river Ganges, Biban, having information of its approach, packed up his baggage and fled. The army pursued him as far as Khairâbâd, halted there many days, and afterwards returned.

Baber disperses his army for the rainy season.

The treasures had been divided, but I had not hitherto found leisure to make any arrangement as to the pergannas and provinces, the holy war against the Pagans having intervened to prevent me. Being now relieved from the war with the Infidels, I made a division of the different provinces and districts; and the rainy season being near at hand, I directed every person to repair to his own perganna, to prepare his accoutrements and arms, and be in readiness to join me again when the rains were over.

Hûmâiûn seizes some treasure at Delhi.

At this time I received information that Hûmâiûn had repaired to Delhi, and had there opened several of the houses which contained the treasure, and taken possession by force of the contents. I certainly never expected such conduct from him, and, being extremely hurt, I wrote and sent him some letters containing the severest reprehension.

Baber sends an ambassador to Persia. May 16.

Khwâjehgi Asad had formerly been sent by me as ambassador to Irâk, and had returned accompanied by Sulemân Turkomân. On Thursday the 15th of Shabân, I sent him back a second time, accompanied by Sulemân Turkomân, on an embassy to the Prince Tahmâsp, with some suitable rarities and curiosities as a present.

Sends Terdi Beg to Kâbul.

Terdi Beg Khâksâr, whom I had formerly withdrawn from the life of a Derwîsh, and induced to betake himself to arms, had remained several years in my service, but now felt a strong desire for returning to the state of a Derwîsh, and asked his discharge, which I gave him. I sent him on a sort of mission to Kâmrân, to whom I made him carry three laks[3] of treasure. Last year I had written some Tûrki verses, with a view to those persons who had returned home. I now addressed them to Mûlla Ali Khan, and sent them to him by Terdi Beg. They are as follows :—

Baber's verses.

(*Túrki.*)—O ye that have left this country of Hind,
From experience of its hardships and sufferings!
Filled with the remembrance of Kâbul and its delicious climate,
You deserted the sultry Hind;
You went and now have seen and enjoyed your country,
In pleasure and delight, in enjoyment and jollity;
Yet praise be to God, *we* have not perished,
Though exposed to many hardships and grief inexpressible;
You have escaped from pain of mind, and from bodily suffering,
Yet *I too* have passed this Ramzân in the garden of Hesht Behisht,[4]
And have purified myself, reciting all the stated prayers (of Ramzân).

From the eleventh year of my age till now, I had never spent two festivals[5] of the Ramzân in the same place. Last year's festival I had spent in Agra. In order to keep

[1] Biban was an Afghân chief of great power.

[2] Luknow, or Lucknow, is a large city on the Gumti or Goomty. Khairâbâd or Cairâbâd, stands higher up on the same river to the north.

[3] About £750; yet it may be laks of rupees, which would be £30,000.

[4] Hesht Behisht signifies the Eight Heaven.

[5] This gives a lively idea of the unsettled life of Baber.

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up the usage, on Sunday night the thirtieth, I proceeded to Sikri to keep the feast there. June 30.
A stone platform was erected on the north-east of the Garden-of-Victory, on which a set of large tents was pitched, and in them I passed the festival. The night on which we left Agra, Mîr Ali Korchi was sent to Tatta, to Shah Hassan. He was extremely fond of cards,[1] and had asked for some, which I sent him.

On Sunday, the 5th of Zilkadeh, I was taken very ill. My illness continued seventeen days. On Friday, the 24th of the same month, I set out to proceed to Dhûlpûr. That night I slept at a place about half way on the road. Next morning I rode as far as Sultan Sekander's mound, where I alighted. Below the mound, where the hill terminates, there is a huge mass of red stone. I sent for Ustâd[2] Shah Muhammed, the stone-cutter, and gave him directions, if he could make a house out of the solid stone, to do it. If the stone was too small for a house, to level it and make a reservoir in the solid rock. From Dhûlpûr I went and visited Bari.[3] Next morning I mounted and left Bari, and passing a hill that lies between Bari and the Chambal, rode as far as the river Chambal, and returned. In this hill, between the Chambal and Bari, I saw the ebony tree. Its fruit is called Tîndo.[4] A white species of ebony tree is also often met with; in this hill the ebony trees were chiefly white. Leaving Bari, I visited Sikri, and on Wednesday, the 29th of the same month, reached Agra.

He falls sick. August 4.
His tour to Dhûlpûr, Bâri, Sikri, &c. August 24.
August 25.
August 26.
August 28.

About this time I heard disagreeable accounts of Sheikh Bayezid's proceedings. I sent Sultan Ali Tûrk to arrange a truce of twenty days with him.

On Friday, the 2d of Zilhajeh, I began to read the texts, which were to be repeated forty-one times.[5] At this same period I composed the verses,— August 30.

(*Turki.*)—Let me celebrate thine eyes, thine eyebrows, thy converse, thy love,
Let me celebrate thy cheeks, thy hair, and thy kindness to me—

in five hundred and four measures, and collected them in a book. At this time I again fell sick, and was ill for nine days. On Thursday, the 29th of Zilhajeh, I set out on horseback to visit Koel and Sambal.[6] Sept. 26.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 934.

On Saturday, the first of Moharrem, we encamped at Koel.[7] Derwîsh and Ali Yûsef, who had been left by Hûmâiûn in Sambal,[8] had defeated Kûtb Sirwâni, and se- Baber's tour to Koel and Sambal. A.D. 1527. Sept. 28.

[1] This is the earliest mention of playing cards that I recollect, in any eastern author.

[2] The head people of the engineers, artificers, &c. get the name of Ustâd, which also means schoolmaster.

[3] Bâri lies between Biâna and Dhûlpûr.

[4] Tindu, the name of a fruit (Diospyros Ebenum).—*Hunter's Hind. Dict.*

[5] These texts were to operate as a charm, to produce his entire recovery.

[6] Koel is in the Doâb; Sambal to the east of the Ganges, in Rohilkand.

[7] In the Doâb.

[8] Sambal is higher up, on the left of the Ganges.

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A. D. 1527. veral Rajas, who had crossed a river and attacked them; had killed a number of the enemy, and sent me some of their heads and an elephant, which reached me while I was at Koel, where I spent two days in visiting the place. On the invitation of Sheikh Kûren I alighted at his house. After dinner he presented me with a Peshkesh.

October 2. Setting out thence, I halted at Atrûli.[1] On Wednesday, I crossed the Ganges, and
October 3. encamped in the country of Sambal. On Thursday, I halted at Sambal, and having
October 5. spent two days in surveying the neighbourhood, I left it on the morning of Saturday.
October 6. On Sunday, I halted in Sekandera,[2] at Rao Sirwâni's house, where he entertained and
October 7. waited on me. Leaving that place before day-rise, I rode forward, and, separating from my people by a finesse, I gallopped on, and arrived alone within a kos of Agra, when some of my followers overtook and went on along with me. I dismounted at Agra about noon-day prayers.

He is attacked with a fever.

October 13. On Sunday, the 16th of Moharrem, I was seized with a fever and ague. The fever continued on me, at intervals, for twenty-five or twenty-six days. I took medicine, and finally recovered. I suffered much from want of sleep and from thirst. During this illness, I composed three or four quatrains. One is the following,—

(*Turki.*)—Every day a severe fever hangs on my body,
And at night slumber flies from my eyelids;
These two are like my grief and my patience;
Till my last hour, the former goes on increasing, as the other diminishes.

Nov. 23. On Saturday, the 28th of Sefer, Fakher Jehân Begum, and Khâdijeh Sultan Begum, my paternal aunts, arrived. I went in a boat, and waited on them above Sekanderâbâd.[3]

Nov. 24. On Sunday, Ustâd Ali Kûli fired a large ball from a cannon; though the ball went far, the cannon burst in pieces, and every piece knocked down several men, of whom eight died.

Dec. 2. On Monday, the 7th of the first Rebi, I mounted and rode to Sikri. The octagonal platform, which I had ordered to be built in the midst of the tank, being finished, we went over in a boat, raised an awning, and had a party, when we indulged in a maajûn.

Sets out against Chanderi.

Dec. 9. Having returned from my visit to Sikri on Monday, the 14th of the first Rebi, I set out, in pursuance of a vow, on a holy war against Chanderi,[4] and, marching three kos, halted at Jalisir, where, having staid two days, in order to accoutre and review
Dec. 12. my troops, on Thursday I marched forward, and halted at Anwâr. Leaving Anwâr in a boat, I passed Chandwâr,[5] and landed. From thence we proceeded, march after
Dec. 23. march, and on Monday, the 28th of the month, halted at the ford of Kinâr. On
Dec. 26. Thursday, the 2d of the latter Rebi, I crossed the river. I remained four or five days, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, to get my army conveyed across.

[1] Atrûli, Ataroly, or Atrawley, lies between the Kali-naddi and Ganges.
[2] This Sekandera must be the Secundra, or Secundarout, south-east of Koel.
[3] Probably some village above Agra, on the Jumna.
[4] Chanderi is a town and district in Malwa, to the west of Bundelkand. It lies on the Betwa river.
[5] Chandwâr on the Jumna, below Agra.

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During that time, I regularly went aboard of a boat, and indulged in a maajûn. The junction of the Ganges and Chambal, is a kos or two above the ford of Kinâr. On Friday, I embarked in the river Chambal in a boat, and passing over at the point of junction, went on to the camp. Dec. 27.

Though I had no decisive proofs of Sheikh Bayezîd's hostility, I was well assured, from his way of proceeding and general conduct, that he was hostilely inclined. On this account I detached Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng from the army, and sent him to bring together at Kunauj, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the Sultans and Amîrs in that quarter, such as Kâsim Hussain Sultan, Taimûr Sultan, Malek Kâsim Koki, Abul Muhammed Nezehbâz, Manûcheher Khan, with his brothers and the Deriakhânis, and to march with them, under his command, against the hostile Afghâns. He was directed to summon Sheikh Bayezîd to attend him. If he came frankly, they were to take him along with them on the expedition; if he did not join them, they were then, first of all, to settle his business. Muhammed Ali asked me for a few elephants; I gave him ten. After Muhammed Ali had been sent off, I directed Bâba Chehreh also to join them. Sends Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng against the Afghâns in the east.

I advanced one march from Kinâr in a boat. On Wednesday, the 8th of the last Rebi, we halted within a kos of Kalpi.[1] Bâba Sultan, the younger brother of the full blood of Sultan Saîd Khan,[2] the son of Sultan Khalîl Sultan, came and waited on me at this station. Last year he had fled from his elder brother, and come to my territories, but soon after, changing his mind, had gone off from the country of Anderâb. When he got near Kâshghar, however, Khan Haider Mirza was sent to meet him, and to desire him to return back. Proceeds towards Chânderi. January, 1528.

Next morning, I halted at Kâlpi, at Alim Khan's house. He entertained me with a dinner, in which the meats were dressed after the Hindi fashion, and presented me with a Peshkesh. January 2.

On Monday the 13th, I marched from Kâlpi, and on Friday we encamped in Irîj.[3] On Saturday we reached Bandîr. January 6. January 10. January 11.

On Sunday the 19th,[4] I sent forward in advance Chin Taimûr Sultan, with six or seven thousand men, against Chânderi. The Begs who went on this expedition were Bâki Ming-Begi, Terdi Beg, Kûch Beg, Ashek Bekâwel, Mûlla Apâk, Mukhsin Dûldi; and of the Amîrs of Hindustân, Sheikh Khuren. January 12.

On Friday the 24th, we encamped near Kechweh. I sent to assure the inhabitants of Kechweh that they had nothing to apprehend, and bestowed the place on Bedreddîn's son. Kechweh is rather a pretty place. It is surrounded by small hills. On a hill to the north-east of Kechweh, they have constructed a mound for collecting the water, and formed a large tank, which may be five or six kos[5] in circumference. This tank encloses Kechweh on three of its sides. To the north-west there is a small neck of dry land, on which side is the gate of the town. In this tank they have very small boats, which may hold three or four persons. Whenever they are obliged to flee, they January 17. Reaches Kechweh.

[1] Kâlpi, a considerable place on the Ganges, in lat. 25° 10'.
[2] Of Kâshghar.
[3] Irij is a town on the river Bethwa.
[4] The original has 14th, which must be a mistake.
[5] Eight or nine miles.

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A. D. 1523. betake themselves to their boats, and push out into the middle of the tank. Before coming to Kechweh, in other two places, we had met with similar mounds thrown up between hills, and tanks formed, but they were less than that at Kechweh.

Arrives before Chânderi. January 18. Having halted one day at Kechweh, I sent on a number of overseers and pioneers, to level the inequalities of the road, and to cut down the jungle, to admit of the guns and carriages passing without difficulty. Between Kechweh and Chânderi the country is jungly. Leaving Kechweh, the second day's march brought us within three kos

January 19 and 20. of Chânderi, where we encamped, having previously crossed the river of Berhânpûr.

The citadel of Chânderi is situated on a hill. The outer fort and town lie in the middle of the slope of the hill. The straight road, by which cannon can be conveyed, passes right below the fort. After marching from Berhânpûr, we passed a kos lower down than Chânderi, on account of our guns, and, at the end of the march, on Tues-

January 21. day the 28th, encamped on the banks of Behjet Khan's tank, on the top of the mound.

Prepares for the siege. January 22. Next morning I rode out and distributed the different posts around the fort, to the different divisions of my army, to the centre, and to the right and left wings. In placing his battery, Ustâd Ali Kûli chose a piece of ground that had no slope. Overseers and pioneers were appointed to construct works on which the guns were to be planted. All the men of the army were directed to prepare *tûras* and scaling-ladders, and to serve the tûras [1] which are used in attacking forts. Chânderi had formerly belonged to the Sultans of Mându. After the death of Sultan Nâsir-ed-dîn, one of his sons, Sultan Mahmûd, who is now in Mându, got possession of Mându and the neighbouring countries; another of his sons, Muhammed Shah, seized on Chânderi, and applied to Sultan Sekander for protection. Sultan Sekander sent several large armies, and supported him in his dominions. After Sultan Sekander's demise, in Sultan Ibrahîm's reign, Muhammed Shah died, leaving a young son of the name of Ahmed Shah. Sultan Ibrâhim carried off Ahmed Shah, and established one of his own people in his stead. When Sanka advanced with an army against Ibrâhim as far as Dhûlpûr, that prince's Amîrs rose against him, and, on that occasion, Chânderi fell into Sanka's hands. He bestowed it on one Mîdini Rao, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with four or five thousand Pagans. As Arâish Khan had long been on terms of friendship with him, I sent Arâish Khan to him, along with Sheikh Kûren, to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shemsâbâd in exchange for Chânderi. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to conciliation. I know not whether he did not place perfect reliance in my promises, or whether it was from confidence in the strength of his fort, but the treaty broke off

January 28. without success. On the morning of Tuesday, the 6th of the first Jemâdi, I marched from Behjet Khan's tank, for the purpose of attempting Chânderi by force, and encamped on the banks of the middle tank, which is near the fort.

Baber's army in Purab defeated. The same morning, just as we reached our ground, Khalîfeh brought me a letter or two. The tenor of them was, that the army which had been sent to the eastward (to

[1] These tûras, so often mentioned, appear to have been a sort of *testudo*, under cover of which the assailants advanced, and sometimes breached the wall. The word burkereh, or buzkezeh, I do not understand. Mr Metcalfe's MS. seems to read, *noukeri-e-tûra*, which would signify, *and to serve the turas*, which I have adopted in the text.

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Purab), while marching in disorder, had been attacked and defeated; that it had abandoned Luknow, and fallen back to Kunauj. I saw that Khalifeh was in great perturbation and alarm, in consequence of this news. I told him, that alarm or discomposure was of no use; that nothing could happen but by the decrees of God; that as the enterprize in which we were engaged was still unfinished, we had better not speak a word of his intelligence, but attack the fort vigorously next morning, and see what ensued. The enemy had garrisoned every part of the citadel strongly, but had placed only a few men, by ones and twos, in the outer fort, to defend it. This very night my troops entered the outer fort on every side. There being but few people in the place, the resistance was not obstinate. They fled, and took shelter in the citadel.

Chânderi taken by storm. January 29.

Next morning, being Wednesday, the 7th of the first Jemâdi, I commanded the troops to arm themselves, to repair to their posts, and to prepare for an assault, directing that, as soon as I raised my standard and beat my kettle-drum, every man should push on to the assault. I did not intend to display my standard, nor beat the kettle-drum, till we were ready to storm, but went to see Ustâd Ali Kûli's battering-cannon play. He discharged three or four shot; but his ground having no slope, and the works being very strong, and entirely of rock, the effect produced was trifling. It has been mentioned, that the citadel of Chânderi is situated on a hill; on one side of it they have made a covered way that runs down to the water. The walls of this covered way reach down below the hill, and this is one of the places in which the fort is assailable, with most hopes of success. This spot had been assigned to the right and left of the centre, and to my own household troops, as the object of their attack. The citadal was attacked on all sides, but here with particular vigour. Though the Pagans exerted themselves to the utmost, hurling down stones from above, and throwing over flaming substances on their heads, the troops nevertheless persevered, and at length Shahem Nûr Beg mounted, where the wall of the outer fort joined the wall of the projecting bastion. The troops likewise, about the same time, scaled the walls in two or three other places. The Pagans who were stationed in the covered way took to flight, and that part of the works was taken. They did not defend the upper fort with so much obstinacy, and were quickly put to flight; the assailants climbed up, and entered the upper fort by storm. In a short time the Pagans, in a state of complete nudity, rushed out to attack us, put numbers of my people to flight, and leaped over the ramparts. Some of our troops were attacked furiously and put to the sword. The reason of this desperate sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they had put to death the whole of their wives and women, and, having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked, in which condition they had rushed out to the fight; and, engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Medini Rao's house, where numbers of them slew each other, in the following manner: One person took his stand with a sword in his hand, while the others, one by one, crowded in and stretched out their necks, eager to die. In this way many went to hell; and, by the favour of God, in the space of two or three geris,[1] I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my stan-

Desperation of the garrison.

Massacre of of the women.

[1] About one hour.

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A. D. 1528. dards, or beating my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of a hill, to the north-west of Chânderi, I erected a tower of the heads of the Pagans. The words, *Fateh Dar-ul-Kherb*, (the conquest of the city hostile to the faith,) were found to contain the date of its conquest. I composed the following verses:

Long was the fort of Chânderi
Full of Pagans, and styled the town of hostility and strife;
I stormed and conquered its castle,
And the date is the *Conquest of the castle hostile to the faith.*[1]

Description of Chânderi. Chânderi is an excellent country, abounding on every side with running water. Its citadel stands on a hill. In the midst of it they have excavated a large tank out of the rock. Another large tank was in the covered way, that has been mentioned, as the point by which the place was attacked and taken by storm. The houses of all the inhabitants are of stone, and are beautiful and capacious. The houses of the men of consequence are of hewn stone, wrought with great skill and labour. The houses of the lower ranks are wholly of stone, generally not hewn. Instead of tiles, the houses are covered with flag-stones. In front of the fort there are three large tanks. Former governors have thrown up mounds on different sides of it, and formed these tanks. In an elevated situation in this district, called Bitwi, there is a lake. It is three kos[2] from Chânderi. In Hindustân the water of Bitwi is famous for its excellence and its agreeable taste. It is a small pretty lake. Little spots of rising ground are scattered about it, affording beautiful sites for houses. Chânderi lies south from Agra ninety kos[3] by the road. It is situate in the 25th degree of north latitude.

January 30. Baber resolves to march to the eastward. Next morning, being Thursday, I marched round the fort, and encamped by the tank of Malû Khan. When I came, it was my design, after the capture of Chânderi, to fall upon Rai Sing, and Bhîlsan,[4] and Sarangpûr, which is a country of the Pagans, that belonged to Silâh-ed-dîn the Pagan; and I intended, after conquering them, to advance to Chîtur[5] against Sânka. On the arrival of the unfavourable news that has been alluded to, I convened the Begs, and held a council, in which it was decided, that it was necessary, first of all, to proceed to check the rebellion of the insurgents. I gave Chânderi to Ahmed Shah, who has been mentioned, the grandson of Sultan Nâsir-ed-dîn, and fixed a revenue of fifty laks[6] to be paid from it to the imperial treasury. I made Mûlla Apâk Shekdâr (or military collector) of the territory, leaving him with two or three thousand Tûrks and Hindustânis to support Ahmed Shah.

February 2. Having made these arrangements, on Sunday, the 11th of the first Jemâdi, I set out from Malû Khan's tank on my expedition, and halted on the banks of the river of

[1] The letters in Fatah Dar-ul-kherb make 934.

[2] Nearly five miles.

[3] One hundred and thirty-five miles.

[4] Bhilsan, or Bilsa, is a town and district north-east of Bopâl, in Malwa. Sarangpûr lies to the westward of Bhilsa, north-east from Oujein.

[5] Chitûr, or Cheitore, is the capital of the Râna, or head of the Râjput governments. It lies in Meiwar, south from Ajmir.

[6] About £12,500.

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Berhânpûr. I dispatched from Bandîr, Yekeh Khwâjeh and Jaafer Khwâjeh, to bring vessels from Kâlpi to the passage at Kinâr.[1]

On Saturday the 24th, having halted at the passage of Kinâr, I ordered the troops to lose no time in crossing with all possible speed. At this time I received intelligence, that the detachment which I had sent forward, after abandoning Kunauj, had fallen back to Râberi, and that a strong force had advanced and stormed the fort of Shems-âbâd, which had been garrisoned by the troops of Abul Muhammed Nezehbaz. We were detained three or four days on the two banks of the river, while the army was passing. Having transported the whole army across, I proceeded, march after march, for Kunauj, and sent on a party of light troops before us, in order to gain intelligence of the enemy. We were still two or three marches from Kunauj, when they returned with information, that, instantly on discovering from a distance the troops who had advanced to reconnoitre, the son of Maarûf had fled from Kunauj and abandoned it, and that Biban and Bayezid, as well as Maarûf, on hearing of my motions, had re-crossed the Ganges, and occupied the east side of the river opposite to Kunauj, hoping that they would be able to prevent my passage.

Feb. 15. Crosses the Jumna.

On Thursday, the 6th of the latter Jemâdi, I passed Kunauj, and encamped on the western bank of the Ganges. My troops went out and seized a number of the enemies' boats, which they brought in. From above and from below they collected about thirty or forty boats in all, of different sizes. I sent Mîr Muhammed Jalehbân to throw a bridge over the river. He accordingly went and marked out a situation, about a kos below our encampment. I appointed commissaries to provide everything requisite for the bridge. Near the place pitched on, Ustâd Ali Kûli brought a gun for the purpose of cannonading, and having pitched upon a proper spot, began his fire. Bâba Sultan and Derwîsh Sultan, with ten or fifteen men, about evening prayers, crossed over in a boat without any object, and returned back again without fighting, and having done nothing. I reprimanded them severely for having crossed. Malek Kâsim Moghul and a few men passed over once or twice in a boat, and had very creditable affairs with small bodies of the enemy. Having planted a swivel on an island, at a place below where the bridge was constructing, a fire was commenced from it. Higher up than the bridge, a breastwork was raised, over which the matchlock-men fired with great execution. At length Malek Kâsim, with a few men, having defeated a party of the enemy, led away by excess of confidence, pursued them with slaughter up to their camp. The enemy sallied out in great force with an elephant, attacked him, and threw his troops into confusion, driving them back into their boat; and before they could put off, the elephant came up and swamped the boat. Malek Kâsim perished in this affair. For several days, while the bridge was constructing, Ustâd Ali Kûli played his gun remarkably well. The first day, he discharged it eight times; the second day, sixteen times; and for three or four days he continued firing in the same way. The gun which he fired was that called *Dig Ghazi*[2] (or the victorious gun). It was the

Feb. 27. Encamps on the Ganges.

Resolves to force a passage.

[1] The passage of Kinâr, it will be recollected, is a kos or two below the junction of the Jumna and the Chambal.

[2] *Dig* is now always applied to a mortar. They seem, like ourselves, to have taken their name for it from the kitchen. The Tûrki *kâsan* signifies, like *dig*, a kettle.

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A. D. 1528. same which had been used in the war with Sanka the Pagan, whence it got this name. Another gun, larger than this, had been planted, but it burst at the first fire. The matchlock-men continued actively employed in shooting, and they struck down a number both of men and horses with their shot. Among others, they killed two of the royal slaves, and a number of their horses.

Baber crosses the Ganges. March 11. March 12. March 13. As soon as the bridge was nearly completed, on Wednesday the 19th of the last Jemâdi, I moved and took post at the end of it. The Afghâns, amazed at our attempt to throw a bridge over the Ganges, treated it with contempt. On Thursday, the bridge being completed, a few of the infantry and Lahôris crossed, and had a slight action with the enemy. On Friday, part of my household troops, the right of the centre, the left of the centre, my best troops, and foot musketeers, crossed over. The whole Afghâns having armed themselves for battle, mounted, and, advancing with their elephants, attacked them. At one time they made an impression on the troops of the left, and drove them back, but the troops of the centre and of the right stood their ground, and finally drove from the field the enemy opposed to them. Two persons, hurried on by their impetuosity, advanced to some distance from the main body of the troops to which they belonged. One of them was dismounted and taken on the spot. Both the other and his horse were wounded in several places. His horse, in a feeble and tottering condition, escaped, and dropped down when it had reached the middle of the party to which it belonged. That day, seven or eight heads were brought in. Many of the enemy were wounded by arrows or matchlocks. The fight continued sharply till afternoon prayers. The whole night was employed in bringing back, across the bridge, such as had passed to the other side. If that same Saturday eve I had carried over the rest of my army, it is probable that most of the enemy would have fallen into our hands. But it came into my head, that last year I had set out on my march from Sikri, to attack Sanka, on new-year's-day, which fell on a Tuesday, and had overthrown my enemy on a Saturday: This year, we had commenced our march against these enemies on new-year's-day,[1] which fell upon a Wednesday, and that if we beat them on a Sunday, it would be a remarkable coincidence. On that account I March 14. did not march my troops. On Saturday, the enemy did not come out to action, but stood afar off, drawn up in order of battle. That day, we conveyed over our artillery, March 15. and next morning the troops had orders to cross. About the beat of the morning The enemy retire. drum,[2] information reached us from the advanced guard, that the enemy had gone off and fled. I commanded Chîn Taimur Sultan to push on before the army, in pursuit of the enemy, and I appointed Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Khisâm-ed-dîn, Ali Khalîfeh, Mohib Ali Khalîfeh Koki, Bâba Kushkeh, Dost Muhammed Baba Kushkeh, Bâki Tâshkendi, and Wali Kizmil, to accompany Sultan, for the purpose of pressing upon and cutting off the enemy; and enjoined them to pay the most implicit obedience to his orders. I also crossed over, about the time of early morning prayers.[3] I directed the camels to be led over by a ford lower down, which had been surveyed. That day, being Sunday, I encamped within a kos of Bangermou[4] on the banks of a pool. The detachment which had been sent on to harass the enemy, had little success. They had halted

[1] Nowroz. [2] Nakâra. [3] Sunnet—are the prayers repeated after the first sleep.
[4] Bangermou stands on the river of Belgrâm, S. E. from Kanauj.

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at Bangermou, and the same day, about noon-day prayers, set out again from that place. Next morning, I encamped by a tank that is in front of Bangermou, and, the same day, Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan, a younger son of my maternal uncle, the younger Khan, waited upon me. On Saturday, the 29th of the latter Jemâdi, I reached Luknow;[1] and, having surveyed it, passed the river Gûmti, and encamped. The same day I bathed in the river Gûmti. I know not whether any water got into my ear, or whether it was the effect of the air, but I became deaf in the right ear, though it was not long very painful. March 16. March 21.

We were still a march or two from Oud,[2] when a messenger arrived from Chin Taimur Sultan, with intelligence that the enemy were encamped on the other side of the Sirwû, and that he would require to be reinforced. I dispatched to his assistance a thousand of the best men from the centre, under the command of Kizâk. On Saturday, the 7th of Rejeb, I encamped two or three kos above Oud, at the junction of the Gogar and Sirwû.[3] Till that day, Sheikh Bayezid had kept his station, not far from Oud, on the other side of the Sirwû. He had sent a letter to Sultan, for the purpose of overreaching him. Sultan having discovered his insincerity, about noon-day prayers sent a person to call Kerâcheh to his assistance, and began to make preparations for passing the river. When Keracheh had joined Sultan, they passed the river without delay. There were about fifty horse, with three or four elephants, on the other side, who, being unable to stand their ground, took to flight. Our people brought down some of them, and cut off their heads, which they sent me. Bikhub Sultan, Terdi Beg, Kûch Beg, Bâba Chehreh, and Bâki Sheghâwel, passed the river after Sultan. Those who had passed over first, continued till evening prayers in pursuit of Sheikh Bayezîd, who threw himself into a jungle, and escaped. Chin Taimur Sultan having halted at night by a pool, mounted again about midnight, and renewed his pursuit of the enemy. After marching forty kos,[4] he came to a place where their families and baggage had been, but they were already in full flight. The light force now divided itself into different bodies; Bâki Sheghâwel with one division, following close upon the enemy, overtook their baggage and families, and brought in a few of the Afghâns as prisoners. Baber passes the Gogra. March 28. March 29.

I halted some days in this station, for the purpose of settling the affairs of Oud and the neighbouring country, and for making the necessary arrangements. Seven or eight kos[5] above Oud, on the banks of the river Sirwû, is the well-known tract called the Hunting-ground.[6] I sent Mîr Muhammed Jalebân to examine the fords of the rivers Goger and Sirwû, which he did. On Thursday, the 12th, I mounted, to set off on a hunting party. April 2.

[The remaining transactions of this year are not to be found, in any of the copies which I have met with: nor do the historians of Hindustan throw any light on them.] —EDITOR.

[1] Luknow is a well-known city, situate on the Gûmti, or Goomty.

[2] The city of Oud, or Oude, lies on the Goger, or Gogra, which is joined a few kos above the city, by the Sirwu, the Sirjoo of Rennell.

[3] Gogra and Sirjû, or Sirjoo.

[4] Sixty miles.

[5] Eleven or twelve miles.

[6] Zemin Shikârgâhi.

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EVENTS OF THE YEAR 935.[1]

A. D. 1528. Sept. 18. On Friday, the 3d of Moharrem, Askeri, whom, before marching against Chanderi, I had sent for to advise with on the affairs of Mûltân, having arrived, I received him in my private apartments.

Sept. 19. Next morning Khwând-Emîr,[2] the historian, Moulâna Shehâb the Enigmatist, and Mîr Ibrâhim, the performer on the kanûn,[3] who were intimate friends of Yûnis Ali, and had come from Heri a long time before, from a desire to be introduced to me, came, and were introduced.

Sept. 20. Baber visits Guâliâr. About afternoon prayers, on Sunday, the 5th of the month, intending to visit Guâliâr, which in books they write Gâliâr, I passed the Jumna, and entered the fort of Agra; and, after having taken leave of Fakhir-Jehân Begum and Khadîjeh-Sultan Begum, who were both to set out for Kâbul in the course of two or three days, I pursued my journey. Muhammed Zemân Mirza, having asked leave, staid behind in Agra. I travelled four or five kos the same evening, and then I halted, and slept on the banks of the large tank.

Sept. 21. We said our prayers next morning earlier than the stated time, and set out; and, having passed the noon of the day on the banks of the river Kemper,[4] we left that place after noon-day prayers, and at Talkan, I drank a medicine which Mûlla Rafaa had made for sustaining the spirits, and which I had carried along with me. It was very nauseous and unpalatable. Afternoon prayers were passed, when I alighted at a garden and palace which I had directed to be laid out, within a kos of Dhulphûr,[5] to the west. This place, on which I had given orders for building a palace, and laying out a garden, lies on the extremity of the brow of a hill. The steep where the hill terminates, is composed of a solid red stone, fit for hewing. I directed the hill to be cut down as low as the ground, and if a block of solid stone was found of sufficient size to admit of being cut into a house, that it should accordingly be excavated, and hewn into a house; if the stone had not sufficient depth for that purpose, that then they should hew down the rock into a level flat form, and excavate it into a tank. The stone of the hill was found not to be high enough, to admit of a house being excavated, out of a single block. I therefore directed Ustâd Shah Muhammed, my stonecutter, to make an octagonal covered tank on the top of the solid rock, which had been hewn into a platform. The stonecutters were ordered to work incessantly. To the north of the place in which I desired this tank to be hollowed out of the solid rock, there are a number of mango, jamin, and of other kinds of trees. In the middle of these trees I had ordered a well to be dug, ten gez by ten,[6] and it was nearly completed. The water of this well flows into the tank that has been mentioned. On the west of this well, Sultan Sekander had raised a mound, on which he had built houses. Above the mound, the

Reaches Dhûlphûr.

Works carrying on.

[1] Mr Elphinstone's Tûrki copy here commences again, after a long interval.

[2] Khwând-Emir, or Khondemir, the author of the Kholaset-al-Akhbar, and the most eminent historian of his age.

[3] Kanûni—The kanun is a large, stringed musical instrument.

[4] Between the Jompir and Chambal rivers.

[5] Dhûlpûr, as has already been observed, lies south of Agra, on the Chambal.

[6] About twenty feet square.

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waters of the rainy season are collected, and a large tank has been formed. The tank is surrounded by a hill. To the east of the tank I directed that they should hew, out of the solid rock, a platform and seats for resting. I directed a mosque to be built to the west of it.

I staid all Tuesday and Wednesday to examine and give directions concerning these works. On Thursday I again set out, and crossed the river Chambal; I spent the time of noonday prayers on the banks of the river, and, between noonday and afternoon prayers, again mounted and left the banks of the Chambal; and having passed the river Kewâri[1] between evening and bed-time prayers, I halted. The river was much swelled by the rain; we made them swim our horses across, and we ourselves passed in a wherry. Next morning, being Friday, the 10th of Moharrem, the Id-e-Aashûr,[2] I set out again, and passed the noon at a village on the road. About bed-time prayers I alighted at a Châhbâgh, a kos from Guâliâr, to the north, which I had last year ordered to be laid out. Next morning, before noonday prayers, I mounted, and rode out to visit the rising grounds to the north of Guâliâr, and having seen them and the chapels and religious places, I entered Guâliâr by the Hatipûl-gate, which is close by Rajah Mansing's palace, and proceeded to Raja Bikermâjet's palace, where Rahîmdâd had resided, and alighted there just as afternoon prayers were over. The same night, on account of the pain in my ear, and as it was moonshine,[3] I took some opium. Next morning, the sickness that followed the effects of the opium was very oppressive, and I vomited a good deal. In spite of my sickness, I went over all the palaces of Mansing and Bikermâjet. They are singularly beautiful palaces, though built in different patches, and without regular plan. They are wholly of hewn stone. The palace of Mansing is more lofty and splendid than that of any of the other Rajas. One part of the wall of Mansing's palace fronts the east, and this portion of it is more highly adorned than the rest. It may be about forty or fifty gez[4] in height, and is entirely of hewn stone. Its front is overlaid with white stucco. The buildings are in many parts four stories in height. The two lower floors are very dark, but, after sitting a while in them, you can see distinctly enough. I went through them, taking a light with me. In one division of this palace, there is a building with five domes, and round about them a number of smaller domes; the small domes are one on each side of the greater, according to the custom of Hindustân. The five large domes are covered with plates of copper gilt. The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles. All around they have inlaid the walls with figures of plantain trees, made of painted tiles. In the tower of the eastern division is the Hâtipûl. They call an elephant *hâti*, and a gate *pûl*. On the outside of this gate is the figure of an elephant, having two elephant-drivers on it. It is the perfect resemblance of an elephant, and hence the gate is called Hâtipûl. The lowest story of the house, which is four stories high, has a window that looks towards this figure of an elephant, which is close by it. On its upper story are the same sort of small domes that have been described. In the second

Sept. 22 and 23.

Sept. 24. Crosses the Chambal.

Sept. 25.

Reaches Guâliâr, and surveys the place. Sept. 26.

Sept. 27.

The palaces of Mânsing and Bikermâjet.

[1] Probably that branch of the Kohari, or Cohary, which reaches up by Sujerma.

[2] *The Feast of the Tenth.*

[3] The inhabitants of India, and the Persians, believe moonshine to be cold.

[4] Eighty or a hundred feet.

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story are the sitting apartments. You descend into these apartments,[1] as well as to those last mentioned. Though they have had all the ingenuity of Hindustân bestowed on them, yet they are but uncomfortable places. The palace of Bikermâjet, the son of Mansing, is in the north side of the fort, in the middle of an open piece of ground. The palace of the son does not equal that of the father. There is one large dome, which, however, is very dark; though, after being a while in it, you can contrive to see a little. Below this large dome there is a small house, which receives no direct light from any quarter. On the top of the large dome, Rahîmdâd erected a small awning, when he took up his residence in Bikermâjet's palace. From Bikermâjet's palace to that of his father, is a secret passage, which is not at all visible from without; and even within the palace no entrance to it is seen; the light is admitted in several places. It is a very singular road. Having visited these palaces, I mounted my horse again, and went to the college founded by Rahîmdâd. I also walked through the garden which he had formed, on the banks of the large tank, to the south of the fort, and arrived late at the Charbagh, where our people were encamped. There were many flowers in this garden, and particularly very fine red kanîrs[2] in great numbers. The kanîrs of this country resemble the peach flower. The kanîr of Guâliâr is red, and of a beautiful colour. I took some red kanîrs from Guâliâr, and planted them in the gardens at Agra. On the southern hill is a large tank, in which the water that falls in the rainy season is collected. To the west of the tank is a lofty idol temple. Sultan Shemseddîn Altemsh built a grand mosque close upon it. The idol temple is very high; indeed, it is the highest building in the fort. From the hill of Dhûlpûr, the fort of Guâliâr and this idol temple are distinctly seen. They say that all the stones of the temple were dug out of the great tank. In this little garden an excellent tâlâr (or grand open hall, supported on pillars) has been constructed. Low and inelegant porticos have been erected at the garden-gate, according to the Hindustâni fashion.

Rahîmdâd's college and garden.

Idol temple.

Sept. 28. Next morning, about noonday prayers, I mounted, for the purpose of seeing such places about Guâliâr as I had not previously visited, and went to the palace called Badilger, on the outside of Mansing's fort; after seeing which we entered by the Hâtipûl-gate, and went to visit a place named Adwa. This Adwa is a valley that lies west of the fort. Though it lies on the outside of the wall which is carried round the top of the hill, yet the mouth of the valley is closed up by two lofty ramparts, the one within the other. The height of these works is nearly thirty or forty gez.[3] The inner rampart is the longest and highest, and is connected at both its extremities with the walls of the fort. From the middle of this wall, but lower than it, another rampart has been begun, but is not a perfect defence. It was made as a covered way to a water-run. In the middle of it they have made a *wain*,[4] for the supply of water; a staircase of ten or fifteen steps conducts down to the water. The road passes, from the greater rampart, along the one that has the waîn within it.[5] Above its gate is the name of Sultan Shems-ed-dîn Altemsh, sculptured in the stone. Its date is the year 630. Be-

Valley of Adwa.

A. D. 1232-3.

[1] The palace seems to have been built on a declivity.

[2] The nerium odorum.

[3] Sixty or eighty feet.

[4] A large well, with apartments round its sides.

[5] Mr Metcalfe's copy reads, "The water proceeds from the greater rampart, down to the one," &c.

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low the outer rampart, on the outside of the fort, is a large tank. It frequently dries up, and is not a perfect tank. The water is led off from it by conduits. In the middle of this Adwa are two other large tanks, which the people of the fort extol above all other waters. On three sides, the hill is a perpendicular rock. The colour of the stone is like that of Biâna, though not so red, being of a paler colour. They have hewn the solid rock of this Adwa, and sculptured out of it idols of larger and smaller size. On the south part of it is a large idol, which may be about twenty gez[1] in height. These figures are perfectly naked, without even a rag to cover the parts of generation. Around the two large tanks which are within the Adwa, they have dug twenty or twenty-five wells, from which water is drawn for the purposes of irrigation, and they have planted numbers of trees and flowers, that are supplied from hence. Adwa is far from being a mean place; on the contrary, it is extremely pleasant. Its greatest fault consists in the idol figures all about it. I directed these idols to be destroyed. On returning back from Adwa into the fort, I went to the Sultan-pûl, the gate of which had been shut up from the time of the Pagans; and, about evening prayers, arrived in a garden which Rahîmdâd had laid out, where I alighted and spent the night.

Bikermâjet agrees to surrender Rantambôr. Sept. 29.

Next day, being Tuesday the 14th, messengers arrived from Bikermâjet, the second son of Rana Sanka, who, with his mother Padmawati, was in Rantambôr.[2] Before setting out to visit Guâliâr, a person had come from a Hindu named Asûk, who was high in Bikermâjet's confidence, with offers of submission and allegiance, expressing a hope that he would be allowed seventy laks[3] as an annuity. The bargain was concluded, and it was settled that, on delivering up the fort of Rantambôr, he should have Pergannas assigned him equal to what he had asked. After making this arrangement, I sent back his messengers. When I went to survey Guâliâr, I made an appointment to meet his men in Guâliâr. They were several days later than the appointed time. Asûk, the Hindu, had himself been with Padmawati, Bikermâjet's mother, and had explained to the mother and son everything that had passed. They approved of Asûk's proceedings, and agreed to make the proper submissions, and to rank themselves among my subjects. When Rana Sanka defeated Sultan Mahmûd and made him prisoner, the Sultan had on a splendid crown-cap[4] and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the Pagan, who, when he set Sultan Mahmûd at liberty, retained them. They were now with Bikermâjet. His elder brother Rattonsi, who had succeeded his father as Rana, and who was now in possession of Cheitûr, had sent to desire his younger brother to deliver them up to him, which he refused to do. By the persons who came from him to wait on me, he now sent me this crown and golden girdle, and asked Biâna in exchange for Rantambôr. I diverted them from their demand of Biâna, and Shemsâbâd was fixed on as the equivalent for Rantambôr. The same day I bestowed dresses of honour on his people, and dismissed them, after making an appointment for a meeting at Biâna in nine days.

[1] Upwards of forty feet.

[2] A very strong and important fort to the westward of Dhûlpûr, and S.E. from Jeipûr. It is the Rantampour of Rennell.

[3] About £17,500.

[4] Tâj-kulâh.

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Pagan sculpture at Guâliâr.

I went from the garden to visit the idol temples of Guâliâr. Many of them are two and three stories high. The different stories are very low, in the ancient fashion. In the skreen and lower parts of the building, are the figures of idols sculptured out of the stone. There are a number of idol chapels around, like the cells of a college. In front is a large and lofty dome. Its apartments resemble those of a college. Above each apartment, are very narrow domes cut out of the rock. In the lower apartments, they have hewn images out of the stone.[1] After viewing the edifices, I went out by the west gate of Guâliâr, and proceeding to the south of the fort, after examining the ground, reached the Charbagh which Rahîmdâd had laid out before the Hâtipûl gate, and there dismounted. Rahîmdâd had prepared an entertainment for me at the Charbagh. He gave me an excellent dinner, and afterwards presented me with a large peshkesh, to the amount of four laks in money and goods. From this Charbagh, I arrived late at the Charbagh where I had my quarters.

Waterfall. Sept. 30.

On Wednesday the 15th, I set out to visit a waterfall, which lies about six kos[2] to the south-east of Guâliâr. I had left my ground early in the morning, and reached the waterfall after noon-day prayers. The torrent, which is large enough to turn a mill, rushes right over a perpendicular rock of the height of a horse-tether.[3] Lower down than this waterfall is a large tank. Farther up than the cascade, the water comes rushing down over a solid rock. The stream runs on a bottom of solid rock; in various places, tanks have been formed, which are supplied from hence. Along the banks of the stream, scattered about, there are fragments of solid rock proper for seats; the water, however, does not always flow. We sat down above the waterfall and took a maajûn; after which we ascended the rivulet to its source, and came back again; we then mounted a rising ground, where we remained some time, while the musicians played and the singers sang. Such as had never seen the ebony-tree, which the inhabitants of the country call Tîndû, had now an opportunity of seeing it. Leaving that spot, we descended the hill, and mounting our horses between the time of evening and bed-time prayers, about midnight reached a place where we slept. Nearly a watch of the day was past before I reached the Charbagh and had alighted.

Oct. 1.

Sokhjâneh. Oct. 2.

On Friday the 17th, I visited Sokhjâneh the birth-place of Silâheddîn. Above the village, between the hill and valley, is the Lime and Sitaphul (or custard-apple) garden, which I walked through, and returned to the camp in the course of the first watch.

Oct. 4. Baber leaves Guâliâr.

Revisits Dhûlpûr.

On Sunday the 19th, before dawn, I set out from the Charbagh, and having passed the Kewâri, and halted during the noontide, about noon-day prayers we again mounted, and having crossed the Chambal at sunset, reached the Fort of Dhûlpûr between evening and bed-time prayers; I visited, by the light of a lantern, the bath built by Abul Fateh, and then rode to the place in which I had directed a new Charbagh to be laid out, above the water mound, where I halted. Next morning I visited the works

Oct. 5.

[1] I am not aware that these excavations have ever been described. The account here given would lead us to conceive that they were Bouddhist.

[2] Nine or ten miles.

[3] That is seven or eight gez—fifteen or sixteen feet.

[4] The Kohari or Cohary.

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which I had given orders for carrying on. Even the levels of the edges of the covered tank, which I had directed to be hollowed out of the rock, had not been completely taken. I ordered a number of stone-cutters to be employed to cut down the tank to a certain depth, that, by filling it with water, they might be able to level its edges. When afternoon prayers were over, a small part of the tank had already been hollowed. I directed it to be filled with water, and, taking that as their level, to smooth the edges. On this occasion I directed a water-house[1] to be hewn out of the rock, and a small tank to be hewn within it, also out of the solid rock. This Monday I had a maajûn party. On Tuesday I remained in the same place. On the eve of Wednesday I broke my fast, and eat a little. Having mounted to go to Sîkri, about noon I alighted and lay down. I felt evident symptoms of having caught cold in my ear. That night it was very painful, and I was unable to sleep. Early next morning I again set out, and having, in the course of one watch, reached the garden which I had formed at Sîkri, I alighted. The walls of the garden, and the buildings in the well, not having been completed to my satisfaction, I menaced and punished the overseers of the work. Mounting between afternoon and evening prayers, I left Sîkri; and, after passing Medhâkûr, alighted and took some rest: after which, setting out again, I reached Agra after the first watch, and went to the fort, where I waited on Khadîjeh Sultan Begum, who, when Fakher-Jehân Begum went away, had staid behind on account of various affairs and business; I then crossed the Jumna, and alighted at the garden of Hesht-Behisht.

Revisits his improvements. October 6. October 7. October 8. Visits Sîkri. Reaches Agra. October 9.

On Saturday, the 3d of the month of Sefer, three of my paternal aunts, Begums of high rank, Keher-Shâd Begum, Badîa-a-jemâl Begum, and Ak Begum, and of the Begums of inferior rank, Khan-zâdeh Begum, the daughter of Sultan Masaûd Mirza; another, who was the daughter of Sultan Bakht Begum, and another, by name Zeinab Sultan Begum, the grand-daughter of Bikeh Chichâm, having passed Tûteh, on their way to my court, had halted on the extremity of the suburbs, close by the banks of the river. I went and waited on them between afternoon and evening prayers, and returned back in a boat.

October 17.

On Monday, the 5th of Sefer, I sent the first envoy of Bikermâjet, and the one whom he had sent last, accompanied by Hawesi, the son of Diureh, a Hindu of Behreh, who had long been in my service, to receive the surrender of Rantambôr, to accept his promise of allegiance, and to complete the treaty according to all their own forms and usages. This person was directed to go and make whatever observations he could, after which he was to return to me, with such information as he acquired. If the young prince stood to his terms, I agreed with him, that, by the blessing of God, I would make him Rana in his father's place, and establish him in Cheitûr.

October 19. Sends to occupy Rantambôr.

At this crisis, the treasures of Delhi and Agra that had been collected by Iskander and Ibrâhim being expended, and it being necessary to furnish equipments for the army, gunpowder for the service of the guns, and pay for the artillery and matchlockmen, on Thursday, the 8th of Sefer, I gave orders, that in all departments, every man

Increases the taxes. October 22.

[1] Khâneh-âb.

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A. D. 1528. having an office, should bring a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred,[1] to the Diwân, to be applied to the procuring and fitting out the proper arms and supplies.

October 24. Intends marching to Khorâsân. On Saturday the 10th, one Shah Kâsim, a runner of Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi, whom, on a former occasion, I had sent with letters, offering protection and security to the natives of Khorasân, was again dispatched with letters to the following effect: that, by the favour of God, I had completely triumphed over the rebels on the east and west of Hindustân, as well as over the Pagans. That next spring, God willing, I would make an effort, and return in person to Kâbul. I likewise sent a letter to Ahmed Afshar, and, on the margin, made a noting with my own hand, in which I sent for Feridûn Kabûzi.[2] That same day about noon-day prayers, I began to take quick-silver.[3]

Affairs of Khabul and Khorasân. August 26. On Wednesday, the 21st, a Hindustâni runner brought letters from Kâmrân and Khwâjeh Dost Khâwend. Kwâjeh Dost Khâwend had reached Kâbul on the 10th of Zilhajeh, and had set out to meet Hûmâiûn.[4] At that time, a man sent by Kâmrân reached the Khwâjeh, desiring him to remain, that he might deliver to Kâmrân personally whatever orders he had brought; and to say, that after communicating such information as he possessed, he would be allowed to proceed on his journey. On the

Sept. 2. 17th of Zilhajeh, Kâmrân arrived in Kâbul, and, after having conferred with him, the

Sept. 13. Khwâjeh on the 28th took his leave, and proceeded for the fort of Zefer. These letters contained the pleasing intelligence, that prince Tahmasp[5] having marched to oppose the Uzbeks, had taken Renish[6] the Uzbek in Damghân, and put him, with all his men, to the sword; that Obeid Khan, on hearing of the motions of the Kezzelbashes, had raised the siege of Heri, and retreated to Merv, from whence he had sent to invite the Sultans of Samarkand and the neighbouring countries to join him, and that the whole Sultans of Mâweralnaher were, in consequence, repairing to that city to his assistance. The same runner brought the farther news, that Hûmâiûn had got a son, by the daughter of Yadgar Taghâi; and that Kâmrân had married in Kâbul, having taken to wife the daughter of his maternal cousin, Sultan Ali Mirza.

The same day I bestowed on Syed Dekni Shirâzi, the water finder,[7] a dress of honour, made him a present, and appointed him to the charge of my jets d'eau and artificial water-works, at the same time giving him instructions to complete certain of them in his most perfect style.

Baber attacked with a fever. Nov. 6. On Friday the 23d, I was seized with so violent an illness, that I was scarcely able to complete my Friday's prayers in the mosque. About noon-day prayers, having gone into my library, I found myself so ill, that it was with difficulty that I could finish

Nov. 8. my prayers. Two days after, on Sunday, I had a fever and shivering. On the night

Nov. 10. of Tuesday, the 27th of Zefer, I turned over in my mind the plan of translating into verse, the tract in honour of the parents of the reverend Khwâjeh Obeid. Placing my

[1] This appears to be an addition of 30 per cent to the old taxes.
[2] The *Kabúz* is a sort of guitar, on which Feridûn was a celebrated performer.
[3] Quick-silver, in its liquid state, has been long used in India, for removing obstructions in the bowels.
[4] At this time Hûmâiûn was at the fort of Zefer, in Badakhshân, and Kâmrân in Ghazni.
[5] The King of Persia. [6] The Tûrki has Rais.
[7] Ab-jû—perhaps the term only means hydraulic engineer.

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confidence in the soul of the venerable Khwâjeh,[1] I indulged a hope, that perhaps his reverence might be induced to receive my poem favourably, and to remove my disease, as he had done with the writer of the Kasîdeh, who, when he presented his Kasîdeh, had his offering accepted with favour, and was delivered from his palsy. In pursuance of this vow, I began a poem in the six feet majnûn metre; the measure, zerb gerb, abter gah, mahbûn mehzûf,[2] being the same in which the Sebakheh of Moulavi Abdal-rahman Jâmi are composed, and the same evening I wrote thirteen couplets. I tasked myself to compose a certain number of couplets, never less than ten daily. I only omitted writing for a single day. Last year, and, indeed, every time that I have been attacked by the disease, it has lasted a month, or forty days, or upwards. By the mercy of God, through the influence of the venerable Khwâjeh, on Thursday, the 29th, the violence of the distemper was abated, and I was again delivered from the disease. On Saturday, the 8th of the first Rebi, I completed my poetical version of the tract. I had composed every day, on an average, fifty-two couplets. Nov. 12. Nov. 21.

On Wednesday, the 28th of Sefer, I dispatched notice to my troops on every side, that in a short time, God willing, I would take the field with the army. That they were immediately to get their arms and accoutrements in readiness, and to meet me with all speed. Nov. 11. Summons his troops to assemble.

On Sunday, the 9th of the first Rebi, Beg Muhammed Tâlikchi waited on me. Last year, in the end of Moharrem, he had been sent to carry a dress of honour and a horse to Hûmâiûn. Nov. 22, 1528. October 1527.

On Monday the 10th, Beg Kîneh, Wais Lagheri, and Bian Sheikh, one of Hûmâiûn's servants, arrived from that prince. Beg Kîneh had come for the purpose of announcing the happy news of the birth of Hûmâiûn's son. They had given him the name of Alâmân. Sheikh Abul Wajid discovered the date of his birth, in the words *Shah Saadetmend* (the fortunate king). Biân Sheikh had set out long after Beg Kîneh. He had left Hûmâiûn below Keshem, at a place called Doshembeh, on Friday the 9th of Sefer; and on Monday, the 10th of the first Rebi, he reached Agra, having made a very quick journey. The same Biân Sheikh, on another occasion, had gone from the fort of Zefer to Kandahâr in eleven days. Biân Sheikh brought intelligence of the advance of the prince, and of the defeat of the Uzbeks. The particulars were these: Prince Tahmasp[3] had advanced out of Irâk with forty thousand men, disciplined after the Turkish fashion, with an artillery and body of musketeers, had marched on with great expedition, had arrived at Bostâm and Damghân, had taken Renish the Uzbek, and put the whole of his people to death; after which he rapidly pursued his march. Kember Ali Bî, the son of Kepek Bî, was also routed by the Kezelbashes, and, accompanied by a few of his men, had taken refuge with Obeid Khan, who, not seeing any prospect of being able, by his own strength, to keep his ground near Heri, dispatched Affairs of Khorasân. Nov. 23, 1528. Oct. 23. Nov. 23.

[1] Here, unfortunately, Mr Elphinstone's Tûrki copy finally ends.

[2] Terms of Persian prosody.

[3] Shah Ismâel had died in 1523, and was succeeded by his son Prince Tahmasp, then only ten years of age. At the time when this great battle was fought, he was only fifteen: Though he was the reigning King of Persia, Baber continues still to call him the *Shahzadeh*, or Prince, from the force of habit, or from his having mounted the throne at so early an age.

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A. D. 1528. persons in great haste to call the Khans and Sultans of Balkh, Hissâr, Samarkand, and Tashkend, to come to his assistance, while he himself retired to Merv. These princes collected their forces with great expedition. From Tâshkend, Sunjek Khan, the second son of Baràk Sultan; from Samarcand and Miân-kâl,[1] Kochim Khan, Abûsaid Sultan, and Polâd Sultan, accompanied by the sons of Jân Beg Khan; from Hissâr, the sons of Khemzeh Sultan and Mehdi Sultan; from Balkh, Kitan Kara Sultan, all advanced without loss of time, and joined Obeid Khan in Merv, forming an army of a hundred and five thousand men. Their scouts brought them information, that Prince Tahmasp, having understood that Obeid Khan was encamped with a few troops in the vicinity of Heri, had at first pushed on with forty thousand men to fall upon them; but that, on learning the particulars of the armament and assembling of their troops, he had entrenched himself in the Auleng Zâdegan, where he now lay. On receiving this information, the Uzbeks, despising their enemy, came to a resolution that the whole of their Khans and Sultans should encamp at Meshhid, except a few Sultans, with twenty thousand men, who should be pushed on close to the Kazelbashes' camp, and should not permit them to show their heads out of their trenches. That they should then direct their enchanters[2] to use their enchantments; and that thus the enemy being shut up, and reduced to the greatest difficulties, must fall into their hands. In pursuance of this resolution they marched from Merv. The prince, on his part, leaving Meshhid, encountered them near Jâm and Khirgird, when the Uzbeks were defeated. Many Sultans were taken prisoners and put to death. In one of the letters it was mentioned, that there was no certain intelligence of the escape of any Sultan except Kochim Khan, as no person who had been in the army was yet arrived. The Sultans who were in Hissâr abandoned the place and retired, leaving in it Chalmeh, whose original name was Ismâel, the son of Ibràhim Jâni. I wrote letters to Hûmâiûn and Kâmrân, to be dispatched by the hands of the same Bian Sheikh, who has been mentioned.

Nov. 27. On Friday the 14th, having got ready all the letters and dispatches, they were delivered to Bian Sheikh, who took leave.

Nov. 28. On Saturday the 15th, I set out from Agra.

Copy of the Letter sent to Hûmâiûn.

Baber's letter to Hûmâiûn. Nov. 13. To Hûmâiûn, whom I remember with much longing to see him again, health: on Saturday,[3] the first of the former Rebi, Bian Sheikh arrived in company with Beg Kineh, and the letters which he brought made me acquainted with all the transactions in your quarter. Thanks be to God, who has given you a child; he has given to you a child, and to me a comfort and an object of love. May the Almighty always continue to grant to you and to me the enjoyment of such objects of our heart's desire! Amen, O Lord of the Two Worlds! You have called him Alemân; may the Almighty

[1] Miân-kâl is the country nearly in the middle between Samarkand and Bokhâra, on the Kohik.

[2] Yedchy.

[3] Above, it is said Monday the 10th of former Rebi (23d November), which is correct.

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prosper what you have done. You who are seated on a throne ought to know, that people in general pronounce it, some Alamân (the protected), some Ilamân (protected by men). And besides, that there are few names which are preceded by Al (the). May the Great Creator grant, that both in his name and in his constitution, he may be happy and fortunate; and may He bestow on me and on thee many years and many kerns,[1] rendered happy by the fortune and fame of Alamân. Indeed, the Almighty, from his grace and bounty, hath accomplished our desires in a manner not to be paralleled in the revolution of time.

On Tuesday, the 11th of the month, having received some information that the men of Balkh had invited Kurbân, and introduced him into the city, I sent orders to my son Kâmrân and the Begs at Kâbul to march and form a junction with you,[2] when you might proceed to Hissâr, Samarkand, or Merv, as might be deemed most advisable; hoping, that through the mercy of God, you might be enabled to disperse the enemy, occupy their countries, and make your friends rejoice in the complete discomfiture of your foes. With God's favour, this is the season for you to expose yourself to danger and hardship, and to exert your prowess in arms. Fail not to exert yourself strenuously to meet every situation as it occurs; for indolence and ease suit but ill with royalty. Nov. 24.

(*Persian verse.*)—Ambition admits not of inaction;
The world is his who exerts himself,
In wisdom's eye, every condition
May find repose, but royalty alone.

—If, through the divine favour, you subdue and secure Balkh and Hissâr, your men must have the charge of Hissâr, while Kâmrân's remain in Balkh. If the grace of the Most High bestow Samarkand also upon us, you must take the reins of government in Samarkand; God willing, I shall make that country an imperial government. If Kâmrân thinks Balkh too small a government, let me know, and I will, by the divine grace, remove his objection, by adding something from the neighbouring territories. You know that you always receive six parts, and Kâmrân five; you must always attend to this rule, and unfailingly observe it. Remember too always to act handsomely by him. The great should exercise self-command; and I do hope that you will always maintain a good understanding with him. Your brother, on his side, is a correct and worthy young man, and he must be careful to maintain the proper respect and fidelity due to you.

I have some quarrels to settle with you. For two or three years past, none of your people has waited on me from you, and the messenger whom I sent to you did not come back to me for a twelvemonth. This, remember, is undeniable.

In many of your letters you complain of separation from your friends. It is wrong for a prince to indulge in such a complaint, for there is a saying—

(*Persian verse.*)—If you are fettered by your situation, submit to circumstances.
If you are independent, follow your own fancy.

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[1] A kern is a Tûrki period of thirty-one years.

[2] Hûmâiûn was at this time in Badakhshân.

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A. D. 1528. There is no greater bondage than that in which a king is placed, and it ill becomes him to complain of inevitable separation.

In compliance with my wishes, you have indeed written me letters, but you certainly never read them over; for had you attempted to read them, you must have found it absolutely impossible, and would then undoubtedly have put them by. I contrived indeed to decypher and comprehend the meaning of your last letter, but with much difficulty. It is excessively confused and crabbed. Who ever saw a Moâmma (a riddle or a charade) in prose? Your spelling is not bad, yet not quite correct. You have written *iltafât* with a *toe* (instead of a *te*), and *kuling* with a *be* (instead of a *kaf*). Your letter may indeed be read; but in consequence of the far-fetched words you have employed, the meaning is by no means very intelligible. You certainly do not excel in letter-writing, and fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show your acquirements. For the future, you should write unaffectedly, with clearness, using plain words, which would cost less trouble both to the writer and reader.

You are now going to set out on an expedition[1] of great importance; you should therefore consult with the most prudent and experienced of the noblemen about you, and guide yourself by their advice.

If you are desirous of gaining my approbation, you must not waste your time in private parties, but rather indulge in liberal conversation and frank intercourse with all about you. Twice every day, you must call your brothers and Begs to your presence, not leaving their attendance to their own discretion; and after consulting with them about any business that occurs, you must finally act as may be decided to be most advisable.

I have formerly told you that you should live on the most confidential footing with Khwâjeh Kilân; you may act in regard to him with the same unrestrained confidence that you have seen me do. By the mercy of God, the business of the country around you may by and by become less oppressive, and you may not require Kâmrân. In that case, your brother may leave some of his trusty men in Balkh, and himself repair to me.

During the time that I resided in Kâbul, I transacted much momentous business, and gained many important victories; on which account, considering the place as lucky, I have chosen it for an imperial domain. Neither of you must in any respect aim at the possession of it.

You must attempt, by the utmost courtesy of manners, to gain the heart of Sultan Weis, and to have him about you, and to direct yourself by his judgment, as he is a prudent and experienced man.

You must pay every attention to the discipline and efficient state of the army.

Biân Sheikh is acquainted with everything, and will be able to give you what verbal information you may require.

I once more repeat my earnest wishes for your health. Written on Thursday, the
Nov. 26. 13th of the first Rebi.[2]

I likewise sent Kâmrân and Khwâjeh Kilân letters to the same effect, written with my own hand.

[1] To drive the Uzbeks out of Balkh, Hissâr, &c.

[2] In the Persian translation of the Memoir, this letter is given in the original Tûrki, without translation.

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On Wednesday the 19th, I convened the Mirzas, and Sultans, and Turki and Hindi Begs, and having consulted with them, finally settled, that this year I should march somewhere or other at the head of my army; that before I set out, Askeri[1] should advance towards Purab (or the East Provinces); that, after the Amîrs and Sultans beyond the Ganges had brought their troops and joined Askeri, I might then march on any expedition that seemed to me to be best. Having written to communicate these plans, on Saturday the 22d, I dispatched Ghîas-ed-dîn Korchi to Sultan Junîd Birlâs, and the Amîrs of the Purab, requiring them to meet me in twenty-two days; I instructed him verbally to inform them, that I would send on to Askeri the artillery, guns, and matchlocks, and all kinds of warlike arms and ammunition, to be ready before the troops could take the field; and orders were given to all Amîrs and Sultans on the farther side of the Ganges to join Askeri, and march wherever, under the favour of God, it might seem expedient. That they should consult my partizans in that quarter, whether there were any affairs there that required my presence; that if there were, immediately on the return of the officer who had gone to summon the chiefs to the appointed meeting, I would, God willing, mount without delay, and join the army. But if the Bengalis were peaceable and quiet, and if there was no matter, in that quarter, of such importance as to demand my presence, that they should inform me by letter, as, in that case, I would halt, and turn my force in some other direction. That my adherents and friends must also consult with Askeri, and, with the divine blessing, decide on the general course expedient to be followed in that quarter.

Dec. 2. Baber sends Askeri to the eastern provinces.

Dec. 5.

On Saturday the 29th of the first Rebia, I presented Askeri with a dagger enriched with precious stones, a belt, and a complete royal dress of honour; gave him the standard, the horsetail, the kettle-drum, and a stud of Tipchâk horses, ten elephants, a string of camels, a string of mules, and a royal equipage and camp-furniture, commanding him withal to take his seat at the head of a hall of state. I gave Mûlla Dudu Atke a pair of buskins ornamented with rich buttons, and presented his other servants with thrice nine vests.[2]

Dec. 12.

On Sunday, the last day of the month, I went to Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi's house. The streets were spread with rich stuffs, and he brought and offered me a sachak, or formal present; the peshkesh, or tributary offering, which he presented, in money and effects, exceeded two laks.[3] After dining and receiving this peshkesh, we retired into another apartment, where we sat down and indulged in a maajûn. About the third watch I rose, crossed the river, and went to my private apartments.

Nov. 13. Visits Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi.

On Thursday, the 4th of the latter Rebia, I directed Chikmâk Beg, by a writing under the royal hand and seal, to measure the distance from Agra to Kâbul; that at every nine kos[4] he should raise a minâr, or turret, twelve gez[5] in height, on the top of which he was to construct a pavilion;[6] that, every ten kos,[7] he should erect a *yam*, or post-house, which they call a *dâk-choki*, for six horses; that he should fix a certain

Dec. 17. Orders post-houses to be built from Agra to Kâbul.

[1] Askeri was one of Baber's sons.

[2] The presents of the Moghuls and Tûrks were made of thrice nine articles, the number being deemed fortunate.

[3] £500.

[4] About thirteen or fourteen miles.

[5] Twenty-four feet.

[6] Châr-dereh.

[7] About fifteen miles.

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A. D. 1528. allowance as a provision for the posthouse-keepers, couriers, and grooms, and for feeding the horses; and orders were given, that wherever a posthouse for horses was built near a khalseh or imperial demesne, they should be furnished from thence with the stated allowances; that if it was situated in a perganna, the nobleman in charge should attend to the supply. The same day, Chikmák Pádshâhi left Agra. The kos was fixed in conformity with the mil, according to these verses:—

Length of the kos, &c.

(*Turki.*)—Four thousand paces are one mil,
Know that the men of Hindustan call it a kuroh (kos).
This pace is a cubit and a half;
Every cubit[1] is six hand-breadths;[2]
Each hand-breadth is six inches; and, again, each inch
Is the breadth of six barley-corns. Know all this.

The measuring tenâb was to consist of forty gez or paces, each measuring one and a half of the gez or cubit that has been mentioned,[3] and so equal to nine hand-breadths; and a hundred of these tenâbs were to go to one kos.

Grand feast Dec. 19

On Saturday the 6th, I had a feast in the garden. I sat in the northern part of it, in an octagonal pavilion that was recently erected, and covered with khâs-grass[4] for coolness. On my right, at the distance of five or six gez, sat Bugha Sultan, Askeri, and the venerable Khwâjeh's family, Khwâjeh Abdâl Shahid, Khwâjeh Kilân, Khwâjeh Hussein Khalifeh, and other comers from Samarkand, the dependants of the Khwâjeh, readers of the Korân, and Mûllas. On my left, at an interval of five or six gez,[5] were seated Muhammed Zemân Mirza, Autenk Itmish Sultan, Syed Rafia, Syed Rûmi Sheikh Abul Fateh, Sheikh Jemâli, Sheikh Shehâbeddin Arab, and Syed Dekni. The Kezelbash, Uzbek, and Hindu ambassadors were present at this feast. An awning was erected at the distance of seventy or eighty gez[6] to the right, in which the Kezelbash ambassadors were placed, and Yunis Ali was selected from the Amîrs to sit beside them. At the same distance on the left, in like manner, the Uzbek ambassadors were stationed, and Abdalla was selected from the Amîrs to sit beside them. Before the dinner was served, all the Khans, Sultans, grandees, and Amîrs, offered congratulatory presents[8] of red, and, white, and black money, with cloth and other articles. I ordered woollen cloths to be spread out before me, into which they threw the gold and silver money; offerings of coloured cloth and of white cloth, as well as purses, of money, were piled up beside the gold and silver. Before dining, while the presents were coming in, there were fights of furious camels and elephants, in an island[10] in

[1] Kar. [2] Tûtâm, a fist or hand-breadth.

[3] The larger gez, or pace, was nine hand-breadths; the smaller, or cubit, six hand-breadths.

[4] During the heats, particularly while the hot winds are blowing, it is customary in India to cover the open side-doors and windows of apartments with a sweet-smelling species of grass, which is kept moist with water. The air, passing through this, is much softened, and an agreeable coolness produced.

[5] Ten or twelve feet. [6] About 140 or 150 feet, or perhaps more.

[7] *i. e.* The Persian. [8] Sacheh. [9] Badreh is a purse, containing about £60.

[10] I am not quite sure of the meaning of *arûl*. In some instances it certainly means *island*. In others it seems to mean *plot* or *bank*. The royal garden was probably close by the Jumna, in an island in which the fights were exhibited.

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front. There were also some ram-fights, and afterwards matches of wrestlers. When the dinner was placed, Khwâjeh Abdal Shahîd and Khwâjeh Kilân were invested with muslin robes of very fine cotton, with suitable dresses of honour. Mûlla Farekh, Hâfez, and those who were with them, received gowns of cloth. On the ambassador of Kochim Khan,[1] and the younger brother of Hassan Chelebi,[2] were bestowed Sirkamash robes of muslin, with rich buttons, and dresses of honour suited to their rank. To the ambassadors of Abusaîd Sultan, and Miherbân Khânim and her son Polâd Sultan, and to the ambassadors of Shah Hassan, were given vests with buttons, and robes of rich cloth. A stone of gold was weighed with the silver weights, and a stone of silver with the gold weights, and given to Dosta Khwâjeh and the two great ambassadors, who were the servants of Kochim Khan, and to the younger brother of Hassan Khan Chelebi. The gold stone contains five hundred mishkals, which is one sîr Kâbul measure. The silver measure is two hundred and fifty mishkals, which is half a Kâbul sîr. Khwâjeh Mîr Sultani, his sons, and Hâfez Tâshkendi, Mûlla Farekh and his followers, the servants of the Khwâjeh, and the other ambassadors, had each of them presents of silver and gold. Yâdgâr Nâsir had a hanger and belt. Mîr Muhammed Jalibân had deserved great rewards, for the skill with which he had constructed the bridge over the Ganges. He and the other musketeers, Pehlwân Hâji Muhammed, and Pehlwân Behlûl, and Wali Parschi, were presented each with a dagger. Syed Daûd Germsîri had a present in silver and gold. The servants of my daughter Maasûmeh, and of my son Hindâl, received vests ornamented with buttons, and dresses of honour made of rich cloth. To the men who had come from Andejân, who, without a country, without a home, had roamed with me in my wanderings in Sûkh and Hushiâr,[3] and many lands, to all my veterans and tried men, I gave vests and rich dresses of honour, with gold and silver clothes, and other articles of value. To the servants of Korbân and Sheikhi, and the natives of Kehmerd, presents were, in like manner, given. When the dinner was placed, the Hindustâni jugglers[4] were brought in and performed their tricks, and the tumblers[5] and rope-dancers exhibited their feats. The Hindustâni slight-of-hand men do several feats which I never saw performed by those of our countries. One of these is the following:—They take seven rings, one of which they suspend over their forehead, and two on their thighs; the other four they place, two on two of their fingers, and the other two on two of their toes, and then whirl them all round with a quick uninterrupted motion. Another is this—they place one of their hands on the ground, and then raise up their other hand and their two feet, which they spread out so as to represent the port of a peacock, all the while turning round, with a continued rapid motion, three rings placed on their hand and two feet. The tumblers of our country fix two wooden poles to their feet,

Jugglers and tumblers.

[1] Kochim or Kechim Khan has already been mentioned along with Abusaîd Sultan and Polâd Sultan, as Uzbek chiefs of Samarkand.

[2] Hassan Khan Chelebi was the Persian ambassador.

[3] Baber's residence in Sûkh and Hushiâr was the most trying period of his life. It immediately preceded his finally abandoning Ferghâna, when he set out for Khorasân. These, therefore, were his most faithful followers.

[4] Bazigers. See a paper by Colonel Richardson, in the *Asiatick Researches*, on this subject.

[5] Lûlis.

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A.D. 1528. and walk on these wooden supports; the Hindustâni tumblers, clinging to a singe wooden support, walk on it, and that without fastening it to their feet. In our countries, two tumblers lay hold of each other, and go on tumbling when thus linked together: whereas the Hindustâni tumblers lay hold of each other to the number of three and four, and go on tumbling intertwined in a circle. One of the most remarkable feats which they exhibit is when a tumbler, placing the lower part of a pole, of six or seven gez[1] in length, on his middle, holds it erect, while another tumbler mounts the pole, and plays his feats on the top of it. In other cases, a young tumbler climbs up, and stands on the head of an elder one; the lower one walks fast about from side to side playing his feats, with the younger one all the while standing erect and firm on his head, and also exhibiting his tricks. Many pateras, or dancing-girls, were also introduced, and danced. Towards evening prayers, a great quantity of gold, silver, and copper money was scattered; there was a precious hubbub and uproar. Between evening and bed-time prayers, I made five or six of the most distinguished of my guests sit down near me, and I continued with them till the end of the first watch. Next morning, in the forenoon, I went to the Hesht-Behisht in a boat.

Dec. 21. On Monday, Askeri, who had begun his march, and left the town, took leave of me in my bath, and proceeded to the eastward.

Dec. 22. Revisits Dhûlpûr. On Tuesday, I set out to visit the tanks, garden, and palace, which I had ordered to be made at Dhûlpûr. I mounted at my garden-house at one geri of the second watch,[2] and five geris of the first watch[3] of the night were past, when I reached the garden of Dhûlpûr.

Dec. 24. On Thursday the 11th, the stone well, the cypresses, the twenty-six stones and stone columns, and the water-channels, which were all hewed on the hill from the solid rock, were finished. About the third watch[4] of that same day, they began to draw water from the well. Presents were given to the stone-cutters, carpenters, and all the labourers, according to the usage of the artizans and labourers of Agra. By way of precaution, in order to remove any disagreeable taste that might be in the water, they were directed to turn the water-wheel of the well day and night incessantly for fifty days, and let the water run off.

Dec. 25. On Friday, while there was still one geri of the first watch[5] remaining, I set off from Dhûlpûr, and the sun was not set when I had alighted, and passed the river.

Dec. 29. Battle of Jâm in Khorasân. 10th Moharrem. Sept. 26. On Tuesday the 16th, a man who had been in the battle between the Kezelbashes and Uzbeks, a servant of Deo Sultan, came and gave an account of the engagement. He informed me, that the battle between the Uzbeks and Turkomans was fought on the Roz-Ashûr, in the neighbourhood of Jâm and Khirgird, and lasted from the first twilight till noon-day prayers. The Uzbeks were three hundred thousand in number; the Turkomans, according to their own account, amounted to only forty or fifty thousand, but, from their array, had the appearance of amounting to a hundred thousand; while the Uzbeks made their own army amount to only one hundred and five thousand. The Kezelbashes engaged, after having placed their guns, artillery,[6] and mus-

[1] Twelve or fourteen feet. [2] About half past nine a. m. [3] About eight p. m.
[4] Between noon and three o'clock p. m. [5] Nearly half an hour before nine a. m.
[6] Zerb-zin, perhaps swivels.

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keteers in order, and fortified their position, according to the tactics of Rûm;[1] they had two thousand artillery-men and six thousand matchlock-men. The Prince and Chokkeh Sultan were stationed behind the guns, with twenty thousand chosen men. The other Amîrs were placed beyond the guns, on the right and left wings. The Uzbeks, on the first charge, having broken and defeated the outposts and flankers, whom they drove in, and made a number of prisoners, advanced into the rear of the Kezelbash army, where they took the camels and plundered the baggage. The troops who had been stationed behind the artillery, now unloosing the chains of the guns, issued forth, when a desperate action ensued. The Uzbeks, who were commanded by Kochim Khan, were thrice broken, and thrice returned to the charge; but at length, by the divine favour, were totally routed, and nine Sultans, including Obeid Khan and Abusaîd Sultan, left on the field, of which number Abusaîd Sultan was the only one taken alive, the other eight being slain. The head of Obeid Khan could not be found, but his body was discovered. Fifty thousand Uzbeks and twenty thousand Turkomans fell in the action.

Defeat of the Uzbeks.

The same day, Ghîâseddîn Korchi, who had gone to Jonpur, and engaged to return by a stated day, came back, having been absent sixteen days. Sultan Jûnîd and the officers who were with him had levied an army, and advanced to Kherid;[2] so that Ghîâseddîn, being obliged to follow him thither, had been unable to return back at the time appointed. Sultan Jûnid had answered verbally, that, thanks to the goodness of God, affairs in that quarter exhibited no symptoms that appeared to call for the presence of the Emperor. "Let a Mirza come, and let orders be issued to the Sultans, Khans, and Amîrs of the neighbouring provinces, to attend the Mirza, and I have no doubt that everything will go on in a satisfactory manner, and successfully." Though I had received this answer from Sultan Jûnid, yet as Mûlla Muhammed Mazhib, who, after the holy war against Sanka the Pagan, had been sent on an embassy to Bengal, was daily expected back, I waited till I could hear his account also of the state of things.

Sultan Jûnîd's favourable report of Purab.

On Friday the 19th, I had taken a maajûn, and was sitting with a few of my particular intimates in my private apartments, when Mûlla Muhammed Mazhib arrived; and, on the evening of the same day, being Saturday eve, he came and waited upon me. I inquired minutely and in detail into all the affairs of that quarter, one after another; and learned that Bengal was in a state of perfect obedience and tranquillity.

A. D. 1529. January 1. Mûlla Muhammed's report of Bengal.

On Saturday, I called the Tûrki nobles and those of Hind into my private apartments, and held a consultation with them. It was observed, that the Bengalis had sent an ambassador, and were submissive and quiet; that it was, therefore, quite unnecessary for me to proceed to Bengal; that if I did not go to Bengal, there was no other place in that direction which was rich enough to satisfy the troops; that, towards the west, there were several places, which were both near at hand, and rich in wealth:—

January 2. Baber resolves to march to the west.

(*Turki verse.*)—The country is rich, the inhabitants Pagans, the road short;
If that to the east is remote, this is close at hand.

At length, it was resolved that I should march to the west, as being the nearest. I delayed some days, in order to be perfectly at ease respecting the affairs to the eastward

Despatches Ghiâseddîn to the eastward.

[1] Turkey. [2] Kherid seems to have lain below Oude, towards the mouth of the Gogra or Dewah.

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A. D. 1529. before I moved. I therefore once more despatched Ghiâseddîn Korchi, directing him to return to me in twenty days, and wrote and sent by him Firmâns to the Amîrs of Pûrab (or the East), desiring all the Sultans, Khans, and Amîrs on that side of the river Ganges, to join Askeri, and to march with him against the enemy. I gave him special directions that, after delivering the Firmâns, he should collect all the news that he could relating to these parts, and return to me with speed by the appointed time.

Incursion of the Balûches.

News reached me at this same period, by despatches from Muhammed Gokultâsh, that the Balûches had again made an incursion, and committed great devastation in several places. In order to punish this insult, I directed Chîn Taimur Sultan to proceed to assemble the Amîrs of Sehrind and Samâneh, and that neighbourhood, such as Adel Sultan, Sultan Muhammed Duldi, Khosrou Gokultâsh, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Dilâwer Khan, Ahmed Yûsef, Shah Mansûr Birlâs, Muhammedi Gokultâsh, Abdal-aziz Mir Akhûr (or master of horse), Syed Ali Wali Kezelbâsh, Kirâcheh Hilahil, Ashik Bekâwel, Sheikh Ali Kitteh, Kajûr Khan, and Hassan Ali Siwâdi; and orders were issued that these noblemen should join Chîn Taimur, with arms and provisions for six months' service, and proceed against the Balûches; that they should all assemble on his summons, march under his orders, and act in every respect in perfect conformity to his commands. I appointed Abdal-Ghafûr as tewâchi [1] (or special messenger), to convey these Firmâns. It was arranged that he should, in the first place, carry the Firmâns for Chîn Taimûr Sultan, and afterwards proceed to deliver the Firmâns to the other noblemen who have been mentioned, enjoining them all to repair, attended by their forces, to such place as should be pointed out by Chîn Taimûr Sultan for their assembling; that Abdal-Ghafûr should himself remain with the army, and report to me by letter if any of the officers betrayed indolence or want of zeal, in which case I would deprive the offender of his rank and station, and remove him from his government and Perganna. Having written, and delivered these letters to Abdal-Ghafûr, I despatched him, giving him at the same time, additional verbal instructions.

Baber visits Dhûlpûr.

On Sunday eve,[1] the 28th, at three watches and six geris,[2] I passed the Jûmna on my way to the Baghe Nilofer (or Lotus Garden) which is in Dhûlpûr; it was near the end of the third watch of Sunday,[3] when we reached it. Situations and pieces of ground were pitched upon, in the neighbourhood of the garden, on which it was arranged that several of the Amîrs and courtiers were to build themselves palaces, and lay

Jan. 14. out gardens. On Thursday, the 3d of the first Jemadi, I pitched upon a place for a bath, on the south-east of the garden, and it was accordingly cleared for that purpose. I directed that, on the spot so cleared, they should build a bath on the best construction, on an elevated platform, and, in one of its apartments, finish a reservoir ten by ten.[4]

Hears of the loss of Bedar.

The same day I received letters from Kazi Jiâ and Ner-Sing Deoreh, which had

[1] The *tewâchi* is an officer who corresponds very nearly to the Turkish *chaous*, or special messenger but he was also often employed to act as a commissary for providing men or stores, as a commissioner in superintending important affairs, as an aid-de-camp in carrying orders, &c.

[2] Sunday morning Jan. 10, about half past five a.m. [3] Near three p.m.

[4] About twenty feet square.

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been forwarded by Khalîfeh from Agra, and which contained intelligence that Mahmûd, the son of Iskander, had taken Behâr. The moment I received this information I resolved to join the army. Next morning, being Friday, I mounted at six geris[1] from the Nilofer garden and reached Agra at evening prayers. I met by the way Muhammed Zemân Mirza, who was on his way for Dhûlpûr. Chîn Tamûr Sultan too arrived the same day in Agra.

Resolves to take the field. Jan. 15.

Next morning, being Saturday, I called the Amîrs to a council, when it was resolved, that we should set out for the Purab on Thursday the 10th. That same Saturday, letters and intelligence came from Kâbul, by which I learned that Hûmâiûn had collected the army of those provinces, and, accompanied by Sultan Weis, had set out with forty or fifty thousand men on an expedition against Samarkand; that Shah Kûli, the younger brother of Sultan Weis, had advanced and entered Hissâr; that Tersûn Muhammed Sultan had proceeded from Termez and taken Kabâdiân, and had afterwards sent to ask support: that Hûmâiûn had sent Tulik Gokultâsh and Mir Khûrd, with a number of troops and a body of Moghuls, to the assistance of Tersûn Muhammed Sultan, and himself followed after them.

Jan. 16. Jan. 21. Hûmâiûn sets out against Samarkand. Gains Hissâr and Kabâdiân.

On Thursday, the 10th of the first Jemâdi, after three geris,[2] I set out for the Purab, and passing the Jumna in a boat a little above Jalesir, came to the Bagh-Zerefshân.[3] I gave orders that the horse-tail standards,[4] the kettle-drums, the stud, and the whole army, should halt, opposite to the garden on the other side of the river, and that such as came to perform their *kornish* to the Emperor should cross in a boat.

Baber crosses the Jumna.

On Saturday, Ismâil Meta, who was the ambassador of Bengal, brought his peshkesh, and paid his respects according to the usage of Hindustân. For the purpose of making his obeisance, he took his stand a full arrow-shot off, and retired after he had offered his submissions. He was then arrayed in the usual dress of honour, which they call Sir-Mâwineh (or hair-twist), and introduced. In conformity with our custom, he next made his three genuflections, and then advanced and delivered Nasret Shah's[5] letter; and, finally, retired, after presenting the offerings which he had brought.

Introduction of the Bengal ambassador. January 23.

On Monday, Khwâjeh Abdal Hak having arrived, I crossed the river in a boat, went to his tent, and waited on him.[6]

January 25.

On Tuesday, Hassan Chalebi waited on me.

January 26.

I had halted several days at the Char-bagh, for the purpose of collecting the army. On Thursday, the 17th, after three geris in the morning,[7] we commenced our march. I embarked in a boat, and went to the village Anwâr, which is seven kos from Agra,[8] and there landed.

Baber sets out on his expedition. January 28.

On Sunday, I gave the Uzbek ambassadors their audience of leave. To Amin Mirza, the envoy of Kochim Khan, I gave a dagger and belt, with an elegant knife, a milek of brocade, and seventy thousand tangs[9] as a present; to Mûlla Taghâi, the servant of Abusaîd Sultan, and to the servants of Meherbân Khanim, and of her son Polâd

Gives the Uzbek ambassadors their audience of leave. January 31.

[1] About twenty-four minutes past 8 o'clock a.m.
[2] About a quarter past 7 a.m.
[3] The gold-shedding garden.
[4] Tûgh.
[5] Nasret Shah was at this period King of Bengal.
[6] The Khwâjeh was a holy man, which accounts for Baber's visit.
[7] A quarter past 7 a.m.
[8] Down the river.
[9] The *tang* is a small silver coin of the value of about a penny.

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A.D. 1529. Sultan, I gave vests richly ornamented with buttons, and dresses of honour of rich cloth, besides a present in money and goods, suited to the situation of each.

February 1. Next morning, Khwâjeh Abdâl Hak took leave, to go and live in Agra; and Khwâjeh Kilan, the grandson of Khwâjeh Yahîa, who had come with the envoys from the Khan and Sultans of the Uzbeks, had his audience of leave, previous to setting out on his return to Samarkand.

Sends presents to his sons. As a demonstration of joy on the birth of Humâiûn's son, and on Kamrân's marriage, I sent Mirza Tebrîzi and Mirza Beg Taghâi to these princes, with each ten thousand marriage-presents. They also carried a robe and a girdle, both of which I had myself worn. By the hands of Mûlla Behishti, I sent to Hindâl an enamelled dagger and belt; an inkstand, set with jewels; a stool, inlaid with mother-of-pearl; a short gown, from my own wardrobe, with clasps; and an alphabet of the Baberi characters. I also sent some fragments, written in the Baberi character. To Hûmâiûn, I sent a copy both of the translations and original poems that I had written, since coming to Hindûstân. I likewise sent to Hindâl and Khwâjeh Kilân my translations and poems. To Kamrân, by the hands of Mirza Beg Taghâi, I sent such translations and original poems as I had composed after coming to Hind, and letters written in the Baberi character. On Tuesday, after having delivered the letters which I had written, to the persons who were going to Kâbul, and given them leave, I had a conversation with Mûlla Kâsim, Usta Shah Muhammed the stone-cutter, Mirek Mîr Ghiâs, Mîr the stone-cutter, Shah Baba Bildâr,[1] and explained all my wishes regarding the buildings to be completed at Agra and Dhûlpûr; and having intrusted the work to their care, I gave them leave. It was near the end of the first watch,[2] when I mounted to leave Anwar, and noon-day prayers were over, when I halted within one kos of Chandwâr, at a village named Abapûr.

February 2.

Reaches Abapûr.

February 4. Sends envoys to Persia and the Uzbeks. Reaches Râberi. On Thursday eve, I dismissed Abdal Mâlîk Korchi who was to accompany Hassan Chalebi as ambassador to the King (of Persia), and Chapuk, who went along with the Uzbek ambassadors, on a mission to the Khans and Sultans. Four geris[3] of the night were still left, when we marched from Abapûr. I passed Chandwâr about dawn, and embarked in a boat. About bed-time prayers I landed from the boat, before Râberi,

February 5. and joined the camp, which lay at Fateh-pûr. At Fateh-pûr, we halted one day. On

February 6. Saturday, with the first gleam of light, I performed my ablutions, and having mounted, we said our morning prayers near Râberi, in the Friday Mosque. Moulâna Mahmûd Fârâbi was the Imam. At sunrise we embarked below the lofty eminence at Râberi. For the purpose of getting my translations written in a peculiar mixed character, I this day made a set of parallel lines suited to the Tarkib measure for eleven verses. This day, the words of the men of God produced some compunction in my heart. Having drawn the boats to the shore opposite to Chaken, one of the Perganas of Râberi, I passed that night in the vessel.

The vessels having been ordered to proceed thence before day-light, I was in the boat, and had finished morning prayers, when Sultân Muhammed Bakhshi arrived, bringing with him one Shemseddîn Muhammed, a servant of Khwâjeh Kilân, who had

[1] A bildar is a pioncer; but in civil works, he is the well or tank digger.

[2] Near 9 a.m.

[3] About an hour and a half.

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come with letters. From the letters, and by the information collected from the messenger himself, we learned everything that had passed at Kâbul. Mehdi Khwâjeh[1] also joined us in the boat. About noon-day prayers, I landed at an eminence in a garden on the other side of the river, over against Etâwa, bathed in the Jumna, and said my noon-day prayers. Having passed over from the place where I had prayed, I came to the Etâwa side, and, under the shade of the trees of the same garden, and sitting on the top of the eminence which overhangs the river, we set some men to wrestle before us for amusement. The dinner which Mehdi Khwâjeh had ordered was served up here. About evening prayers we crossed the river, and reached the camp about bed-time prayers. I halted two or three days on this ground, both to collect our troops, and for the purpose of writing letters to be sent to Kâbul by Shemseddîn Muhammed.

Arrives at Etâwa.

On Wednesday, the 30th of the first Jemâdi, I marched from Etâwa, and after proceeding eight kos, halted at Mûri and Adûseh. Several letters for Kâbul, which I had not had time to write, I finished at this station. I wrote to Hûmâiûn, that if the incursions which had broken the tranquillity of the country were not yet completely checked, he should himself move to punish the robbers and freebooters, who had been guilty of the depredations, and take every means to prevent the peace of the country from being disturbed. I added, that I had made Kâbul a Royal Government,[2] that therefore none of my children should presume to levy any money in it. I likewise sent instructions to Hindâl to repair to the Court. To Kamrân I wrote, recommending him to cultivate politeness, and the duties suited to his rank as a prince; told him, that I had bestowed on him the country of Mûltân, and informed him that Kâbul was to belong to the imperial domain. I likewise informed him that I had sent for my wife and family. As several circumstances relating to my affairs may be learnt from the letter which I wrote on this occasion to Khwâjeh Kilân, I subjoin a copy of it, precisely as it was sent:—

Feb. 10.

Writes to Hûmâiûn, Kindâl, and Kamrân.

"To Khwâjeh Kilân, health.

"Shemseddîn Muhammed reached me at Etâwa, and communicated his intelligence. My solicitude to visit my western dominions is boundless, and great beyond expression. The affairs of Hindustan have at length, however, been reduced into a certain degree of order; and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand, when, through the grace of the Most High, everything will be completely settled in this country. As soon as matters are brought into that state, I shall, God willing, set out for your quarter, without losing a moment's time. How is it possible that the delights of those lands should ever be erazed from the heart? Above all, how is it possible for one like me, who have made a vow of abstinence from wine, and of purity of life, to forget the delicious melons and grapes of that pleasant region? They very recently brought me a single musk-melon. While cutting it up I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country; and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it.

Baber's letter to Khwâjeh Kilân.

[1] Mehdi Khwâjeh had held the government of Etâwa. He was Baber's son-in-law. [2] Khalseh.

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"You take notice of the unsettled state of Kâbul; I have considered the matter very attentively, and with the best of my judgment; and have made up my mind, that in a country in which there are seven or eight chiefs, nothing regular or settled is to be looked for. I have therefore sent for my sisters and the females of my family into Hindustan,[1] and having resolved on making Kâbul, and all the neighbouring countries and districts, part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subject to Humâiûn and Kamrân. Let some man of judgment deliver to them the letters now sent. I have formerly written on the same subject to the Mirzas, as perhaps you may know. There is therefore now no obstacle nor impediment to the settling of the country; and if the defences of the castle are not strong, if the inhabitants of the kingdom are distressed, if there be no provisions in the granaries, or if the treasury be empty, the fault must, in future, be laid on the governor of the country.

"There are several matters necessary to be attended to, a list of which I shall subjoin. Regarding some of them I had previously written you, so that you will be, in some degree, prepared for them. They are as follows:—The castle must be put in a state of complete repair; the granaries must be stored, and provender laid up; the going and coming of ambassadors must be attended to; the Grand Mosque must be repaired, and the expense provided for out of the tax levied on gardens and orchards. Again, the Caravanserais, and baths, and the large portico of brick, built by Usta Hassan Ali in the citadel, and the unfinished palace, must be properly repaired and completed, after consulting with Usta Sultan Muhammed. If Usta Hassan Ali has already drawn a plan, let him complete it according to that plan. If he has not, you must consult together, and fix upon some beautiful design, taking care that the court be on a level with the floor of the Hall of Audience. Again, the buildings as you go to Little Kâbul, near Badash-Khâk,[2] must be attended to, and the Water-mound of Ghazni must likewise be thoroughly repaired. As for the garden of Hanâwân, it has but a scanty supply of water; a stream, large enough to turn a mill, must be purchased, and led through the grounds. Again, to the south-west of Khwâjeh (Besteh), I formerly led the river of Tûtûn-dereh[3] by the foot of a rising ground, where I formed a plantation of trees; and as the prospect from it was very fine, I called it Nazergah (The Prospect). You must there also plant some beautiful trees, form regular orchards, and all around the orchards sow beautiful and sweet-smelling flowers and shrubs, according to some good plan.

"Syed Kâsim has been appointed to accompany the artillery-men.

"You must remember too, to pay particular attention to Usta Muhammed Hassan, the armourer.

"Immediately on receiving this letter, you will, without loss of time, attend my sisters, and the ladies of my family, as far as Nilâb; so that, whatever impediments there may be to their leaving Kâbul, they must, at all events, set out from it within a week after this arrives; for as a detachment has left Hindustân, and is waiting for them, any delay will expose it to difficulties, and the country too will suffer.

[1] They seem to have had different districts assigned them for their support.

[2] Perhaps Bûtkhâk.

[3] Tûtûn-dera is a valley about eight kos north-west of Upiân.

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"In a letter which I wrote to Abdalla, I mentioned that I had much difficulty in reconciling myself to the desert of penitence; but that I had resolution enough to persevere,—

(*Tûrki verse.*) I am distressed since I renounced wine;
I am confounded and unfit for business,—
Regret leads me to penitence,
Penitence leads me to regret.

"I remember an anecdote of Binâi. He was one day sitting by Mîr Ali Shîr, and had said something witty. Mîr Ali Shîr, who had on a vest with rich buttons, said, 'The witticism is excellent; I would give you my vest were it not for the buttons.' Biâni answered, 'Why should the buttons hinder it? I fear the button-holes[1] are the impediment.' The truth of the anecdote must rest with him that told it me. Excuse me for deviating into these fooleries. For God's sake, do not think amiss of me for them. I wrote last year the tetrastich which I have quoted; and, indeed, last year, my desire and longing for wine and social parties were beyond measure excessive; it even came to such a length, that I have found myself shedding tears from vexation and disappointment. In the present year, praise be to God, these troubles are over, and I ascribe them chiefly to the occupation afforded to my mind by a poetical translation, on which I have employed myself. Let me advise you too, to adopt a life of abstinence. Social parties and wine are pleasant, in company with our jolly friends and old boon companions. But with whom can you enjoy the social cup? With whom can you indulge in the pleasures of wine? If you have only Shîr Ahmed, and Haider Kûli, for the companions of your gay hours and jovial goblet, you can surely find no great difficulty in consenting to the sacrifice. I conclude with every good wish.. Written on Thursday, the 1st of the latter Jemâdi."[2] Feb. 11.

I was much affected while writing these letters, which I delivered to Shems-ed-din Muhammed, and having given him such farther verbal instructions as seemed necessary, dispatched him on Friday eve.

On Friday we advanced eight kos, and halted at Jumandna. One of Kitin Kara Sultan's[3] servants, who had been sent to Kemâl-ed-din Kenâk, another of the Sultan's servants, then on an embassy at my court, had brought him letters, containing strong complaints of the conduct and proceedings of the Amîrs on the frontier, and remonstrating against the robberies and pillage that were committed. Kenâk sent me the man who had come to him. I gave Kenâk leave to return home, and issued orders to the Amîrs on the frontier, that they should use every exertion to punish all such robbers or pillagers, and should conduct themselves towards the neighbouring powers with perfect good faith and amity. These Firmâns I delivered to the man who had come from Kitin Kara Sultan, and sent him back from that very stage. Feb. 12. Complaints from Balkh.

One Shah Kûli had been sent by Hassan Chalebi, to give me the particulars of the

[1] The Tûrki word signifies not only *button-holes*, but *meanness* and *impotency*.

[2] It is singular that none of Baber's Tûrki letters are translated in the Persian. They give an amiable view of his character.

[3] Kitin Kara Sultan was the Uzbek Chief of Balkh.

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A. D. 1529. battle.[1] I now sent him with letters to the king, in which I apologised for detaining Hassan Chalebi. On Friday the 2d, he took leave.

Feb. 13. On Saturday too, we advanced eight kos, and halted at Gakurâ and Hemâwali, perganas of Kâlpi.

Feb. 14. On Sunday the 4th, we marched nine kos, and halted at Dereh-pûr, a perganna of Kâlpi. I here had my head shaved: for two months before I had never shaved my head. I bathed in the river Sanker.

Feb. 15. On Monday I marched fourteen kos, and halted at Chirgurh, which is also a perganna of Kâlpi.

Feb. 16. Next morning, being Tuesday the 6th, a Hindustâni servant of Kerâcheh arrived, bringing Firmâns from Maham, directed to Kerâcheh. He had also received Perwanehs[2] written in my style, and in the manner I wrote Perwanehs with my own hand, directing the people of Behreh and Lahore to escort him in his road. This Firmân had been written at Kâbul, on the 7th of the month of the first Jemâdi.

Jan. 18.

Feb 17. On Wednesday we marched seven kos, and encamped in the Perganna of Adampûr. That day I had mounted before dawn, and setting out unaccompanied a little after mid-day, reached the banks of the Jumna. I went down the river keeping close along its banks, and on arriving over against Adampûr, I caused an awning to be erected on an island[3] near the camp, and took a maajûn. I there made Sâdik wrestle with Kilâl. Kilâl came on a challenge. At Agra he had excused himself from wrestling, pleading that he was fatigued from having just come off a journey, and asking a delay of twenty days. Forty or fifty days had now passed since the expiry of the time required. To-day he wrestled, being now quite without excuse. Sâdik wrestled admirably, and threw him with the greatest ease. I gave Sâdik ten thousand tangas and a saddled horse, a complete dress, and a vest wrought with buttons, as a present. Although Kilâl had been thrown, yet that he might not be quite disconsolate, I ordered for him also a complete dress, with three thousand tangas, as a gratuity. I issued orders that the guns and cannon should be landed from the boats, and that in the meanwhile a road should be made, and the ground levelled to admit of their moving forward.[4] In this station we halted three or four days.

Wrestling match.

Baber arrives at Korah. Feb 22. On Monday the 12th, we marched twelve kos, and halted at Korah.[5] This day I moved in a Takhtrevân (or litter). After advancing twelve kos from Korah, we halted at Karieh, one of the pergannas of Karrah.[6] Advancing eight kos from Karieh, we reached Fatehpûr Aswah; and after marching forward eight kos from Fatehpûr, we encamped at Serâi Midâ. As I was halting here, about bed-time prayers, Sultan Jilâleddin[7] waited on me to offer me his duty. He brought along with him his two young sons.

[1] Between the Persians and Uzbeks, near Jâm.

[2] Perwanehs are royal letters.

[3] Arali.

[4] Here Baber begins to cross over from the Jumna to the Ganges.

[5] Korah or Cora, stands low down in the Doab between the two rivers, on a small river that joins the Jumna.

[6] Karrah or Currah, stands on the Ganges, below Manikpûr.

[7] Sultan Jilaleddin was descended of the Purab race of Princes.

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Next morning, being Saturday the 17th, we marched eight kos, and halted at Dakdaki, a perganna of Karrah, on the banks of the Ganges. Feb. 27

On Sunday, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and Kâsim Hussâin Sultan, Naikhûb Sultan, and Terdîkeh, waited on me at this station; and, on Monday, at the same station, Askeri also came and offered me his duty. All of them had come from the eastward of the Ganges. I ordered that Askeri should march down the opposite bank of the river, with the troops that had arrived on that side; and that, whenever my army halted, he should encamp opposite to it on the other bank. Joins his eastern army. Feb. 28. March 1.

While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultan Mahmûd had gathered round him a hundred thousand Afghâns; that he had detached Sheikh Bayezîd and Baban, with a large army, towards Sirwâr, while he himself and Fateh Khan Sirwâni occupied the banks of the Ganges, and were moving upon Chunâr;[1] that Shîr Khân Sûr, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several Pergannas, and whom I had left in a command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghâns; that with some other Amîrs he had passed the river, and that Sultan Jilâleddîn's people, being unable to defend Benâres, had abandoned it and retreated. They excused themselves by saying, that they had left a sufficient force in the Castle of Benâres, and had advanced in order to meet the enemy on the banks of the Ganges. Sultan Mahmûd's success.

Marching from Dakdaki, we advanced six kos, and encamped at Kesâr within three or four kos of Karrah. I went and staid on board of a vessel. We halted two or three days at this station on account of a grand entertainment, which Sultan Jilâleddîn gave me. On Friday I went to the palace of Sultan Jilâleddîn, within the Fort of Karrah, where he entertained me as his guest, he himself placing some of the dishes before me. After dinner I invested him and his sons with a Yekta[2] of cloth of gold, a jâmeh, and a nîmcheh, and, at his desire, gave his eldest son the title of Sultan Mahmûd. March 2. March 3 and 4. Baber is entertained in Karrah by Sultan Jilaleddîn. March 5.

After leaving Karrah, I rode on about a kos, and halted on the banks of the river Ganges. Shehrek had met me with letters from Maham, at the first station after I reached the Ganges. I now sent him back with my answers. Khwâjeh Kilân, Khwâjeh Yahia's grandson, had asked for a copy of the Memoirs which I had written. I had formerly ordered a copy to be made, and now sent it by Shehrek.

Next day we marched, and after advancing four kos, halted. I embarked in a boat as usual, and, as the camp did not move far, we arrived early. Soon after I took a maajûn, still remaining on board. Khwâjeh Abdal Shahîd was in Nûrbeg's house; we sent for him; we also sent and brought Mûlla Mahmûd from Mûlla Âli Khan's house. After sitting some time we passed over to the other side, and set some wrestlers to wrestle. We directed Dost Yâsin Khair to try his skill with the other wrestlers, without engaging Sâdik the great wrestler. These directions were contrary to usage, as the custom is to wrestle with the strongest first. He wrestled extremely well with eight different persons. March 6.

[1] Chunâr is a very strong hill-fort on the Ganges, about 18 miles west of Benâres.

[2] The Yekta is a vest without a lining; the jâmeh is a long gown; the nîmcheh, a vest that reaches only down to the middle.

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A. D. 1529 Sultan Mahmúd's army dispersed

About afternoon prayers, Sultan Muhammed Bakhshi came in a boat from the other side of the river. He brought accounts of the ruin of the affairs of Mahmúd Khan, the son of Sultan Iskander,[1] whom the rebels had dignified with the title of Sultan Mahmúd. A scout who had gone out from our army had already, about noon-day prayers, brought us news of the breaking up of the rebels. Between noon and afternoon prayers a letter had arrived from Tájkhán Sárangkhání, which corresponded with the information of the spy. Sultan Muhammed, on his arrival, now detailed the whole particulars. It appeared, that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunár, and had even made a slight attack; but that, on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broke up in confusion, and raised the siege: that the Afghâns, who had passed over to Benáres, had also retired in great confusion; that two of their boats sank in the passage, and that several of their men were drowned in the river.

Enchantments. March 7.

Next morning also, I embarked in a boat. When half-way down, I saw Ilsan Taimur Sultan, and Tokhteh Búgha Sultan, who had dismounted for the purpose of performing the Kornish,[2] and were still standing. I sent for the Sultans into the boat: Tokhteh Búgha Sultan performed some of his enchantments.[3] A high wind having risen, it began to rain. The violence of the wind induced me to eat a maajún. Although I had eaten a maajún the day before, I eat one also this day on reaching the camp.

March 8.

Next day we halted in our camp.

March 9.

On Tuesday we marched. Over against *Averd*[4] there was a large verdant island. Having crossed in a boat, I rode round it on horseback, and, coming back in one watch, again embarked in the boat. While riding on the bank of the river, I came, without knowing it, on a steep precipice which had been hollowed out below by the current. The moment I reached the bank it gave way, and began to tumble in. I instantly threw myself by a leap on the part of it that was firm. My horse tumbled in. Had I remained on the horse, I must inevitably have fallen in along with it. The same day I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my strokes, and found that I crossed over at thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river that I had met with, the river Ganges alone excepted. On reaching the place where the Ganges and Jumna unite, I rowed over in the boat to the Piág[5] side, and at one watch and four geris,[6] we reached the camp.

Baber's danger.

March 10.

On Wednesday at noon, the army began to cross the Jumna. We had four hundred and twenty boats.

March 12. Baber crosses the Jumna

On Friday, the 1st of Rejeb, I crossed the river.

[1] Sultan Iskander Lodi, the predecessor of Sultan Ibráhim.

[2] The Kornish is the Turki and Persian mode of paying obeisance to a sovereign.—See Note, p. 106.

[3] Yedeh, which has already been repeatedly explained, as the power of bringing on wind, rain, and snow, by means of incantations.

[4] I know no place of the name of Averd. Perhaps it should be *úrdú*, the camp.

[5] The two rivers unite at Piag, properly Priág, a famous place of pilgrimage with the Hindus. The fort of Allahabad is built at the conflux of the two rivers.

[6] About half past 10 p.m.

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March 15. Advances against Behâr.

On Monday the 4th, I marched from the banks of the Jumna against Behâr. Having advanced five kos, we halted at Lawâin. I sailed down the river as I had been accustomed. The troops had continued passing till this day. I now directed the guns and artillery which had been landed at Adampûr to be again embarked at Piâg, and sent forward by water carriage. Having reached our ground, we set the wrestlers a-wrestling. Dost Yâsin had an excellent wrestling match with Pehlevan Lahôri the boatman. Dost succeeded in throwing him, but by great exertions, and with much difficulty. I bestowed complete dresses on both of them. Somewhat farther on is the Tûs,[1] a very swampy and muddy river. We halted two days at this station, for the purpose of discovering a ford, and of constructing a road. Towards night, we found a ford by which the horses and camels could pass, but the loaded waggons could not cross on account of its broken, stoney bottom. Orders were, however, given that exertions should be used, totransport the baggage carts across by that ford.

March 16 and 17.

March 18.

On Thursday, having marched thence, I went in a boat as far as the point where the river Tûs empties itself into the main river. At the point of juntion I landed, rode up the Tûs, and returned about afternoon prayers to the camp, which, in the meantime, had crossed that river and taken its ground. This day the army marched six kos.

March 19.

Next morning we halted on the same ground.

March 20. March 21. March 22.

On Saturday we marched twelve kos, and reached Nilabâr-Gang; whence next morning we marched, and having advanced six kos, halted above Deh. From thence we went on seven kos, and reached Nânupûr. At this station Bâki Khan arrived with his sons from Chunâr, and paid his obeisance.

At this time a letter from Muhammed Bakhshi gave me certain information, that my wives and household had set out from Kâbul.

Visits Chunâr. March 24.

On Wednesday I marched from that station, and visited the fort of Chunâr; the camp halted after having advanced about one kos beyond it. In the course of my march from Piâg, some painful boils broke out on my body. At this stage a Rûmi[2] administered to me a medicine, which had lately been found out in Rûm. They boiled the dust of pepper in an earthen pot, and exposed the sores to the warm steam, and after the steam diminished, washed them with the warm water. I did this for two astronomical hours. At this station, a man said that in an island[3] close on the edge of the camp, he had seen a lion and rhinoceros.[4] Next morning we drew a ring round the ground; we also brought elephants to be in readiness, but no lion or rhinoceros was roused. On the edge of the circle one wild buffalo was started. This day the wind rose very high, and the wind and dust occasioned a great deal of annoyance. Having embarked in a boat, I returned by water to the camp, which had halted two kos higher up than Benâres. In the jungle around Chunâr, there are many elephants.[5] We were just setting out from this station, with the intention of having the sport of elephant hunting, when Bâbi Khan brought information, that Mahmûd Khan was on the banks of

March 25.

Arrives at Benâres.

Mahmûd Khan occupies the banks of the Sôn.

[1] The Tounse of Rennell. [2] That is, an Ottoman Turk. Rûm ~~is Turkey.~~ [3] Arâl.

[4] Neither lions nor rhinoceroses are ever heard of now at Benâres. The former might have been a tiger.

[5] No wild elephants are ever found now in that quarter, or nearer than the hills.

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A. D. 1529. the river Sôn.[1] I immediately convened the Amîrs, and consulted them about attempting to fall upon the enemy by surprise; when it was finally settled, that we should advance by very long marches without a moment's loss of time. Leaving that place, we
March 28. marched nine kos, and halted at the Belweh passage. From this station, on the eve of Monday, the 18th of the month, I sent off Tâher to Agra. He carried with him draughts for payment of the money, which I had ordered to be given as presents to the guests who had come from Kâbul. The same day I went on board of a boat. I em-
March 29. Baber marches against him. barked before dawn, and having reached the place where the river Gûmti, which is the river of Jônpûr, forms a junction with the Ganges, I went a short way up it in the boat, and then returned back. Though it is a narrow little river, yet it has no ford, so that troops are forced to pass it in boats, by rafts, and on horseback, or sometimes by swimming. I visited and rode over the last year's encampment, from which our troops had advanced to Jônpûr. A favourable wind having sprung up, and blowing down the river, they hoisted the sail of a Bengali boat, and made her tow the large vessel, which went very quick. The army, after leaving Benâres, had encamped, about a kos higher up.[2] Nearly two geris of the day were still left when we reached the camp, having met with nothing to delay us; the boats that followed us with most expedition, came up about bed-time prayers. At Chunâr I had given orders, that whenever I travelled by land, Moghul Beg should measure the straight road with a measuring line, and that, as often as I embarked on a boat, Lûtfi Beg should measure along the bank of the river. The straight road was eleven kos, that along the river eighteen.

March 30. Next day we remained at the same station.

March 31. On Wednesday, too, I embarked on the river, and halted a kos below Ghazipûr.

April 1. Several Afghân chiefs tender their submission. On Thursday, while at the last-mentioned station, Mahmûd Khan Lohâni came and waited on me. The same day, letters came from Jilâl Khan, Behâr Khan Behâri, from Ferîd Khan, Nasîr Khan, and Shîr Khan Sûr, as well as from Alâul Khan Sûr, and from a number of the Afghân Amîrs. This day, too, I received a letter from Abdal-
March 2. azîz Mîr Akhûr, dated at Lahore, the 20th of the latter Jemâdi. The day on which this letter was written, Kerâcheh's Hindustâni servant, whom I had sent from the neighbourhood of Kâlpi, had arrived. Abdal-azîz's letter mentioned, that he and others had advanced, as they had been ordered, and on the 9th of the latter Jemâdi had joined
Feb. 19. my household at Nilâb. Abdal-azîz, after attending them as far as the Chenâb, had there separated from the rest, and gained Lahore before them, from whence he had written the letter which I received.

April 2. On Friday the army resumed its march, while I embarked on the river as usual, and having landed opposite to Chuseh,[3] at the encampment of the former year, where the sun had been eclipsed,[4] and a fast observed, I rode out and surveyed the place, and then went abroad again. Muhammed Zemân Mirza followed me into the boat, and at his instigation I took a maajûn. The army encamped on the banks of the Kermnâs. The Hindûs rigorously avoid this river. The pious Hindûs did not pass it, but embarked in a boat and crossed by the Ganges so as to avoid it. They hold, that if the water of this river touches any person, his religion is lost; and they assign an origin

[1] The Soane of the maps. [2] Higher probably than the junction of the Ganges and Gumti.
[3] There is a place called Chowsar at the mouth of the Kermnas, or Caramnassa.
[4] This must have been the eclipse of the 10th May 1528. A fast is enjoined on the day of an eclipse.

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to its name[1] corresponding to this opinion. I embarked, and sailed a little way up the river, and then returning again, crossed over to the north side of the Ganges, and brought the boats close to the bank. Some of the troops amused us with different sports, and some of them wrestled. Sâki Mohsin challenged four or five people to wrestle with him. One man he laid hold of and immediately threw; Shâdmân being the second, threw Mohsin, who was miserably ashamed and affronted. The professed wrestlers also came and wrestled.

Next morning, being Saturday, I marched nearly at the first watch, for the purpose of sending on people to examine the ford over the Kermnâs. I mounted, and rode for about a kos up the river towards the ford, but, as the distance was considerable, I again embarked as usual, and reached the camp in a boat. The army encamped about a kos beyond Chûseh. This day I again used the pepper remedy. It was a little too warm, so that my limbs were covered with blood, and I suffered much pain. A little farther on was a swampy rivulet. We staid next morning on the same ground, for the purpose of mending the road across it. April 3. Passes the Kermnâs. April 4.

On the eve of Monday, the Hindustâni runner, who had brought Abdal-aziz's letters, was sent back with the answers.

On Monday morning I embarked in a boat, but the wind being unfavourable, it was necessary to track it. Last year the army had halted a long time at a station opposite to Baksereh.[2] On arriving near it I crossed the river, and went over the ground. Steps had been formed on the bank of the river for the purpose of landing; they might be more than forty and fewer than fifty. The two upper steps alone were left; all the others had been swept away by the river. I embarked again and took a maajûn, and having anchored the boat higher up than the camp, at an island,[3] we made the wrestlers try their skill. At bed-time prayers we returned to the camp. Last year I passed the river Ganges by swimming,[4] to view the very ground on which the army now encamped; many went over it on horses and a number on camels. That day I eat opium. April 5.

Next morning, being Tuesday, Kerîm Berdi, Muhammed Ali, Haider Kitâbdâr, and Bâba Sheikh, were sent out with a force of about a hundred chosen men, to procure intelligence of the enemy. While at this station, I directed the Bengal ambassador to write about three definitive propositions which I offered him. April 6.

On Wednesday, Yunis Ali, whom I had sent to Muhammed Zemân Mirza[5] to sound his dispositions regarding Behâr, returned, bringing back a shuffling answer. A man belonging to the Sheikh-Zâdehs of Behâr arrived with a letter, which contained information that the enemy had retreated and abandoned Behâr. April 7.

[1] *Kerm-nâsh*, ruin of religion or sanctity.

[2] Buxàr, well known for the decisive battle, gained by the British troops under Sir Hector Monro, in its neighbourhood.

[3] Aral.

[4] Baber mentions, p. 406, that he had passed the Ganges by swimming for the first time. Perhaps he means the Ganges alone, as distinguished from the joint stream of the Jumna and Ganges.

[5] It will be recollected that Muhammed Zemân Mirza was the son of Badia-ez-Zemân Mirza, king of Khorassân. Baber at this time wished to bestow on him the government of Behâr, which he does not appear to have been eager to receive.

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A. D. 1529. April 8. On Thursday, having written letters of protection, I sent them to the people of Behâr by Terdi Muhammed and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, whom I ordered to set out, accompanied by some Tûrki and Hindu Amîrs, and by the bowmen, to the number of two thousand men. Having made Khwâjeh Murshid Iraki, Diwân of the Sirkâr of Behâr, I sent him along with Terdi Muhammed. Next morning, Muhammed Zemân Mirza having consented to go, petitioned for several things through Sheikh Zein and Yunis Ali, and particularly requested a few troops to reinforce him. Some troops were appointed to serve under him, and he took others into his service.

April 10. On Saturday, the 1st of Shâbân, we marched from this station, where we had remained encamped for three or four days; and the same day I rode out, and, after surveying Bhujpûr[1] and Bahia, rejoined the camp. Muhammed Ali and the officers who had been sent out in search of intelligence, defeated a body of Pagans by the road, and reached a place where Sultan Mahmûd had been. Sultan Mahmûd was attended by about two thousand men; but, on hearing of the approach of our advanced guard, was seized with consternation, killed two of his elephants, and went off with precipitation. One of his officers, whom he had sent out in advance, was met and attacked by about twenty of our troops, and being unable to maintain his ground, his people fled; several of them were dismounted and taken prisoners; one of them had his head cut off, and one or two of their best men were taken and brought in alive.

Sultan Mahmûd retreats.

April 11. Muhammed Zemân Mirza gets Behâr. Next morning we marched, and I went on board of a boat. At this stage I bestowed on Muhammed Zemân Mirza a full dress of honour from my own wardrobe,[2] a dagger and belt, a charger, and the umbrella.[3] He bent the knee, and did me homage for Behâr; and having fixed the revenue payable into the private treasury[4] from the Sirkar of Behâr at one crore and twenty-five laks,[5] I gave the charge of it to Murshid Iraki, as Diwân.

April 15. On Thursday, we marched from that station, and I embarked in a boat. I made all the boats be ranged in regular order. On my arrival, I directed the boats to set sail, and to form in order close to each other. More than half the breadth of the river was left unoccupied. Although all the ships were not collected, as some places were shallow and others deep, as in some places the current was rapid, while in others the water was still, we were unable to make the greater part of them keep their proper distances. A crocodile[6] was discovered within the ring of the boats; a fish the size of a man's thigh, leapt so high out of the water for fear of the crocodile, that it fell into a boat, where it was taken and brought to me. On reaching our station, I gave names to the different ships. The old great Baberi, which had been finished before the war with Rana Sanka, I called Asâish.[7] This same year, before I joined the army, Arâish Khan had built a vessel, and presented it to me as a peshkesh. On going on board of her, I had directed a scaffolding to be raised in her, and bestowed on the vessel the name of Arâish.[8] In the ship which Sultan Jilâleddîn had given me as peshkesh, I had

[1] Bhujpûr, the Boujepour of Rennell, lies on the right bank of the Ganges, below Buxâr.
[2] Siropa Khaseh.
[3] The umbrella was a symbol only given to viceroys and persons of the highest rank.
[4] Khalseh. [5] About £32,000. [6] The *geriali* is the round-mouthed crocodile.
[7] The Repose. [8] The Elegant.

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caused a large scaffolding to be raised, and I now directed another scaffolding to be erected on the top of that. I called her the Gunjâish.[1] Another small bark, used as a vessel of communication, which was sent on every business and occasion, got the name of Fermâish.[2]

April 16. Baber prepares for battle.

Next morning, being Friday, I did not march. All the preparations and arrangements for Muhammed Zemân Mirza's departure being completed, he separated from us, and encamped a kos or two off, for the purpose of proceeding on his expedition to Behâr. The same day, he came and had his audience of leave. Two spies, who came from the Bengal army, informed me that the Bengalis, under the command of Makhdum Alim, were separated into twenty-four divisions on the banks of the river Gandek, and were raising works of defence. A body of Afghâns, under Sultan Mahmûd, who had wished to send away their families and baggage, had not been suffered to do it, and had been compelled to accompany the army. Instantly on receiving this intelligence, as there was some probability of a general action, I dispatched orders to Muhammed Zemân Mirza, forbidding him to march, and sent forward Shah Iskander, with only three or four hundred men, to Behâr.

April 17. Demands a categorical answer from Bengal.

On Saturday, a messenger from Dûdû, and his son Jilâl Khân Behâr Khan, arrived in my camp. It appeared that the Bengâlis had watched them with a jealous eye. After having given me notice of their intentions, that I might expect their arrival, they had come to blows with the Bengalis, had effected their escape, crossed the river, and reached the territory of Behâr, whence they were now on their way to tender me their allegiance. The same day, I sent word to the ambassador of Bengal, Ismâel Mîtah, that there was great delay on the part of his court, in answering the three articles which had formerly been given to him in writing, and which he had forwarded. That he must, therefore, dispatch a letter, requiring an immediate and categorical answer; that if his Master had really peaceable and friendly intentions, he could find no difficulty in declaring so, and that without loss of time.

Recovers Behâr. April 14.

On Sunday eve a messenger arrived from Terdi Muhammed Jeng-Jeng, by whom I learned, that on the morning of Wednesday, the 5th of Shâbân, his advanced guard had arrived on one side of Behâr, whereupon the Shekdâr (or Collector) had instantly fled by the opposite gate, and made his escape.

April 18. Sends an Ambassador with three articles to Bengal.

On Sunday I marched from that station, and halted in the Perganna of Ari.[3] Here we received information, that the army of Kherîd[4] was encamped at the junction of the Ganges and Sirû,[5] on the farther side of the river Sirû, where they had collected a hundred or a hundred and fifty vessels. As I was at peace with Bengal, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things, though they had not treated me well in placing themselves right in my route, yet, from a consideration of the terms on which I had long been with them, I resolved to send Mûlla Muhammed Mazhib along with Ismâel Mita the am-

[1] The Capacious. [2] The Envoy.

[3] Arrah of Rennell, which lies north of the Sôn or Soane.

[4] Kherîd appears to have included the country on both sides of the Gogra, near Sekanderpur, and thence on its left bank down to the Ganges.

[5] The Sirû, or Sirjoo, is the Gogra after its junction with the Sirjoo above Oud. The Gogra itself has the name of Sirjû, or Sirjew, before it leaves the mountains.

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A. D. 1529. bassador of Bengal; and it was settled that the Mûlla should have leave to return back to me, after making the same three proposals that I had formerly offered.

April 19. On Monday the ambassador of Bengal came to wait on me, when I sent him notice that he had leave to return. It was at the same time intimated to him, that I would be guided entirely by my own pleasure in moving backwards or forwards, as seemed best, for the purpose of quelling the rebels wherever they were to be found, but that his master's dominions should sustain no injury or harm, either by land or water; that as one of the three articles was, that he should order the army of Kherîd to leave the tract in which I was marching, and return to Kherîd, I was willing to send some Tûrks to accompany them on their march; that I would give the Kherîd troops a safe-conduct, and assurances of indemnity, and suffer them to go to their own homes. If he refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made, that then, whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard as proceeding from his own act; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstance that occurred.

April 21. On Wednesday I bestowed the usual dress of honour on Ismâel Mita, the Bengal ambassador, and gave him presents and his audience of leave.

April 22. On Thursday I sent Sheikh Jemâli to Dûdû, and his son Jilâl Khan, with letters of protection, and a gracious message. The same day a servant of Mâham[1] arrived, who had parted with my family at Depali, on the other side of Bâghe-Sefâ. He brought letters from them.

April 24. On Saturday, the ambassador of Irâk, Murâd Korchi Kajer,[2] had an audience.

April 25. On Sunday, having delivered suitable presents to the care of Mûlla Muhammed Mazhib, he took leave.

April 26. On Monday, I sent Khalîfeh and some other Amîrs, to examine in what place the river could be passed.

April 28. Visits Ari and Munîr. On Wednesday, I again sent Khalîfeh to examine the ground between the two rivers. I rode out to the south, nearly to Ari, for the purpose of examining the beds of water-lilies. While I was riding about among them, Sheikh Kûren brought me some fresh seeds of the water-lily. They bear a perfect resemblance to fresh pistachios, and have a very pleasant taste. The flower, which is the Nilofer,[3] the Hindustânis call Kawel-Gakeri; its seeds they call Dûdâh. As they informed me that the Sôn was near at hand, we rode to see it. In the course taken by the river Sôn below this, there are a number of trees, which they say lie in Munîr.[4] The tomb of Sheikh Yahîa, the father of Sheikh Sherf Munîr, is there. As we had come so far, and come so near, I passed the Sôn, and going two or three kos down the river, surveyed Munîr. Having walked through its gardens, I perambulated the Mausoleum, and coming to the banks of the Sôn, bathed in that river. Having said my noon-day prayers earlier than the stated time, I returned back to join the army. Some of our horses were knocked up in consequence of their high condition; so that we were forced to procure others, and left some persons

[1] Mâham was Humaûn's mother.

[2] The Kajers are the Tûrki tribe, to which the present Persian royal family belong.

[3] The Lotus.

[4] The Munîr best known, lies on a river that joins the Kermnassa, in the upper part of its course. The Munîr here spoken of, was probably some village dependent on the other.

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behind, with instructions to bring together the horses that were worn out, to take care of them, allow them time to rest, and bring them back at leisure. Had we not given these orders, we would have lost many horses. I had given orders, on leaving Munîr, to count the paces of a horse from the banks of the river Sôn to the camp. They amounted to twenty-three thousand one hundred, which is equal to forty-six thousand two hundred paces, amounting to eleven kos[1] and a half. From Munîr to the river Sôn is about half a kos, so that the whole distance we travelled in returning was twelve kos. As in moving from place to place, in order to see the country, we must have gone fifteen or sixteen kos, we could not in all have ridden much less than thirty kos this day. About six Geris of the first watch of the night[2] were past, when we returned to the camp.

April 29. Is joined by the troops from Jonpûr. Resolves to force a passage across the Sirû, or Gogra.

On the morning of the same Thursday, Sultan Jûnîd Birlâs arrived with the troops from Jonpûr. I showed him marks of my great dissatisfaction, upbraided him with his delay, and did not salute him. I, however, sent for Kâzi Jia, whom I embraced.

That same day I called the Amîrs, both Tûrki and Hindu, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river. It was finally settled that Ustâd Ali should plant his cannon, his Feringi pieces and swivels,[3] on a rising ground between the Ganges and Sirû, and also keep up a hot fire with a number of matchlock-men from that post; that a little lower down than the junction of the two rivers, opposite to an island, where there were a number of vessels collected, Mustafa, on the Behâr side of the Ganges, should get all his artillery and ammunition in readiness, and commence a cannonade; a number of matchlock-men were also placed under his command; that Muhammed Zemân Mirza and others, who were appointed for the service, should take their ground behind Mustafa to support him; and that overseers and inspectors should be appointed to attend Usta Ali Kûli and Mustafa, for the purpose of overlooking the pioneers and labourers employed in raising batteries, placing the guns, and planting the artillery, as well as for superintending the men who were occupied in transporting the ammunition and warlike stores, and in other necessary works; that Askeri, and the Sultans and Khans named for the duty, should set out expeditiously, and pass the Sirû, at the Ghat[4] of Haldi, in order that, when the batteries were completed, they might be in readiness to fall upon the enemy, who might thus be attacked in different quarters at the same time. Sultan Jûnîd, and Kazi Jia, having informed me that there was a ford eight kos higher up, I appointed Zerd-rû to take one or two boatmen, and accompanied by Sultan Jûnîd's men, and Mahmûd Khan, and Kazi Jia's people, to proceed in search of the ford, and to cross over if it was found passable. Our people had a report, that the Bengalis intended to place a party at the ford of Haldi, for the purpose of guarding it. We received letters from the Shekdar of Iskanderpûr[5] and Mahmûd Khan, that they had collected about fifty vessels at the passage of Haldi, and

[1] The kos being 4000 paces. If we take the pace of two feet and a half, this would make Baber's kos nearly a mile seven furlongs and thirty-three yards.

[2] Nearly half past eight p.m.

[3] Zerbzin.

[4] The Ghat of Haldi seems to have been a passage over the Gogra. The Ghat on a river is the landing place on the bank.

[5] Iskanderpûr, the Secunderpour of Rennell, stands on the right bank of the Gogra, about 20 miles above its junction with the Ganges.

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A. D. 1529. had hired boatmen, but that the sailors had been struck with a panic upon hearing a report that the Bengâlis were coming. As there was still a chance of effecting a passage over the river Sirû, without waiting for the people who had gone to look for the ford, on Saturday I called the Amîrs to a council, and told them that from Iskanderpûr[1] Chitermûk, as far as Oud and Behrâj, the whole river Sirû was full of fords; that my plan was as follows: to divide my army into six bodies; to make the chief force of it cross in boats at the Haldi passage, and advance upon the enemy, so as to draw them out of their entrenchments, and keep them occupied until Usta Ali Kûli and Mustafa[2] could cross the river and take post with the guns, matchlocks, feringis, and artillery; that I myself would pass the Ganges with Usta Ali Kûli, and remain on the alert, and in perfect readiness for action; that as soon as the great division of the army had effected their passage, and got near the enemy, I should commence an attack on my side, and cross over with my division;[3] that Muhammed Zemân Mirza, and those who were appointed to act with him on the Behâr bank of the Ganges, were at the same time to enter into action, and to support Mustafa. Having made these arrangements, and divided the army to the north of the Ganges into four divisions, and placed it under the command of Askeri, I ordered it to advance to the ford of Haldi. One of the divisions was under the immediate command of Askeri, and was composed of his servants; another was commanded by Sultan Jilâleddîn Sherki; the third was composed of the Sultans of the Uzbeks, Kâsim Hussain Sultan, Bikhûb Sultan, Tang Itmish Sultan, Muhammed Khan Lohâni Ghazipûri, Sûki Bâba Kishkeh, Kurbmish Uzbek, Kurbân Cherkhi, Hussain Khan, with the Deria Khanians. The fourth division was under the conduct of Mûsi Sultan, and Sultan Junîd Birlas, who had with them the whole army from Jonpûr, to the number of twenty thousand men. Proper officers were appointed to get the whole of these divisions mounted and in march that same night, being Sunday eve.

May 2. On the morning of Sunday the army began to pass the Ganges.[4] I embarked and crossed over about the first watch. The third watch was past when Zerd-rû, and those who had accompanied him to search for the ford, returned without having found it. They brought word, that by the way they had met the boats, and the detachment of the army which had been ordered up the river.

May 4. On Tuesday we marched from the place where we had crossed the river, advanced towards the field of action, which is near the confluence of the two rivers, and encamped about a kos from it. I myself went and saw Usta Ali Kûli employed in firing his feringis and artillery. That day, Usta Ali Kûli struck two vessels with shot from his feringi, and sank them. Having dragged on the great cannon towards the field of battle, and appointed Mulla Gholam to forward the necessary preparations for plant-

[1] Iskanderpûr being a common name, Chitermûk, probably the name of some neighbouring village, is added to discriminate it from the others.

[2] It will be recollected, that Ali Kûli was to cross the Gogra above its junction with the Ganges, while Mustafa was to cross the Ganges below its junction with the Gogra.

[3] Baber's division was to cross over under cover of Ali Kûli's fire, and Muhammed Zemân Mîrza, under that of Mustafa.

[4] They passed from the right to the left bank of the Ganges, preparatory to crossing the Gogra.

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ing it, and left him some yesawels[1] and officers to assist him, I embarked in a boat and went to an island opposite to the camp, where I took a maajûn. While I was under the influence of the maajûn, they brought the boat near the royal tents, and I passed the whole night aboard. This night, a singular occurrence happened. About the third watch of the night, an alarm was given by the boat-people. I found that my servants had each of them laid hold of some piece of wood belonging to the ship, and were calling out, "Strike him, strike him." The vessel *Fermâish*, in which I slept, was close by the *Asâish*, on board of which was a tenkitâr,[2] who, as he waked from his sleep, saw a person that had laid hold of the ship Asâish, and was endeavouring to climb up her side. The tenkitâr struck him with a stone on the head. The unknown person, while in the act of falling from above into the water, let fly a blow with his sword at the tenkitâr, and wounded him a little. The man made his escape in the river. This had produced the alarm. The night that I left Munîr, one or two of my tenkitârs had chased a number of Hindustânis who had come near my vessel, and took two of their swords and a dagger, which they brought in. Almighty God preserved me— Singular occurrence.

> Let the sword of the world be brandished as it may,
> It cannot cut one vein without the permission of God.

The following morning, being Wednesday, I went aboard of the Gunjâish, and having approached the place where they were firing the artillery, I allotted to every one his particular duty. I dispatched about a thousand men, under the command of Aughan Berdi Moghul, with orders to ascend the river for two or three kos, and use every endeavour to cross it. While they were on their march, not far from Askeri's camp, they fell in with twenty or thirty Bengâli vessels which had crossed the river and landed a number of infantry, with the intention of making a sudden attack on one of our divisions. Our men charged at full gallop, threw them into confusion, put them to flight, took some prisoners, whose heads they cut off, killed and wounded a number of others with their arrows, and seized seven or eight of the vessels. The same day, the Bengâlis landed from a number of vessels, near Muhammed Zemân Mirza's quarters,[3] and made an attack on him. He, on his part, received them with great firmness, put them to flight, and pursued them; the men of three vessels were drowned, and one vessel was taken and brought to me. On this occasion, Bâba Chehreh particularly exerted himself and signalized his bravery. I ordered Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Yekkeh Khwâjeh, Yunis Ali, Aughan Berdi, and the body which had previously been appointed to pass the river, to make use of the seven or eight ships which Aughan Berdi and his men had taken, to row them over during the night while it was dark, and so cross the river. May 5.

The same day, a messenger arrived from Askeri with information that his army had now all crossed the river, and that early next morning, being Thursday, they would be ready to fall upon the enemy; I immediately issued orders, that all the rest of our troops who had effected their passage, should co-operate with Askeri and fall upon the Passage of the Sirû effected.

[1] The yesawel is an officer who carries the commands of the prince, and sees them enforced. He has a staff of office.

[2] A confidential servant.

[3] On the Ganges, below its junction with the Gogra.

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A. D. 1529. enemy, in conjunction with him. About noon-day prayers, a person came from Usta with notice that the bullet was ready to be discharged,[1] and that he waited for instructions. I sent orders to discharge it, and to have another loaded before I came up.

About afternoon prayers I embarked in a small Bengâli boat, and proceeded to the place where the batteries had been erected; Usta discharged a very large stone bullet once, and fired the feringis several times. The Bengâlis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion, we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at random. The same afternoon prayers, I ordered that some vessels should be rowed right up the river Sirû, in front of the enemy. The persons appointed to row the boats, without any hesitation, though unsheltered, rowed up about twenty vessels. Orders were given to Ishân Taimûr Sultan, Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan, Bâba Sultan, Arâish Khan, and Sheikh Kuren, to proceed to the spot where the vessels were, and to guard them. I then left the place, and reached the camp in the first watch of the night.

Towards midnight, news came from the ships that had been collected higher up the river, that the detachment ordered on the service had advanced as directed; that while the ships which had been collected were moving according to orders, the Bengâli ships had occupied a narrow pass in the river and engaged them; that one of the boatmen had his leg broken by a shot, and that they found themselves unable to make their way.

May 6. Defeat of the enemy. On Thursday morning, I received intelligence from the men in the batteries, that the ships which were higher up the river were all sailing down, and that the enemy's whole cavalry had mounted, and were now moving against our troops, who were advancing. I set out with the utmost expedition, and repaired to the vessels which had passed up by night. I dispatched a messenger full gallop to Muhammed Sultan Mirza,[3] and the detachment which had been appointed to pass, with orders for them to cross without delay, and to join Askeri. I ordered Ishân Taimur Sultan and Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan who were protecting the vessels, to lose no time in crossing. Bâba Sultan had not yet reached the appointed place. On this occasion, Ishân Taimur Sultan embarked with about thirty or forty of his servants in a boat; they swam over their horses by the side of the boat, and so effected a passage; another boat got across after him. On seeing that the first party had landed, a large body of Bengâli infantry marched down to attack them. Seven or eight of Ishân Taimur Sultan's men mounted their horses, rode out to meet them, and kept them occupied in skirmishing, drawing them on towards Ishan Taimur, till he was prepared. This gave Taimur Sultan time to mount and make ready, and in the meantime the second boat had also come across. He now set upon the large body of infantry with thirty or thirty-five horse, and put them to flight in grand style, distinguishing himself in several respects; first, by the vigour and celerity with which he crossed over before all the rest; and next, by advancing with a handful of men to charge a numerous body of foot, which he threw into con-

[1] At this period the Asiatics were fond of artillery of huge size, as the Turks still are. The operation of loading was performed very slowly.

[2] Probably from the Ganges.

[3] On the Gogra, between Baber's position and Askeri's.

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fusion and defeated. Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan also passed the river, and the vessels now began to cross in uninterrupted succession. The Lahôris and Hindûstanis also began to pass separately, some by swimming and others on bundles of reeds, each shifting for himself.

On observing what was going on, the Bengâli ships, which lay opposite to the batteries down the river, began to flee. Derwîsh Muhammed Sârbân, Dost Ishek-Agha, Nûr Beg, and numbers of our troops now passed, opposite to the batteries. I dispatched a messenger to the Sultans, to desire them to keep together in a body such as had crossed, and that as the enemy's army drew near, they should take post upon its flank, and skirmish with them. The Sultans accordingly formed such as had crossed, into three or four divisions, and advanced towards the enemy. On their approach, the enemy pushed forward their infantry to attack them, and then moved from their position to follow and support their advance. Koki arrived with a detachment from Askeri's division on the one side, and the Sultans advancing on the other direction, they both charged. They fell furiously on the enemy, whom they bore down, taking a number of prisoners, and, finally, drove them from the field. Koki overtook one Basant Rao, a pagan of rank, and having unhorsed him, cut off his head. Ten or fifteen of his people, who threw themselves upon it, were killed on the spot. Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan signalized his valour by pushing on, and engaging the enemy hand to hand. Dost Ishek-Agha[1] also showed great intrepidity. Moghul Abdal Wahâb and his younger brother likewise distinguished themselves. Although Moghul could not swim, he yet contrived to get across in his corslet.

My own ships were still behind. I sent orders for them to come up. The Firmâish came first, and having gone on board of her, I crossed, and examined the position of the Bengâlis; after which I embarked in the Gunjâish, and made them pull up the river. Mîr Muhammed Jalebân having informed me, that higher up, the river Sirû afforded more favourable situations for passing, I gave orders for the troops to pass with all speed by the passages which he mentioned. While Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and the other officers who had been ordered to cross, were effecting their passage, Yekeh Khwâjeh's vessel sank, and Yekeh Khwâjeh went to the mercy of God. I bestowed his retainers and government on his younger brother, Kâsim Khwâjeh.

About noon-day prayers, while I was bathing, the Sultans waited on me. I praised their conduct in high terms, and led them to indulge hopes from my favour and good opinion. Askeri, too, came at the same time. This was the first time that he had seen service, and it afforded a favourable omen. That night, as the camp equipage was not yet come over, I slept in a platform on the Gunjâish.

On Friday we halted at a village called Gundneh, in the government of Kherîd, in the perganna of Nirhan,[2] to the north of the Sirû. May 7.

On Sunday, I dispatched Koki with his party towards Hajipûr,[3] for the purpose of procuring information. Shah Muhammed Maarûf, on whom I had conferred great favours when he had waited on me last year, and on whom I had bestowed the coun- May 9.

[1] The chamberlain.
[2] The Nurhun of Rennell, situate below Iskanderpûr, on the left bank of the Gogra.
[3] Hajipûr stands opposite to Patna, on the Ganges.

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A. D. 1529. try of Sarun, had conducted himself to my satisfaction on several occasions. He had twice engaged his father, and had defeated and taken him. When Sultan Mahmûd took Behâr by stratagem, Baben and Sheikh Bayezîd marched against him. He then saw nothing left for it but to join them. About this time I had received several letters from him, and various confused reports respecting him were current. As soon as Askeri had passed at Haldi, he came at the head of his men, waited upon Askeri, and joined him in his operations against the Bengâlis. While I remained at this station he waited on me, and tendered his services.

Baben and Sheikh Bayezid cross the Sirû.

We now learned by successive messengers, that Baben and Sheikh Bayezîd intended to cross the river Sirwu. At the same time an unexpected piece of news came from Sambal. Ali Yûsef, who was in command there, had employed himself in reducing the country to order, and in introducing regularity into the government. He and a person who acted as his physician, both died on the same day. I ordered Abdalla to proceed to Sambal, for the purpose of maintaining order and good government in

May 14. that country; and on Friday, the 5th of Ramzan, he accordingly took leave, and set out for it.

At the same time I received a letter from Chîn Taimur Sultan, informing me that several of the Amîrs who had been appointed to accompany my household from Kâbul, would not be able to attend them. Muhammedi and some others had gone on a plundering expedition a hundred kos off along with the Sultan, and had inflicted a severe chastisement on the Balûches. I sent notice through Abdalla to Chîn Taimur Sultan, that Sultan Muhammed Duldi, Muhammedi, and several Amîrs and officers in that quarter, had orders to join him in Agra, and remain there in readiness to march against the enemy in whatever direction they showed themselves.

May 17. On Monday the 8th, Jilâl Khan, the grandson of Deria Khan, to meet whom I had sent Jemâli Khan, arrived with a number of his chief Amîrs, and waited on me. The same day Yahia Lohâni, who had previously sent his younger brother to tender his services, having been re-assured by a gracious letter which I wrote him, came and was introduced. As seven or eight thousand Lohâni Afghâns had come in hopes of employment, to keep them in good humour, I set apart one kror[1] from the Khalseh or imperial revenue of Behâr, of which sum I gave fifty laks[2] to Mahmûd Khan Lohâni; the rest I granted to Jilâl Khan, who had orders to levy another kror for my service. Mûlla Gholâm Yesâwel was dispatched for the purpose of receiving this money. I bestowed the government of Jonpûr on Muhammed Zemân Mirza.

Wednesday, May 19. The Bengalis accept of terms of peace.

On Thursday eve, one Gholam Ali, a servant of Khalifeh, who, before Ismâel Mita returned to his court, had carried the three propositions, in company with Abul Fateh, a servant of the Prince of Mongir, returned along with Fateh, bringing letters from the Prince of Mongir,[3] and Hassan Khan Leshker the vizir, addressed to Khalîfeh. They assented to the three propositions, took upon themselves to act for Nasret Shah,[4] and proposed that a peace should be concluded. As this expedition had been under-

[1] About £25,000. [2] About £12,500.

[3] A famous city in Behâr on the Ganges, considerably below Patna. It was now held by a Shahzâdeh or prince.

[4] Nasret Shah, it will be recollected, was King of Bengal.

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taken for the purpose of punishing the rebellious Afghâns, of whom many had gone off and disappeared, many had come in and entered into my service, while the few that still remained took shelter among the Bengâlis, who had undertaken to answer for them; and, as the rainy season too was now close at hand, I wrote in return, and sent my acceptance of the terms of peace, along with the articles above mentioned.

On Saturday Ismâel Jîlwâni, Ilawel Khan Lohâni, Aulia Khan Usterâni, with five or six other Amîrs, waited on me, to tender their submission. May 22.

The same day I presented Ishân Taimur Sultan, and Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan, with a sword and belt, a dagger for the girdle, coats of mail, dresses of honour, and Tipchâk horses. To Ishan Taimur Sultan, I gave thirty laks[1] from the Perganna of Nârnûl, and to Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan, thirty laks from the Perganna of Shemsâbâd, for which they knelt, and offered their duty.[2]

On Monday the 15th, having accomplished all my objects on the side of Bengal and Behâr, I marched from our station on the banks of the Sirû and the vicinity of Kondneh, in order to check the hostilities of Baben and Sheikh Bayezîd, who were still refractory. After marching two stages, the third, on Wednesday, brought us to the passage of Choupareh Chitermûk, at Sekanderpûr. That same day our people began to busy themselves in crossing.[3] Intelligence arrived again and again, that the insurgents had passed the Sirû and Goger, and were marching towards Luknow. May 24. Baber sets out on his return. May 26.

In order to check their progress, I appointed, out of my Tûrki and Hindustâni officers, Sultan Jilâleddîn Sherki, Ali Khan Fermuli, Tardîkeh Nizâm Khan, Sali Karîmsh Usbek, Kûrbân Cherkhi, Hussain Khan Deria-Khâni, who took leave on Thursday eve. That same night after the Terâwikh-prayers,[4] when about five Geris of the second watch were past,[5] the clouds of the rainy season broke, and there was suddenly such a tempest, and the wind rose so high, that most of the tents were blown down. I was writing in the middle of my pavilion, and so suddenly did the storm come on, that I had not time to gather up my papers and the loose sheets that were written, before it blew down the pavilion, with the screen that surrounded it, on my head. The top of the pavilion was blown to pieces, but God preserved me. I suffered no injury. The books and sheets of paper were drenched and wet, but were gathered again with much trouble, folded in woollen cloth, and placed under a bed, over which carpets were thrown. The storm abated in two geris.[6] We contrived to get up the Toshek-Khana[7] tent, lighted a candle with much difficulty, kindled a fire, and did not sleep till morning, being busily employed all the while in drying the leaves and papers. Violent storm.

On Thursday I crossed the river. May 27.

On Friday I mounted and rode round Kherîd and Sekanderpûr. The same day I received Abdalla and Bâki's letters, announcing the taking of Luknow.[8] May 28. Loss of Luknow.

On Saturday I sent forward Koki with his party, for the purpose of reinforcing Bâki. May 29.

[1] About £7500.
[2] Or rather *did homage*, had not the expression a feudal air.
[3] The river Gogra.
[4] The Terâwikh are certain prayers said late at night, during the Ramzân.
[5] That is after 11 o'clock at night. This storm marks the setting in of the rainy monsoon.
[6] About three quarters of an hour.
[7] The Toshek-Khana, was the store-room, in which the clothes, carpets, &c. were kept.
[8] By the enemy.

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A. D. 1529. May 30. On Sunday I dispatched Sultan Junîd Birlâs, Hassan Khalîfeh, Mûlla Apâk's men, and the brother of Momin Utkeh, with orders to proceed and join Bâki, and to use all their endeavours to forward the service till my arrival.

The same day, about afternoon prayers, I bestowed a dress of honour from my own wardrobe, and a Tipchâk horse, on Shah Muhammed Maarûf, and dismissed him. In the same manner as last year, I had given Sarun as an assignment to him and Kundleh, for the purpose of supporting and paying the wages of the archers, I now gave Ismâel Jilwâni an allowance of seventy-two laks[1] out of Sirwâr, bestowed on him a dress of honour from my own wardrobe, and a Tipchâk horse, and dismissed him. To Ilawel Khan Lohâni, and the body of men that accompanied him, I also gave assignments on Sirwâr, and they took leave. It was settled, that each of them should always leave his son or younger brother in Agra, to await my orders.

It had been agreed with the Bengâlis, that they should carry, by way of Termhâni, to Ghazipûr, the Gunjaish and Arâish, with two Bengali ships which I had selected from among those that had fallen into my hands in Bengal. I ordered the Fermâish and the Asâish to sail up the Sirû along with the camp.

May 31. Having accomplished all my views in Behâr, and on the Sirû, on the Monday, after crossing at the passage of Choupareh Chitermuk, I marched up the Sirû towards Oud, keeping close along the banks of the river. After a march of ten kos, we encamped on the banks of the Sirû, hard by a place called Kilîreh, dependant on Fatehpûr, in which there were extremely beautiful gardens, embellished by running streams and handsome edifices; we particularly admired the number of Mango trees, and of richly coloured birds of various kinds. Having rested some days, I directed the army to march towards Ghazipûr.[2] Ismâel Khan Jilwâni, and Ilawel Khan Lohani, asked leave to visit their native country, after which they promised to repair to Agra. I agreed to give them leave at the end of one month.[3]

A number[4] of our troops being overtaken by night, lost their way, and went to the great tank of Fatehpûr. Some men were dispatched to bring in such of the stragglers as were near at hand, while Kushek Khwâjeh was sent to stay all night at the tank, and in the morning to bring back with him to the camp such troops as had

June 1. halted there. We marched thence early in the morning; in the middle of the march I embarked in the Asâish, and we were pulled up to the camp. By the way, a son of Shah Muhammed Diwâneh, who had been sent by Bâki with letters for Khalîfeh, met us, and gave an accurate statement of the transactions at Luknow. It appears, that

May 22. on Saturday, the 13th of Ramzan, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. During the assault, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, turpentine, and other combustibles that were thrown on it, the inside of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken. Two or three days afterwards, on hearing of my return,

[1] £18,000, which may seem small, while £720,000, supposing the laks to be of rupees, would be too large.

[2] On the Ganges.

[3] Here my Persian manuscript closes. The two additional fragments are given from Mr Metcalfe's manuscript alone, and, unluckily, it is extremely incorrect.

[4] This fragment is from Mr Metcalfe's MS., folio 166, page 1.

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the enemy marched towards Dilmu.[1] This day also, we advanced ten kos, and halted hard by a village named Jalisîr, in the perganna of Sikri, on the banks of the river Sirû.

On Wednesday[2] we continued in the same station, to rest our cattle. Many came in with reports, that Sheikh Bayezîd and Baben had crossed the Ganges, and intended to push on with their troops, and fall upon the territories of Jôn (pûr) and Chunâr. The Amîrs were summoned, and a council held. It was arranged that Muhammed Zemân Mirza, Sultan Jûnîd Birlâs, who had got the government of Chunâr and some other pergannahs in exchange for Jonpur, Mahmûd Khan Lohâni, Kazi Jiâ, and Tâj Khan Sarangkhâni, should march, and prevent the enemy from reaching Chunâr. June 2.

Next morning, being Thursday, we marched early, left the river Sirû, and having advanced eleven kos, and passed Perserû, encamped on the banks of the river Perserû.[3] Here I assembled the Amîrs, and held a consultation; after which I appointed Ishân Taimûr Sultan, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Tokhteh Bûgha Sultan, Kâsim Hussain Sultan, Nâkhûb Sultan, Mozeffer Hussain Sultan, Kâsim Khwâjeh, Jaafer Khwâjeh, Khwâjeh Zâhid, Khwâjeh Jân Beg, with the servants of Askeri, and Kuchik Khwâjeh; and from among the Amîrs of Hind, Alim Khan Kâlpi, Malekdâd Kerrâni, and Randi Surwâni, to proceed towards Dilmu in pursuit of Baben and Bayezîd, ordering them instantly to separate from the army, and to follow the enemy with all celerity. I purified myself in the Perserû. I and those who were along with me took a number of fish by fixing lights to a piece of frame-work, which was then moved along the water.[4] June 3. Reaches Perserû.

On Friday we encamped on one of the branches of this Perserû. It was a very small stream. To obviate the inconvenience arising from the passing and repassing of the troops, we made a dam higher up, and constructed a place ten by ten,[5] for the purpose of bathing; we passed the eve of the 27th at this same station. June 4.

Next morning we left this stream and encamped, after passing the river Tousin.[6] June 5. Passes the Tousin.

On Sunday too, we encamped on the banks of the same river. June 5.

On Monday the 29th, we halted on the banks of the Tousin. This night, although the weather was not quite favourable, a few persons got a sight of the moon, and bore testimony to the fact, in presence of the Kazi.[7] This fixed the end of the month. June 6. June 7.

Next day, being Tuesday, we set out, after we had said the prayers of the Id.[8] Having marched ten kos, we halted within one kos of Taek, on the banks of the Gûmti.[9] To- June 8

[1] Dilmû, or Dalmow, on the Ganges, south-east of Bareilli.

[2] This fragment is from Mr Metcalfe's MS., folio 166, p. 2.

[3] After leaving the Sirû or Gogra river, Baber marches west, and comes on the Perserû, the Sarjoo of Arrowsmith, which seems to be chiefly formed by branches coming off from the Gogra below Moradgange.

[4] This mode of fishing is still practised in India.

[5] About twenty feet square.

[6] The Tousin, or Tonse, is a branch from the Gogra, coming off above Fyzâbâd, and joining the Sarjû or Perserû, below Azimpûr.

[7] This being the month of Ramzân, the great Fast of the Muhammedans, they were anxious to see the new moon of Shawal, when it concluded.

[8] The great festival on the conclusion of the Fast of Ramzân.

[9] Baber always denominates the Gumti, Gûi.

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A. D. 1529. wards noon-day prayers, I took a maajûn with Sheikh Zîn, Mûlla Shehâb, Chand Amîr—

(*Tûrki verse.*)—They dropped in by threes, and twos, and ones.

Derwîsh Muhammed, Yunis Ali, and Abdalla, were also there. The wrestlers amused us with wrestling.

June 9. On Wednesday we continued to halt on the same ground. About luncheon time[1] I took a maajûn. Tâj-Khan, who had gone to keep the Sherki Princes from Chunâr, returned this day. We had a wrestling match. The champion Oudi, who had arrived some time before, tried his skill with a Hindustâni wrestler who was there, and threw him. I bestowed fifteen laks[2] on Yahîa Lohâni in Sirû, by way of allowance; clothed him in a complete dress of honour, and gave him leave.

June 10. Next morning we marched eleven kos, passed the river Gumti, and halted on the banks of the same river. Here we learned, that the party of Sultans and Amîrs who had been sent on the expedition, had reached Dilmu; that they had passed first the Ganges, and afterwards the Jumna, in pursuit of the enemy; that they had taken Alim Khan along with them, had followed the enemy for many kos with great keenness, and having left the latter river, after three marches, had returned to Dilmu.

Passes the Ganges. This day, most of our troops passed the Ganges by a ford. Having sent the camp-equipage and troops across, I eat a maajûn lower down than the ford, on an island. We halted on the spot where we passed the river, to give time to such as had not crossed to come over. That same day Bâki Tashkendi arrived with his troops, and was introduced.

Reaches Korah. Advancing two marches from the Ganges, we halted in the neighbourhood of Korah,[3] on the banks of the river Rind. From Dilmu to Korah is twenty-one kos.

June 17. On Thursday we marched early from our ground, and halted before the perganna of Adampur. We had previously sent one or two persons to Kalpi, to bring whatever boats might be there, for the purpose of following after the enemy. The evening we halted there a few boats arrived, and a ford over the river was discovered. The camp being very dusty, and at some distance from the river, I slept on an island, where I remained for several days, day and night. For the purpose of gaining accurate information regarding the enemy, I dispatched Bâki Sheghâwel with a few troops[4] across the river, to procure intelligence of the enemy.

June 19. Next day, about afternoon prayers, Jumaa, a servant of Bâki, arrived with information, that he had routed one of Sheikh Bayezîd and Baben's outposts, killed Mobârek Khan Jilwâni, an officer of some note, with a number of others, and cut off some heads, which he sent, with one living prisoner. He gave a circumstantial narrative of the particulars of this defeat, and of all that had happened.

The same night, being the eve of Sunday the 13th, the river Jumna rose, so that we could not remain in the tent, which in the morning had been pitched on the island; we

[1] Chasht. [2] £3750.

[3] Korah, or Corah, lies between the Ganges and Jumna rivers. Arrowsmith, I suppose by a mistake of the pen, places it on the Riride, instead of the Rind.

[4] Miângi—perhaps boatmen.

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were therefore obliged to remove to another island a bow-shot off, where I took up my quarters in another tent that was pitched.

On Monday, Jilâl Tâshkendi arrived from the Sultans and Amîrs who had gone on the expedition. Immediately on discovering some men of their left wing, Baben and Sheikh Bayezîd had fled from the pergannah of Mahûbeh. As the rains had set in, and as we had been for five or six months engaged in various expeditions in the field, so that the horses and cattle of the troops were worn out, I sent notice to the Sultans and Amîrs who had been detached, to inform them that I should remain a few days in Agra and that vicinity, to wait their arrival. The same day, about afternoon prayers, I gave Bâki Sheghawel and his party leave to go home. To Mûsi Maarûf Fermuli, who had come and offered me his allegiance when the army was passing the Sirû on its return, I gave a perganna of thirty laks[1] out of Amerhâr for his support, a complete dress of honour[2] from my own wardrobe, and a horse with its saddle, and dismissed him to Amerhâr. June 21.

Having settled everything in this quarter, on Tuesday eve, after about one geri of the fourth watch was past,[3] I set out post for Agra. Sets out for Agra.

Next morning, after having ridden sixteen kos, I passed the noon in a perganna dependent on Kalpi, called Bilâder; whence, after resting our horses, we set out at evening prayers. This night we rode thirteen kos, and at the end of the third watch[4] halted at the tomb of Bhau Khan Sirwâni, in Sougandpûr, one of the pergannas of Kâlpi. Having mounted early, by noon prayers, I had advanced seventeen kos, and at midnight reached the garden of Hesht Behisht at Agra. June 22. June 23. Arrives at Agra.

Next morning, being Friday, Muhammed Bakhshi and some others came and paid me their respects, after which I went into the castle and visited the Begums, my paternal aunts. A native of Balkh had prepared some melon beds. A few of the melons which had been preserved, were now presented to me, and were very excellent. I had set a few vine-plants in the garden of Hesht Behisht, which I found had produced very fine grapes. Sheikh Kuren also sent me a basket of grapes, which were very excellent. I was truly delighted with having produced such excellent melons and grapes[5] in Hindustân. June 25.

It was Sunday at midnight when I met Maham.[6] I had joined the army on the 10th of the first Jemâdi. It was an odd coincidence that she had also left Kâbul the very same day. June 27. January 21.

Thursday, the 1st of Zilkadeh, was the day on which the Peshkeshes or tributary offerings were made to Hûmâiûn and Maham in the great Hall of Audience, on a grand levee day. The same day we dispatched a servant of Faghfûr the Diwân, accompanied by a hundred or a hundred and fifty hired porters, to bring melons, grapes, and other fruits from Kâbul. July 8.

[1] £7500. [2] Siropâ. [3] Half past three a.m.

[4] Three o'clock in the morning.

[5] Melons are now cultivated by the commonest gardeners all over Hindustân, and form part of the food of all ranks. This valuable present seems to be due to Baber's activity of mind. Grapes, too, are found in most gardens of any consequence.

[6] A name of endearment, which Baber gave to his favourite wife, the mother of Hûmâiûn.

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A. D. 1529. July 10. On Saturday the 3d, Hindu Beg, who had arrived with an escort from Kâbul, whence he had been sent for immediately on the death of Ali Yûsef, arrived and was introduced.

Hisâm-ed-din Khalîfeh, having arrived from Alwâr, also waited on me this day.

July 11. Next morning, being Sunday, Abdalla, who had been sent to Termhali[1] in consequence of the death of Ali Yûsef, returned back.

Conspiracy of Abdal-azîz. From the men who had come from Kâbul, we learned that Sheikh Sherîf Karabâghi, whether from the evil suggestions of Abdal-azîz, or from mere attachment to him, ascribing to us tyranny that never had been exercised, and offences never committed, had written certificates, to which he had compelled the Imâms to affix their names, and had sent copies of these certificates, to different cities, in hopes of exciting commotions; that Abdal-azîz, too, had disobeyed several orders which he had received, had been guilty of uttering several most unbecoming expressions, and of doing some most improper acts; on these accounts, on Sunday the 11th, I sent Kamber Ali Arghûn, to apprehend and bring to the presence Sheikh Sherîf, the Imâms of Lahore, and Abdal-azîz.

July 16.

July 22. On Thursday the 15th, Sultan Taimur arrived from Tejâwer and waited on me. The same day the champion Sadik, and Oudi, had a great wrestling match. Sadik threw Oudi with great ease, which vexed him extremely.

July 26. On Monday the 19th, having given Morâd Korchi, the Kezelbâsh ambassador, a side-dagger, clothed him in a suitable dress of honour, and made him a present of two hundred thousand tankehs, I gave him leave to return.

Disaffection of Rahîmdâd. At this time, Syed Mehdi arrived from Guâliâr, and informed us of the revolt of Rahîmdâd. Shah Muhammed, the seal-bearer, a servant of Khalîfeh's, had been sent by him to Rahîmdâd with a letter of advice. Shah Muhammed went, and in a few days returned with Rahîmdâd's son, but he himself did not choose to come. In order, however, to lull our suspicions asleep, Nûr Beg came, and having preferred the same requests that Rahîmdâd had formerly made, actually gained Firmâns comformable to his wishes. When the Firmâns were on the point of being dispatched, one of Rahîmdâd's servants arrived, and gave us information that he had himself been sent for the purpose of effecting the escape of the son, and that the father had not the least intention of coming. On getting this intelligence, I wished instantly to have proceeded against Guâliâr. Khalîfeh, however, requested that he might be permitted to address one other letter of advice to Rahîmdâd, as probably he would submit peaceably. Shehâb-ed-dîn Khosrou was sent to carry this remonstrance.

August 12. On Thursday, the 7th of the month, Mehdi Khwâjeh[2] arrived from Etâwa. On the day of the Id, I bestowed on Hindu Beg a complete dress[3] from my own wardrobe, a sword and belt enriched with precious stones, and a Tipchak horse. To Hassan Ali, who was one of the most eminent among the Chaghatai Turkomâns, I gave a Siropâ (or complete dress of honour), a side-hanger adorned with jewels, and a perganna of seven laks.[4]

[1] He had been sent to Sambal on the occasion mentioned. Termhâni is mentioned p. 420.

[2] This Mehdi Khwâjeh was Baber's son-in-law.

[3] Siropâ.

[4] About £1750. The rate used for reducing Baber's crores and laks to English money, may sometimes appear to reduce them too much; and yet it is probably near the truth.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 936.

On Tuesday the 3d of Moharrem, Sheikh Muhammed Ghus came out of Guâliâr with Shehâb-ed-dîn Khosrou, as intercessor for Rahîmdâd. As this man was a humble and saintly personage, I forgave, on his account, the offences of Rahîmdâd, and sent Sheikh Kurən and Nûr Beg to receive the surrender of Guâliâr. A.D. 1529. Sept. 7.

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CONCLUDING SUPPLEMENT

TO

BABER'S MEMOIRS.

Sept. 7th, A. D. 1529.

FROM the first days of the year 936 of the Hejira, Baber's Journal ceases, and no fragments have been found of any later date. Whether he composed Memoirs, or wrote any journal of the remaining fifteen months of his life, is uncertain. The state of his health, which was rapidly declining and much broken, probably diminished his usual activity. The silence that prevails among historians, regarding the remaining events of his reign, may justify a belief, that no Journal was written, or at least none published.

Hûmâiûn leaves Badakhshân,

In the course of the year 936, Hûmâiûn, who appears to have been anxious to be near the seat of empire, probably from being aware of his father's declining health, suddenly left his government of Badakhshân, which he intrusted to the care of Sultan Weis, and set out for Hindustân by way of Kâbul. At Kâbul, he had a conference with his brother, Kâmrân Mirza, who had just arrived from Kandahâr, after which he proceeded on towards Agra.

which is attacked by Saîd Khan.

He had scarcely left Badakhshân, when Saîd Khan of Kâshghar, who is said to have been invited by Sultan Weis and the other Amîrs that were in the country, leaving Reshîd Khan in Yârkend, marched into Badakhshân. Hindâl Mirza, on hearing of his approach, threw himself into the fort of Zefer, in which he defended himself for three months with so much vigour, that Saîd Khan was compelled to raise the siege.

Baber's anxiety.

In the meanwhile a report reached Baber, that Saîd Khan had gained possession of all Badakhshân. The unwelcome intelligence that daily arrived from that quarter preyed upon his mind, and helped to impair his declining strength. He sent instructions to Khalîfeh to set out in order to recover Badakhshân; but that nobleman, who was Baber's prime minister, knowing probably that the orders were dictated by Hûmâiûn's mother, who had a great ascendency over Baber, and who wished to remove from court a powerful enemy of her son, found means to excuse himself. Similar orders were then sent to Hûmâiûn, whose government Badakhshân was, but that

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prince also declined engaging in the expedition, under the pretence that his affection for his father would not permit him to remove so far from the presence. Mirza Sulemân, the son-in-law of Sultan Weis, was then dispatched, with instructions to assume the government of the country; and was at the same time furnished with letters for Saîd Khan, complaining of his aggression. Before reaching Kâbul, Sulemân heard of Saîd's retreat; he, however, prosecuted his journey, and received charge of the country from Hindâl, who set out for Hindustân; and the civil wars that followed the death of Baber enabled Sulemân[1] to keep possession of Badakhshân, which was long held by his posterity.

Mirza Sulemân sent to Badakhshân.

Hûmâiûn reached Agra neither sent for nor expected, but the affection of his father, and the influence of his mother, procured him a good reception. His offence was forgotten, and, after remaining some time at court, he went to his government of Sambal. When he had resided there about six months, he fell dangerously ill. His father, whose favourite son he seems to have been, was deeply affected at this news, and gave directions for conveying him by water to Agra. He arrived there, but his life was despaired of. When all hopes from medicine were over, and while several men of skill were talking to the emperor of the melancholy situation of his son, Abul Baka, a personage highly venerated for his knowledge and piety, remarked to Baber, that in such a case the Almighty had sometimes vouchsafed to receive the most valuable thing possessed by one friend, as an offering in exchange for the life of another. Baber exclaiming, that of all things, his life was dearest to Hûmâiûn, as Hûmâiûn's was to him, and that, next to the life of Hûmâiûn, his own was what he most valued, devoted his life to Heaven as a sacrifice for his son's. The noblemen around him entreated him to retract the rash vow, and, in place of his first offering, to give the diamond taken at Agra, and reckoned the most valuable on earth: that the ancient sages had said, that it was the dearest of our worldly possessions alone that was to be offered to Heaven. But he persisted in his resolution, declaring that no stone, of whatever value, could be put in competition with his life. He three times walked round the dying prince, a solemnity similar to that used in sacrifices and heave-offerings,[2] and retiring, prayed earnestly to God. After some time he was heard to exclaim, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" The Musulman historians assure us, that Hûmâiûn almost immediately began to recover, and that, in proportion as he recovered, the health and strength of Baber visibly decayed. Baber communicated his dying instructions to Khwâjeh Khalîfeh, Kamber Ali Beg, Terdi Beg, and Hindu Beg, who were then at Court, commending Hûmâiûn to their protection. With that unvarying affection for his family, which he showed in all the circumstances of his life, he strongly besought Hûmâiûn to be kind and forgiving to his brothers. Hûmâiûn promised, and, what in such circumstances is rare, kept his promise. The request which he had made to his nobles was heard, as the requests of dying princes generally are, only as a signal for faction.

Illness of Hûmâiûn.

Baber devotes his own life for his son's.

Illness of Baber.

Intrigues at his Court.

[1] See Abulfazl in the Akbernâmeh, the Târikhe Khâfi Khan, Ferishta, &c.

[2] It is customary among the Musulmans, as it was among the Jews, to waive presents of money or jewels thrice round the head of the person to whom they are offered, on particular occasions, as on betrothings, marriages, &c. There is supposed to be something sacred in this rite, which averts misfortunes.

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Khwâjeh Khalîfeh had conceived a strong dislike to Hûmâiûn, in consequence of some circumstances which are not explained, so that the court of the expiring conqueror became the scene of intrigue and cabal. Khalîfeh, as prime minister,[1] possessed the chief authority among the Tûrki nobles. He did not wish that the succession should be in the children of Baber, and had pitched on Mehdi Khwâjeh, Baber's son-in-law, as his successor. Mehdi Khwâjeh was a brave, but extravagant, and wild young man, and had long been closely connected with Khalîfeh. When it was known that Khalîfeh was in his interest, and intended to raise him to the throne, the principal men in the army lost no time in paying their court to Mehdi Khwâjeh, whose succession was regarded as secure, and who began to affect the deportment of a sovereign prince. Everything seemed to promise that he was to be the Emperor of Hindustân, when suddenly, he was ordered by Khalîfeh to remain in his own house under a guard.

Anecdote of Mehdi Khwâjeh.

The cause of this sudden change has escaped the researches of Abulfazl and Khâfi Khan. It is explained, however, by a well-informed historian, who relates the anecdote on the authority of his father:—"It so happened," says he, "that Mîr Khalîfeh had gone to see Mehdi Khwâjeh, whom he had found in his tent. Nobody was present but Khalîfeh, Mehdi Khwâjeh, and my father Muhammed Mokîm. Khalîfeh had scarcely sat down an instant, when Baber, who was at the last extremity, suddenly sent for him. When he left the tent, Mehdi Khwâjeh accompanied him to the door, to do him honour, and to take leave of him, and stood in the middle of it, so that my father, who followed, but, out of respect, did not push by him, was immediately behind. The young man, who was rather flighty and harum-scarum, forgetting that my father was present, as soon as Khalîfeh was fairly gone, muttered to himself, 'God willing, I will soon flay off your hide, old boy!' and, turning round, at the same instant saw my father. He was quite confounded, but immediately seizing my father's ear, with a convulsive eagerness, twisted it round, and said hurriedly, 'You, Tâjîk! The red tongue often gives the green head to the winds.' My father having taken his leave and left the tent, sought out Khalîfeh, and remonstrated with him on his line of conduct; telling him, that in violation of his allegiance, he was taking away the sovereignty from Muhammed Hûmâiûn and his brothers, who were accomplished princes, to bestow it on the son of a stranger; and yet how did this favoured man behave? He then repeated what had passed just as it happened. Khalîfeh, on the spot, sent off an express for Hûmâiûn, and dispatched a body of Yesâwels, or special messengers, to Mehdi Khwâjeh to inform him that the king's orders were, that he should instantly retire to his own house. The young man had now sat down to dinner, which was still before him. The Yesâwels communicated their message, and forced him away. Mîr Khalîfeh then issued a proclamation, prohibiting all persons from resorting to Mehdi Khwajeh's house, or waiting upon him; while Mehdi Khwâjeh himself received orders not to appear at Court."[2]

Baber, in the midst of these intrigues, with which he was probably unacquainted,

[1] His title was Nizâm-ed-dîn Ali Khalifeh.

[2] For the fragment of the anonymous history from whence this extract is made, and which contains the Memoirs of Hindustan, from Baber's invasion of that country down to the beginning of Akber's reign, I am indebted to Captain William Miles of the Bombay establishment. The author calls his father Muhammed Mokim Hervi (of Herat). His own name I have not been able to learn.

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expired at the Charbagh, near Agra, on the 6th of the first Jemadi, A. H. 937, in the fiftieth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign as a sovereign prince.[1] His body, in conformity with a wish which he had expressed, was carried to Kâbul, where it was interred in a hill that still bears his name. He had reigned five years over part of Hindustan. Hûmâiûn ascended the throne on the 9th of the same month without opposition, by the influence of Khalîfeh. Death of Baber. Dec. 26, 1530.

Though Baber has given us such a minute account of the wives and families of his uncles and cousins, he has communicated but few particulars regarding his own. It appears that, when only five years of age, he was betrothed to his cousin Aisha Sultan Begum, the third daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the King of Samarkand, by Katak Begum. He married her after his first expedition to Samarkand, and had by her one daughter, who died young. They seem to have quarreled; and Baber says she was misled by her eldest sister Rabîa Sultan Begum, who induced her to leave his house. Another of his wives was Zeineb Sultan Begum, whom he married after the surrender of Kâbul. She also was his cousin, being the fifth daughter of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, King of Hissâr, by Khanzadeh Begum, the grand-daughter of Mir Buzurg or Termiz. He informs us that he married her at his mother's desire, that they did not agree, and that in two or three years she died of the small pox. His third wife, Maasuma Sultan Begum, was likewise his cousin, being the sister of his first wife, and the fifth daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza by Habîba Sultan Begum. She saw him at Herât, during his expedition to Khorasân, and fell in love with him. It was arranged that she should go to Kabul, where he afterwards married her. She had one daughter, Maasuma, of whom she died in childbed. Her daughter, Maasuma, joined Baber in Hindustan, but probably died before him. He also, during his campaign in Bajour, married a daughter of Shah Mansur, the Malik or chief of the Yûsefzai Afghâns. She is said to have survived him, and to have died in the reign of Akber. Baber seems to have had no children by her. The names of his other wives, and of the ladies of his Haram, have not been preserved. He himself mentions the birth of a prince named Faruk, who probably died young. His wives. A.D. 1519. Aug. 1526.

Baber, at the time of his death, had seven children alive, four sons and three daughters. The names of their mothers are not recorded. The eldest son, Nasîreddîn Muhammed Hûmâiûn, succeeded him as Supreme Emperor in all his dominions. Hûmâiûn, on his accession, gave to his second brother, Kamrân Mirza, the Penjâb, in addition to the government of Kâbul and Kandahâr which he had formerly held; to Hindâl Mirza, who had just arrived from Badakhshân, he gave the country of Mewât, and to Askeri he assigned the province of Sambal, which he had himself held. All these princes acted a conspicuous part in the confusions of the succeeding reign. Baber's three daughters, Gulreng Begum, Gulchehreh Begum, and Gulbeden Begum, were all by one mother. His family.

Zahîr-ed-dîn Muhammed Baber was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his age, and one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever adorned an His character.

[1] Ferishta and the anonymous historian place his death on Monday the 5th of the first Jemadi. Computing by solar years, he died in the forty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign.

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Asiatic throne. He is represented as having been above the middle size, of great vigour of body, fond of all field and warlike sports, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. As a proof of his bodily strength, it is mentioned, that he used to leap from one pinnacle to another of the pinnated ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm, and went leaping along the rampart from one of the pointed pinnacles to another. Having been early trained to the conduct of business, and tutored in the school of adversity, the powers of his mind received their full developement. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve, and before he had attained his twentieth year, the young prince had shared every variety of fortune; he had not only been the ruler of subject provinces, but had been in thraldom to his own ambitious nobles, and obliged to conceal every sentiment of his heart; he had been alternately hailed and obeyed as a conqueror and deliverer by rich and extensive kingdoms, and forced to lurk in the deserts and mountains of his own native kingdom as a houseless wanderer. Down to the last dregs of life, we perceive in him the strong feelings of an affection for his early friends and early enjoyments, rarely seen among princes. Perhaps the free manners of the Tûrki tribes had combined with the events of his early life, in cherishing these amiable feelings. He had betimes been taught, by the voice of events that could not lie, that he was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men; and, in his dangers and escapes with his followers, had learned that he was only one of an association, whose general safety and success depended on the result of their mutual exertions in a common cause. The native benevolence and gaiety of his disposition seems ever to overflow on all around him; and he talks of his mothers, his grandmothers, and sisters with some garrulity indeed, but the garrulity of a good son and a good brother. Of his companions in arms he always speaks with the frank gaiety of a soldier; and it is a relief to the reader, in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept, for the playmate of his boyhood. Indeed, an uncommon portion of good nature and good humour runs through all his character, and even to political offences he will be found, in a remarkable degree, indulgent and forgiving.

In the character of the founder of a new dynasty, in one of the richest and most powerful empires on earth, we may expect to find an union of the great qualities of a statesman and general; and Baber possessed the leading qualifications of both in a high degree. But we are not, in that age, to look for any deep-laid or regular plans of civil polity, even in the most accomplished princes. Baber's superiority over the chiefs to whom he was opposed, arose principally from his active disposition and lively good sense. Ambitious as he was, and fond of conquest and of glory in all its shapes, the enterprize in which he was for the season engaged, seems to have absorbed his whole soul, and all his faculties were exerted to bring it, whatever it was, to a fortunate issue. His elastic mind was not broken by discomfiture, and few princes who have achieved such glorious conquests, have suffered more numerous or more decisive defeats. His personal courage was conspicuous during his whole life, but it may be doubted whether, in spite of his final success, he was so much entitled to the character of a great captain, as of a successful partizan and a bold adventurer. In the earlier part of his career his armies were very small. Most of his expeditions were rather

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successful inroads than skilful campaigns. But he showed a genius and a power of observation which, in other circumstances, would have raised him to the rank of the most accomplished commanders. As he had the sense to perceive the errors which he committed in his earlier years, so, with the superiority that belongs to a great mind, conscious of its powers, he always readily acknowledges them. His conduct, during the rebellion of the Moghuls at Kâbul, and the alarm of his army in the war with Rana Sanka, bears the indications of the most heroic magnanimity. The latter period of his life is one uninterrupted series of success.

But we are not to expect in Baber that perfect and refined character which belongs only to modern times and Christian countries. We sometimes see him order what, according to the practice of modern war, and the maxims of a refined morality, we should consider as cruel executions. We find him occasionally the slave of vices, which, even though they belonged to his age and country, it is not possible to regard in such a man without feelings of regret. We are disappointed to find one possessed of so refined an understanding, and so polished a taste, degrading both, by an obtrusive and almost ridiculous display of his propensity to intoxication. It may palliate, though it cannot excuse this offence, that it appears to have led him to no cruelty or harshness to his servants or those around him, that it made him neglect no business, and that it seems to have been produced solely by the ebullition of high spirits in his gay and social temper. We turn from Baber, the slave of such vices, which probably hastened on a premature old age, and tended to bring him to an early grave, and view him with more complacency, encouraging, in his dominions, the useful arts and polite literature, by his countenance and his example. We delight to see him describe his success in rearing a new plant, in introducing a new fruit-tree, or in repairing a decayed aqueduct, with the same pride and complacency that he relates his most splendid victories. No region of art or nature seems to have escaped the activity of his research. He had cultivated the art of poetry from his early years, and his Diwân, or collection of Turki poems, is mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his country. Of this work I have not been able to learn that any copy exists. Many of the odes in it are referred to in his Memoirs, and quoted by the first couplet. A few specimens of his Persian poetry are also given, which show much of that terseness and delicacy of allusion so much admired in the poets whom he imitated. His Persian Mesnevi, which he published by the name of Mabeiin, I have never met with, though Abulfazl speaks of it as having a great circulation; nor have I seen his versification of the tract of Khwâjeh Ehrar, which has been already mentioned.[1] He also wrote a work on Pro-

[1] Abulfazl, in the introduction to the Akbernameh, quotes a few of his Persian verses with approbation. The following quatrain is not unhappy in the original:—

Though I am not related to Dervishes,
Yet I am devoted to them heart and soul.
Say not that the state of a prince is remote from that of a Dervish,
Though a king, I am the Dervish's slave.

He also gives the following elegant Matlaa—

I know that separation from thee were my death,
Else might I tear myself from this city.
But, while my heart is encircled with the locks of my beloved,
I forget the world and its cares.

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sody and some smaller productions, which he sometimes alludes to in his Memoirs. He was skilful in the science of music, on which he wrote a treatise. But his most remarkable work is, undoubtedly, the Memoirs of his own Life, composed by him in the Tûrki tongue. The earlier part of them is written with great spirit, and the whole bears strong characteristics of an ingenious, active, and intelligent mind. No history, perhaps, contains so lively a picture of the life and opinions of an eastern prince. The geographical descriptions which he gives of his hereditary kingdom, and of the various countries which he subdued, have, what such descriptions seldom possess, not only great accuracy, but the merit of uncommon distinctness. The Memoirs, however, will be found of unequal value, according to the periods of which they treat. Some years, particularly in the later periods of his life, present little more than a dry chronicle of uninteresting events, probably written down as they occurred, and never rewritten, as the earlier period certainly have been. It probably was his intention to have connected the whole, and completed them in the same strain of happy narrative that runs through the first half of them, a design which it is to be regretted that he did not live to execute.

A striking feature in Baber's character is, his unlikeness to other Asiatic princes. Instead of the stately, systematic, artificial character, that seems to belong to the throne in Asia, we find him natural, lively, affectionate, simple, retaining on the throne all the best feelings and affections of common life. Change a few circumstances arising from his religion and country, and in reading the transactions of his life, we might imagine that we had got among the adventurous knights of Froissart. This, as well as the simplicity of his language, he owed to his being a Tûrk. That style which wraps up a worthless meaning in a mist of words, and the etiquette which annihilates the courtier in the presence of his prince, were still, fortunately for Baber, foreign to the Tûrki race, among whom he was born and educated.

Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes who are entitled to rank higher than Baber in genius and accomplishments. His grandson Akber may perhaps be placed above him for profound and benevolent policy. The crooked artifice of Aurengzîb is not entitled to the same distinction. The merit of Chengiz Khan, and of Tamerlane, terminates in their splendid conquests, which far excelled the achievements of Baber: but in activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, so seldom the portion of princes, in his love of letters, and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him.

FINIS.

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ERRATA.

Page xvi. l. 5 from bottom, *for* Tibat-Balti, *read* Tibet-Balti.
xliv. l. 27, *for* Vochau, *read* Vochan.
liii. l. 20, *for* till death, *read* till his death.
lvi. l. 4 from the bottom, *for* Baikar, *read* Baikra.
ib. l. 3 from bottom, *for* art. Taimur, *read* art. Timour.
lvii. l. 17, *for* Aderbil, *read* Ardebil.
7, on the margin, *for* A.D. 899, *read* A.H. 899.
10, l. 9 from the notes, *for* Isan, Doulet Begum, *read* Isan-Doulet Begum.
17, note 1, *for* de puis, *read* depuis.
ib. note 2, for states, *read* estates.
18, l. 8 from the notes, *for* Uzûn Hussan, *read* Uzûn Hassan.
22, l. 17, *for* that prince's eldest son, *read* his own eldest son.
29, l. 9 from the notes, *for* Khultan, read Khutlan.
49, note 3, *for* Abdal la, *read* Abdalla.
50, l. 7 from the bottom, *for* Ibrahim, *read* Abraham.
55, l. 5, *for* that prince's eldest son Muhammed Sultan. Jehângîr-Shahrokh Mirza conferred, &c. *read* that prince's eldest son, Muhammed Sultan Jehângîr. Shahrokh Mirza conferred, &c.
61, l. 2 from the notes, *for* to hills, *read* to the hills.
64, note 6, *add* perhaps Kanbai.
78, l. 4 from the bottom, *add on the margin*, March 1500.
83, l. 21, *for* circumstance, *read* circumstances.
90, l. 5 from the notes, *for* nor, *read* or.
95, l. 9 ———— *for* reverse, *read* reserve.
99, l. 10 ———— *for* Mahmûd, *read* Muhammed.
101, note 2, *for* Boslan, *read* Bostan.
113, l. 4 from the bottom, *for* him, *read* them.
137, l. 16, *for* lake, the three, *read* lake, and the three.
138, note 6, *for* raweid, *read* rawend.
142, note 2, *for* Sefid Roh, *read* Sefid Koh.
147, l. 22, *for* flowery, *read* flowering.
—— Note 5, *for* Rag-rewân, *read* Reg-rewân.
150, l. 11, *for* Daragha, *read* Darogha.
152, Note 1, l. 5, *for* Sihâbend, *read* Siâhbend.
158, l. 24, *dele* the.
164, l. 16, *for* in, *read* on.
167, Note, *for* Korchis, *read* Korchi.
170, l. 1, *for* Gurkam, *read* Gurkan.
178, l. 12, at the end of the line, *for* a comma, *put* a full point.
193, Note 1, *for* Amænitatis, *read* Amænitates.
231, Note 1, *for* Makar, *read* Mukur.
234, Note 6, *for* Rawask, *read* Rawash.
236, Note 2, l. 3, *for* of the Moghuls, *read* of the Moghul.
270, Dele Note 2, and *substitute*, Khost lies N. or NW. of Dour, on the Kurram ; Anderab SW. of Badakhshan.
277, l. 10 from the Notes ; *for* Gher Jhawels, *read* gherghawels (pheasants).
284, l. 2 from the bottom, *for* it, *read* to.
327, l. 20, *for* coco, *read* coco-nut-tree.
330, last line, *for* gradiflorum, *read* grandiflorum.
355, l. 23, *for* after a few days' repentance, *read* after a few days, repentance, &c.
361, Note 1, line 5, *for* Mekkan, *read* Mekka.
368, Note 4, *for* £:550, *read* £250.
369, On the margin, at beginning of paragraph, *insert* April 3.
396, l. 1, *for* singe, *read* single.
404, l. 16, insert a comma after the word, unaccompanied.
429, l. 16. *for* or, *read* of.
430, l. 22, *for* seems, *read* seem.

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