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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ADVERTISEMENT.

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.
TO THE

HONOURABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE,

BRITISH RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF POONA,

&c. &c. &c.

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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
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 reclusè scholar, 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
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,

Wm. ERSKINE.

Bombay, 12th April 1816.
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 Chaghântâi Türkî, 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 Pershâna than in any other country. It is the dialect of the Türkî tongue which prevails in the extensive tract of country that formed the dominions of Jaghatâi or Chaghântâi Khan, the son of Chengiz Khan, the celebrated conqueror, which extended from the Uling-Tagh mountains on the north, to the Hindh-Kush mountains on the south, and from the Caspian sea on the west to the deserts of Cahi, beyond Turfan, Kâshgâhr, and Yâr-kend, 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 Türkî 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 Turk or Tatars. The language really spoken by that great race is the Türkî; and the language of Kâshgâhr, of the Crimans, of Samarjând and Bokhârâ, 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 Caspian, of the Uzbeks, the Kirghiz, the Kazakhs, the Bâshkirs, and numerous other tribes of Turkestan, is radically the same as that of the Jaghatâi Türkî. The most mixed, and, if we may use the expression, the most corrupted of all the dialects of the Türkî; 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 Türkî language had been much cultivated before the age of Baber, and at that

* In order to discriminate the Constantinopolitan or European Turks from the Jaghatâi and other original Turks, I shall in the following pages denominate the former Turks, and their language Türkî, the latter Türkî and their language Türk, pronounced Turks and Turs.
period had every title to be ranked among the most perfect and refined in the East. The sovereigns of the different Turkoman and Türkī dynasties to the south of the Caucasus 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 Cusar 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 Tartar 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 Mahommed 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 Türkī dynasties, and the country traversed by tribes of Türkī 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 Türkī language was, as Sir William Jones justly concluded, very little cultivated before the Türkī tribes entered those provinces which had formed part of the immense empire of the Arabian Khalifs, in which the Arabic literature still prevailed, and the Aromanian 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 Tārīkh, 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 Türkī; but the credit of his information is overset by a strange apocryphal story of a King of Yemen, who invaded, he says, the Emir's dominions, and in whose library the manuscript was afterwards found, and translated by order of Allāhūr, first minister of Taimur's grandson." He tells us in the same discourse, however, that he had "long searched in vain for the original works ascribed to Taimur and Rabeer." 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 Türkī-class of languages, with the Constantinopolitan dialect of which he was well acquainted. The preface to the only copy of the complete Memoirs of Taimur...
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 Türkî into the Persian tongue; but does not describe the original as having been found in the library of a King of Yemen, but of Nâif, the Turkish Pasha of Yemen. Now, Sir Henry Middleton, in the year 1690, met with a Jeaffer Beashe, a Turk, in the government of Senna, or Yemen. It is curious, too, that we are told by the author of the Tencik Dilimshâh, 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 misstatements of his memorial. The mistake of a copyist writing Pusheah (king) for Pusha, might have produced part of the error.

The Tencik, 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 Türkî original of some kind, from which both translations were made; a fact confirmed by the number of Türkî 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 Sherif-ed-din Ali Kezai 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 more 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 Türkî, 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 Nawâl Mozaffar Jung appears to me the most probable, that they were written, not by the Emperor, but by Himdê Shâh, Taimur’s favourite, under the

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* It belongs to my respectable friend, Muhannem Ali Khan, Samsuri.


‡ That author tells us that Taimur had always with him Tausur and Persian servants, whose business it was to describe all his remarkable words and actions, and whatever related to religion or the state; and as many others 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 est la passion de les arranger lui-mêmes, après qu’ils les furent racontés par les membres de la suite autrefois. Un lecteur lisant de ces mémoires et comparerait, il est vrai, avec quelque faveur important, en quelque situation remarquable, il s’arrêtoit, les témoignages faisaient leur rapport, et constituent les circonstances du fait, les rapportant telles qu’ils les avaient vues; alors l’Emperour savoit par lui-même la vérité du fait, et ayant bien confirmé ce que les témoignes rapportaient avec le contenu des mémoires, il disait aux serviteurs le manière dont ils devaient l’essayer dans le corps de l’ouvrage, et en le faisant relire ensuite, pour voir s’il en était tel qu’on se plût; alors pourvu, et à ajouter, et à diminuer.” — Hist. de Tamer-

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direction of Taimir 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 Timurlane and that of Baber formed the golden age of Türkî 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 Türkî. 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 Türkî verse has long been unanimously assigned to Ali Shîr Nava'i, the most eminent nobleman in the court of Sultan Hussain Mirza Balkhan, of Khurasan, 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 Türkî language were much read and admired in Mâvérânârâ and Khurasan, and are not yet forgotten. Many Türkî 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 Türkî 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 Mâlâks, 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 Türkî 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 Türkî, even in Türkî countries. In the great cities of Samarkand and Bokhârâ, though chiefly inhabited by men of Türkî extraction, Persian is the language of business. Though the present royal family of Persia are Türkî, and though the

* Sir William Jones's Works, vol. 1, p. 99. Major Davy was quite wrong in confounding the Türkî and Moghol tongues, (see Davy's letter, p. xxvii of White's Institutes of Timur.) A Japhât Türk will not mistake his language as he called the Moghol. The Major's error partly originated in the looseness with which Tartars, Persians, and all immigrants or travellers from the north or northwest, are, in India, called by the natives Moghol. Sir William Jones, in his Discourse on the Tartars, did not quite escape the same error; but that great scholar did not possess the means which the investigations of Pallas, Kleopoth, and others, have since furnished for correcting our notions. No one marks the distinction more clearly than Baber himself, In the first part of his Memoirs.

† I understand that a life of this eminent man, and remarks on his writings, with translations from the Türkî, are about to be published by M. Quatremère, from whose learning much may be expected on this novel and curious subject.
PREFACE.

Türkî 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 Türkî tongue.

The Jughâtî Türkî, as contained in the Memoirs of Baher, is evidently not the same language which was brought from the wilds of Tartary by the Turkoman in the ninth century, or by the Türkî tribes who accompanied Chingiz 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 Türkî; but so extensive is the adoption of foreign terms, that perhaps two words in nine in the Jughâtî 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 Türkî bears much more resemblance to the good sense of Europe than to the rhetorical-puad of Asia. The style of all Türkî productions that I have ever happened to meet with, is remarkable for its downright and picturesque naïveté of expression.

It is not difficult to discover how these Persian words flowed into the Türkî language. The cities of Samarkand, Bokhara, Afn, and Anak, and Tachkent, as well as the other towns to the north of the Oxus and Jazartz, were chiefly inhabited by Persians, the Türkîs 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 mount, as they call wheat in derision. The cities and market towns in Mawarihpar were therefore chiefly peopled, and the grounds were cultivated solely by the old inhabitants, the Sarts or Türkîs, 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 Türkîs, some time after leaving their deserts, had exchanged their former superstition for the religion of Muhammad. All religious, moral, and literary instruction proceeded from their priests and Mullahs, men trained to Arabic literature, and whose native language was the Persian. It became necessary for every Türkî 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 Samanid dynasty to the birth of Baher, gave ample scope 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 Safvi dynasty, as we learn from Kempfer. See Amanat-e-Exotic. It may appear singular, that while all the neighbouring courts used the Persian as the language of polite intercourse and diplomacy, the Türkî was the court language in Persia itself; but it arose from its being the mother tongue of the sovereign, who belonged to a Türkî tribe.
PREFACE.

Babur 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 Hindustan. 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 Ferghânâ, to the time when he was finally driven by Shāhi Khân from his paternal kingdom, a period of about twelve years; the second reaching from his expulsion from Ferghânâ 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. The narrative, when renewed in the year 925 of the Hijra, after an interval of twelve years, partakes too much of the sameness 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 sat a manjûn, 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
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 Tatar Prince, and convey an excellent idea of Baber's policy, and of his wars in Mowghal, Afghanistān, and Hindoostan, 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 omissions 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 Hindustān to a friend in Kabul. 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 Turkī original, it appears that the Emperor Humāyūn, 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 Turkī into Persian by the celebrated Mirza Abdul-Rahim, the son of the Birang Khan, who acted so conspicuously a part in the reigns of the Emperors Humāyūn 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 Humāyūn, after his long imprisonment, was restored to the throne of Delhi, in order to attach his interest to the chief men of the various principalities of Hindustān, he encouraged intermarriages between their families and those of his chief Tatar officers. He himself married one daughter of Izamal Khan, the nephew of Humān Khan of Mewāt, so often spoken of in the third part of these Memoirs, and gave another daughter to Humān Khan, his minister and favourite. Of this last marriage, Mirza Abdul-Rahim was born at Lahore on the 10th of December, 1540, 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 placed into rebellion, was killed in Gujrat when on his way to perform the pilgrimage of Mecca. Abdul-Rahim, his son, then only four years of age, was conveyed in safety to Khumāla.

* 14 Selū, A. H. 964. See the Mubār al-Oum, vol. i. edn. Ali Abdul-Rahim, MS.—This work, which is well known in India, is a curious and very capital Biographical Dictionary of all the eminent commoners and warriors who have flourished in that country since the time of Baber. It is in two large folio volumes.
The translation which he executed of the Memoirs of Bahar 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 Turkish original, joined

had 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, Akbar bestowed on him the title of Mira Khan, and married him to Mahram, the sister of Khan Amin Gogo, an officer of high distinction. At the age of twenty-one, he got the government of Guzarat, and in his twenty-fifth year he was appointed to the office of Mir Awa, (or Master of Requests.) When twenty-eight years of age, he was made Attil, or Governor of Sultan Selim, the Emperor's eldest son, who afterwards mounted the throne under the name of Selim II; and in the same year he was sent into Guzarat against Mostafer Shah, the King of that country, who, after being compelled to take refuge among the Kattis with the Jinn at Jünager, had collected an army of forty thousand men, defeated the imperial generals, and seized Ahmedabad. The Mira's army consisted of only ten thousand, and he had received orders not to hazard the safety of the province by engaging in battle. But he did not decline an engagement, and the armies having some close upon each other, Daud Khan lost, a very gallant officer, told him, that now was the moment either to make himself Khânum Khânum, or to fall in battle. Abd-al-Rahim attacked the enemy at Serak, four or five miles from Ahmedabad. The conflict was bloody, and maintained with various success. At one period the battle seemed to be lost, and Abd-al-Rahim himself obliged with three hundred men to face a firm body of six or seven thousand. Some of his friends asked the victor of his horse to carry him from the field, but he refused to accept, and stood his ground, with such bravery and coolness, that he changed the fortunes of the day. Mostafer in the end was defeated, and fled to Cambay; whereas, after plundering the merchants of the place, he sought refuge among the mountains of Neelum. Mostafer soon after again ventured into the field, but, being once more defeated, fled to the Hajiab hills, on the south of the Neelum. Where disobedience is ever successfully, the disobedience is generally forgotten, and the success only remembered. Abd-al-Rahim, according to the prediction of Daud Khan, was promoted to the rank of an Emir of five thousand horse, with the high title of Khan Khânum. 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 Mira, to satisfy him, took out and gave to him his emblazoned breastplate, 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 Akbar, he translated the Memoirs of Bahar, which he presented to the Emperor, by whom he was highly complimented. We are told by Abubekir, that they were translated at the desire of Akbar when he was on a progress to Kashmir and Kabul. The same year he was raised to the distinguished rank of Vakil-e-Sulh, or Lord Lieutenant of the Empire, a title very rarely conferred. It would be trifling to follow him to the governments of Jumna, Multan, and Shâh, which he successively held. He completely defeated the Hakim (or chief) of Sind, obliged him to cede Sohan and some other districts, and married his son Mira Inj to the Hakim's daughter. A revolt having ensued, Abd-al-Rahim obliged the Hakim and all his family to repair to Agra. The long wars that followed in the Deccan, particularly that against Ahmednagar, gave him great opportunities to signalize his military talents. During the whole reign of Akbar he was employed in the most important commands, and the relations in which he stood to the imperial family was drawn closer by the marriage of his daughter Juma Begum to Daud the Emperor's son. His influence continued under the Emperor Jehangir his former pupil, and he was selected for the chief direction of affairs wherever great talents were required, in the wide ranges of country from the Deccan to Kandahar, to which last place he was sent with Sultan Khurram; afterwards the Emperor Shah Jahan, in order the invasion of Shah Abbas 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 in Delhi in the year 1636 or 1637, at the age of seventy-two, with the highest reputation for talents, valor, generosity, and learning.}

* In the western part of the Peninsula of Guzarat.

1 Khan of Khams, the title of one of the chief officers of the empire of Delhi.

2 Kamall.

3 It was during one of his battles in the Deccan when his troops were broken, that some of his officers came to ask what was to be done with hope in case of defeat, and where they were to look for him. His answer was, much the same! He gained a glorious victory. Mems'l-Usma MS. as above.

4 These details are chiefly taken from the Mems'l-Usma, and from Firdusi.
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 Túrki 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 Túrki nobility of the court of Agra. But the whole is uncommonly valuable, and probably there are few persons now living aware of the translation of the original Túrki of Baber's Memoirs without the aid of Mirza Abdal-Rahim'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 Langlès, in the article Baber of the Bibliothèque Universelle Ancienne et Modernes, affirms that the Commentaries were translated into Persian by Abdal-Rahim after being enlarged by Jehangir. I know not on what authority he hazarded this assertion, which is certainly erroneous. The Prince Selim, who was afterwards Emperor under the name of Jehangir, was indeed twenty years of age when the translation was published; and, at a former period, Abdal-Rahim, who was his Astronk 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 Humâyûn, 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 Montstuart Elphinstone, a copy of the original Túrki. 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 Túrki of Ganj, could not solve. I had fortunately some time before procured at Bombay a copy of Mirza Abdal-Rahim'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 desiring 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
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 Turki 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 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 omissions 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 Turki, which he had procured when he went to Peshawur on his Embassy to Kabul. 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 Jâghâât-Turki, 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 Turki 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 Turki 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 others, I was enabled to correct many errors, and to supply several blanks in the Persian translation which I previously possessed. The Turki original, which is very correct, is unfortunately incomplete. The continued narrative ceases before the great battle in
which Sultan Ibrahim 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 arise 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 Jâghâti Tûrki would not have enabled me to complete the translation from the original, and that I relied principally on the Persian. The Persian Tûrki, 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 Urdu Tertiary, who happened to be in Bombay, but chiefly aided by the patience and skill of my worthy friend Mulla Pirzâd, 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 ifclothed in the simple picturesque style, and illustrated by the varied condition 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 Mânsûr-ul-Ômra, 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 Sûûrân, to whom I owe many similar obligations; the copy of the Alim-Arâbî-Abasî, which I have followed in the account of Baber's latest transactions in Mâserunmahâr, 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 Humâyûn, I owe to Captain William Miles of the Bombay Establishment.
Nor must I forget to acknowledge the use of a corrected copy of Dow's translation of Ferishta's Life of Bahur, part of a revival of the whole of Dow's translation of the History of Hindustan, by Captain John Briggs of the Madras Establishment, assistant to the Resident at Poonah. 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 Hindo-koosh 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 Kâhâl, 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 Russin. These he committed to writing, and even after his return to Hindustan and the Dekkan, 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 Afghanistan and the Penjâb, and many of Baber's marches, particularly that of Châtîli and Abâlisâ, with the whole course of his progress to Khorân 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 further 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 Hindustan, from which I have freely drawn; and for procuring from Mr Macerof the use of a very curious journal in the Persian language, kept by Syed Izzat-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 Hindustan and the Dekkan, 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 Kâhâl."
hills to Ly or Ladak, from thence to Yarkand and Kashaighur, whence he returned by Ush, Khojend, Uratippa, Samarqand, Bokhara, and the Afghan 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-Ullah, 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 Ferghana and Maweralhak 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 Ferghana 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 $ex$; $a$, of the English $ox$; of the consonants the $ghin$ is expressed by $gh$; the two $Kaf$ are not distinguished; $g$ has always its hard sound; $sh$ is expressed by $sh$; $ch$ 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 necessity 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 the $a$, which is an unessential letter, were used before vowels of every description uniformly to represent the sound of our $a$, or that given to it in Italian before $r$ or $t$, which is also an unessential letter, might represent the sound it sometimes has in Portuguese, of our $a$. Indeed these letters are so used by Montfaucon, and this use has the good effect of making fewer artificial compounds necessary to represent simple sounds. But this has already fluid everywhere the spelling of so many words, that little uniformity can now be looked for in any great proportion of Oriental words. In some names which are familiar in English, as Lahore, Jumna, Goorga, &c. I have not altered the spelling, considering them as in some degree naturalised by use.
INTRODUCTION,
PART FIRST:
CONTAINING
REMARKS ON THE TARTAR TRIBES:
AND ON
THE GEOGRAPHY OF UZBEK TURKISTÁN

The Emperor Babur 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 deserted 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 Babur 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 Babur, 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 Birmian Empire on the east, to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean on the west. From the eastward, where it is of great

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broadly, it keeps a north-westerly course, rising in height as it advances, and forming the hill countries of Assam, Bhotan, Nepal, Srinagar, Tibet, and Laddak. It encloses the valley of Kashmir, near which it seems to have gained its greatest height, and thence proceeds westward, passing to the north of Peshawar and Kabul, 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 Khorasan. Near Herat, in that province, the mountains sink away, but the range appears to rise again near Meshed, and is by some considered as resuming its course, running to the south of the Caspian and bounding Mazenderan, 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 Herat, while it divides Bengal, Hindostan, the Punjab, Afghanistan, Persia, and part of the Turkish territory, from the country of the Moghul and Turki 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 Afghan 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 degree 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 Sakuntala, 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 Sir or Jazaries, 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 Kashmir, at least those lying on the southern face of the range, are chiefly of Hindoo origin, as appears from their languages; while the countries to the west of Kashmir, including that of the Duris, Tihat-Bali or Little Tibet, Chitral and Kaffiristan,* which speak an unknown tongue, with the Hazaras and Aimaks, 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 Kaffiristan is probably of Hindoo origin.
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The inhabitors, justly jealous of their independence, have rarely encouraged any intercourse with the civilized natives of 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 vales of Kashmir are placed near their centres, 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 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 Mongolhs, called also Mapor and Manchus, to the east, who extend from the eastern Ocean along the north of China. 2dly, The Mongols or Monguls, 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 Torkh, by which their principal branches still designate themselves.

The country of the Manchus, containing all that lies east of the Siolhi Mountains, and north of the range of Kunans, 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 Torki tribes have exercised a far more important influence on the nations around them. The Moghul extends over all the country between the Siolhi Mountains and China, on the east; the mountainous country from China towards Leh or Ladakh on the north; a line from Leh through the desert of Kutil to the east of the Tars, and thence by the Chugh Tagh, t the Chin river, and the Kuchik Tagh hills, on

* The race may be said of the insidious population of Afghanistan, 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.
§ Little mountains.
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The west, and by a very indefinite line north of the Alnain Chain on the north. The Turki nations have the western boundary of the Moghuls as their eastern frontier; on the south they have the Murz-Tagh, the Bulh-Tagh, the Hindustan-kish, and the limits of the cultivated country of Khurasan 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 Allai mountains. Some Turki tribes, however, have settled even south of the Danube, and others far in Russian Siberia; and in like manner detached tribes of Kalouks 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 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 Ams and Sirr rivers, (the Oxus and Jazartes of antiquity,) and usually called Great Bucharin, or Mawerninaher, though now overrun and governed by Turki 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 Turki 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 Turki race, though some circumstances in the historian's description given of them by the Roman historians would lead us to conclude, that, with a mixture of Turko, they consisted chiefly of the Moghul tribes,) passing from their deserts beyond the Caspian, poured

* See hills.

† Dark or cloudy mountains.
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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

hearing a common name. He knew only the Eastern and Western Turks, the former Manchus, the latter Turks and Moghuls, whom he believes to be the same race, the latter descended from the former. (See Hist. des Huns, vol. I, pp. 309 and 315.)—Hence he considers the Huns as being properly a Turkic race. The Empire of Hang-moo, or Hun, 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. 315) and the tribes composing it did not appear to have been conquered or driven westward by the Chinese, till the 32d year of the Christian era. Those who retired to Aki, Kuhargh and the Jalk, or who had maintained their possessions there, entered Europe at a later period in the reign of Wenceslas. As this empire had its origin in the centre of Turky extending both ways, it is probable that it originated among the Moghul tribes, and that the chief even of the minor divisions were of the ruling race of Moghul. 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 Kalmyk. 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 physiognomy of a modern Calmuck; a large head, a swarthy complexion, small, deep-set eyes, a flattened, 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 Kalmyks 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 Chengis 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 Turkic origin, as tribes of that race appear, from the earliest accounts in history, to have extended from the Volga to the Desert of Karakul. 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, Turki, Moghul, Venen, and Manchus. Such was the famous Hara Khitan dynasty, which rose from the ruins of that of Khith, and was first established at the sources of the Oi and Akor rivers, along the desert of Karz Khita, then Guzkhan (or Grand Khan), a title afterwards claimed by the descendants of Talhar, established his capital at Kaghargh, also called Urfan (i.e., Camp-town), in Eastern Turkistan.—Hist. des Huns, vol. I, p. 924, 925.

It seems probable that, while the northern Huns, or kingdom was chiefly Moghul, the southern was principally Turkic. See Des Quignes et Dupuy, pp. 218, 290. His (p. 223) was perhaps Manchou. The Tuo-Ki-shi, the To-Hinchi, and the Western Turks, or the Turki. But it would require a dissertation to disentangle the history of the race of the various dynasties. Indeed it may perhaps be asserted 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 that union seems gradually to have introduced a considerable similarity in language as well as manners, between many of the Moghul and Turkic Unions or tribes.

In the curious relation of the Embassy of Maximilian and Priester beyond the Hunme, to the camp of Attila, there are several circumstances that strongly indicate the Tartar 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 Juanas de Fauza Carpath, one of the ambassadors sent into Turkary by the Pope, A.D. 1246, tells us that he was received by Attila, sitting in a lovely chair or throne, with one of his wives beside him; and the text of Murat (at atrap) was raised in pillars covered with pieces of gold, and joined to the other thrones with gold bands.—Hakluyt’s Voyages, vol. I, p. 52. Maximilian, we are told, was “summoned to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe the distant line, which was due to the royal mansion.” (Gibbon, vol. VI, p. 76.) an observance

* This false reading, which runs through the whole of Hakluyt, and which has been so often done by him, by Bengston and lesser writers, has evidently arisen from the similarity of the two words in the existing hand-writing. Carpath or Kariapi, the son of Obadiah and grandson of Chengis Khan, is said from other authorities, was the Khan of the Moghul when Carpath travelled.
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Khwarizm, at that period the seat of Oriental science and learning, were subdued by
the Törkije hordes. In the following century the Ghaznavide dynasty, whose dominion
spread over great part of India and Persia, the dynasties of the Seljuks in Persia, the
vassalage of the Khilifs of Baghdad to their Turkoman guards, and the final destruc-
tion of the Khilifs itself, the successive conquest of Armenia, Asia Minor, and in the
end of the whole Empire styled the Törkije, from its founders, attest the valour and
enterprise of the Törkije tribes. The Moghuls were unknown beyond the wilds of Tur-
tary, from the age of Attila till the thirteenth century, when their leader, the celebra-
ted Chempch Khan, after having subdued all the neighbouring Tartar tribes, parti-
cularly those of Turkic extraction, who, under the dynasty that existed down to his time, had
possessed the ascendancy over the Moghuls, burst into the provinces of Turan, Mawer-
shahr, Khwarizm, and Khorezm, subdued part of India, reduced Azerbajjan, and a
considerable portion of Persia, the Törkije tribes of Kipchak, and a great part of China,
leaving these 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 track of conquest, traversed Russia, marched over Poland, and poured
their troops into Hungary, Bohemia, and Silesia; accident alone, perhaps, prevented
the tribes of Germany from undergoing the fate of Samarkand and Bokhara, 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 Chi-
a, 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 Chempch Khan, a Moghul, over the Törkije
tribes, has never been entirely lost. His empire, after his death, having been divided

which strongly calls to our mind the kowiz or kobiz of the Princes of Persia and Hindustan, which,
though it has more the air of a Mahometan than of a Tartar name, is confined to Tartar Princes—(See
Herrier's Journey to Kashan, and Komplier's Annals of the East.) The Roman ambassadors received
a plentiful supply of provisions, and a certain liquor named lausus, which, according to the report of
Princes, was distilled from barley.—(Gibbon's History, p. 23.) There can be little doubt that this was
the stimulating spirit prepared from sheep'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 Kowiz. Rubelius, A.
D. 1493, calls it Causus.—Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 82. Bleda's wife, whom the Tartars regard as a daughter of
the Pontus, and whom they esteem the holiest of women. According to the custom of Törkije, she
used to go about on horseback, and to visit all the states of the empire, giving the


* Attila literally signifies law-worshiper, or royal-priest.
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 Türk 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 Cheng-te Khan. The descendants of these Moghul 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 Turks 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 Türk 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 Türk. 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 Turks, as is probable, inhabited the neighbourhood of the Caspian, as early as the days of Herodotus, by whom the Türkai 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 of the Türk tribes, or of Türk 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 Turks; 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 Turks, 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, in the antiquary and philologist, of all others the least valuable, as most widely deviating from its primitive form. The Jughatki Türk furnishes a variety of finished works, both in prose and verse; but that即使 having been carried to its perfection in the provinces between the Arum and

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

† The Khewar, a Türk tribe, inhabited in the north of the Capitan in the middle of the fifth century, and, according to Moses of Chazma, had their Khawan (or great Khan) and their Khatum of Franiaz. Aux autum quotidianus appelleat Chazmae, qui est Chazmanum dominus, et regiis suecum Chazman quem est Chazmiemus et Bacchiniens genus rerum. Moses Chanc. Gen. all calcinum Hist. Armen. p. 349. Lond. 1730. 4to.—'Thus, I imagine, is the earliest contemporary mention of these tribes.

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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 Tūrki 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 Tūrki tribes, compared with the language of Baber and with that of the Moghul tribes, would enable us to form tolerably decided notions of the affinities of the Tūrki 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 Toter, 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 Mussulmane 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 Chengiz Khan, was inhabited by four nations (or populi), the Ye(photo 1) Mongals,+ the Su-Mongals, or Water Mongals, who call themselves Tartars from a certain river called Totor which runs through their territory; the Merkat and Motrit; and adds that all these nations speak the same language. Chengiz belonged to the Ye(photo 1) 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 Jucarites, and the lands of the Turks whom he calls Black Kytai,§ adds, * On leaving the country of the Nayman (which was the last of the Turks,) "we then entered the country of the Mongals, whom we call Tartars."|| This name of Tartar, however, by which we are accustomed to designate Chengiz Khan and his successors as well as their empire, these princes themselves rejected with disdain. Rubriquis, who visited the court of Sartakh, Chengiz 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 Chengiz: and hence the victorious family did not choose to receive the name of their subject vassals. Rubriquis informs** as that Chengiz 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-

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*The Odes and Jallarata.
† Hakluyt, vol. I. p. 80. See also Petis de la Croix's Life of Gengis Cane, p. 63, who calls the river Jaho, whence Tahan.
§ That is Kira Khitzi.
** P. 93.
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It was by the united strength of these two tribes of Moghuls that Chingis Khan destroyed the powerful kingdom of Kara-Khitu, and subdied the Türkik tribes.

As, in the time of the early successors of Chingis 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 Türkik 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, Guéchin, 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 Monguls, Tartars, and Manduahres, 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. Those 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 Türk: their language they call Türk, 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 Tartars 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 Türk, known as Türk, by a name taken from a different race; while the country as far as China received the name of Tüürkistan. This singularity arose from a very obvious cause, the relative position of the Arabs and Türk. The country of Tüürkistan enclosed the Arab conquests in Mäweralhâr on three sides. Being in immediate contact with Türk 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 Türk to all the more distant nations.

* Türkistan a division of the Russian Empire, vol. 7, p. 268. † See Pinkerton's Geography, article Tartary. ‡ See English, vol. 7, p. 183. Other similar instances occur.

† See Abulfeda, Ugliga Baya's Tables, the Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Arabian travelers, particularly pp. 48-49.
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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 Moghal with still greater latitude.

But the difference between the Turks 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 Turks), but their pastoral life, and a very remote resemblance in language. The Mongols differ, on the contrary, from all the races purely Tartar (Türkî), 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 Türkî. * Les traits caractéristiques de tous les visiteurs Khâmûs et Mongoles, sont des yeux dont le grand angle, placé obliquement en descendant vers le nez, est peu ouvert et charmé; des sourcils noirs peu garnis et formant un arc fort rabibli; une conformation toute particulière du nez, qui est généralement enfoncé et serré vers le front; les os de la joue soudains; la tête et le visage fort conds. Ils ont ordinairement la prunelle fort âpre, les levres grosses et charmées, le menton court, et les dents très blanches, qu'ils conservent belles et saines jusques dans la vieillesse. Enfin leurs oreilles sont généralement toutes enormément grandes et détachées 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 tatar, 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 Tartars, 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 Turks, 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. Hafiz 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 viveliness and truth by Gibbon, in a work which is in every one's hands, that nothing need be added to what he has sketched.

‡ Ibid. p. 216.
§ Pinkerton.
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The first historical period, acknowledged of which is of consequence to the understanding of the following Memoirs, is that marked by the conquests of Chengiz Khan. In the earlier days of that Prince, the Kara Khitans was the most powerful Tartar dynasty. Within the extensive range which their empire embraced, from the Chinese wall to the Ala Tagh Mountains, though the population was chiefly Turkic, were included several tribes of different races, Turks, Oighirs, and Moghuls. Their power was broken in the year 1207 by the Naimans, another Turkic race; and soon after, the Moghul tribes, impatient of a foreign yoke, rose under Chengiz Khan, shook off the authority of the Kura Khitans, and, under his conduct, rapidly subdued them in 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 Leus, 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 Kura 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 Mandarin of the highest class. The Turkic population at that time probably extended further east than it does at the present day, and tradition informs us that the Kergis 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 Kalmucks on the borders of Poland, and several Moghul tribes may now be found as far west as the Wolga, and pushed up between Turkic 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 Chengiz Khan. They accompanied that conquering, and remained with his sons for their protection, or to overawe the conquerors. 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 Talkhmen and the plains in its vicinity, in a country by Baber called Moghulistan, and the other probably in the present Scentavia, the Jeltch of the Institutes of Taimur, or on the river Illi. They seem to have been part of the royal horse of Jughathi Khan, the son of Chengiz, who fixed his capital at Bishbaliagh 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 Chengiz Khan among his sons, one of them had the provinces to the east of the Turkich frontier; Jughathi had the country westward as far as the Sea of Aral, and perhaps nearly to the river Jult; while a third had all the other regions to the west, along the Caspian, and far into modern Russia. The country occupied by Jughathi Khan was long afterwards held by his descendents, and the inhabitants acquired the name of Jughathik or Chinghiz Torkhs, and the country itself

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* 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 occupied that country.
+ See Du Halde's China, vol. IV.
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that of Jagothai. 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 Tirthas, over nearly the whole extent of the ancient Jagothai territories. The power of the Khans of Jagothai was nearly* lost before the age of Taimur, who founded a new dynasty, the capital of which he fixed at Samarkand. He is in common with Chingiz Khan,† traced up his descent to Taimanush Khan, a Moghul prince, so that both were of the royal race of the 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 Turks, 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 Turks.

Babar 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 Turk; while by the mother’s side he was sprung from Chingiz Khan, being the grandson of Yumia Khan, a celebrated prince of the Moghuls. All Baber’s affections, however, were with the Turks, 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 Turki language are still not very different from what they were in the days of the imperial Chingiz. These limits have already been roughly traced. The object of this Introduction does not require that we should enter further into any details concerning these countries, the cradle of the Tartar ancestors of Baber. Our attention is more immediately called to that division of it generally called Great Buchara, but which may with more propriety be denominated Usbek Turkistan, 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 Pamir and Little Tibet, whence the rivers flow that give their immediate form to all the surrounding countries.

It has been already remarked, that the Himalaya Mountains, those of Tibet, Kasmir, Hindukush, 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 Nepal and Hindukush, 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

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* Gikām, vol. XII. p. 4, speaks of the Khans of Jagothai 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. 90, we find that the nominal Khan of Jagothai was the person who took Bajarcot prisoners.

† See D’Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Gourjus and Timur; and the Shuja’-al-Dîrak, MS.

‡ Very recent measurements give to the highest of the Himalaya Mountains an altitude of 28,000 feet, which would make them decidedly the loftiest in our globe.
chain, on the north, runs a considerable range, which has been called the Muz-tagh, or Iss-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 Turkestan on the south, till it meets the Belur, or Belát-tagh Mountains, in the latitude of about 40° 13', and longitude 71°; whence it seems to proceed westward, as far as Khojend and Urtippa, under the name of the Asfera Mountains, and then divides into three or four principal branches, as will afterwards be mentioned. Counting these two great ranges of Kashmîr or Hindukush, and of Muz-tagh, a third range proceeds northward from that part of the Hindukush which lies near Kafersultan, in longitude 72°, and meets the Muz-tagh, as already mentioned. This range is called by geographers the Belur, or Belát-tagh. It seems to revive again to the north of the Muz-tagh, running, under the name of the Alâ, or Allak-tagh, and according to others of the Ming Bulak, or Arjun Hills, first to the north as far as north latitude 42°, and next to the westward towards Taoshkent, when it terminates in the desert of Arol, about the 68th or 69th degree of east longitude.

The extensive country which lies between the three grand ranges of mountains, the Kashmîrian, Muz-tagh, and Belát-tagh, does not properly belong to Turkestan, though some parts of it at the present day are traversed by Turki tribes. It seems rather, with the country immediately east of the Alâ, or Allak-tagh, to have belonged to one of the mountain races which inhabit the grand range of Hindukush, 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 Kâ; 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 further, and permits us to believe, that the Kasg Regio and the Kasii Montes of Ptolemy, beyond Mount Imauns, were inhabited by this same race of Kâs, whose dominion, at some period, probably extended from Kasikhâr to Kashmîr, in both of which countries they have left their name. The country at this day called Kashkâr, 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 Belur. It is now generally called Belur, or the Dark or Cloudy Mountain. Yet Marco Polo, after travelling twelve days over the arid salt plains of Pamir, travels for forty more over the country called Belor. Rümel, vol. II. p. 11. Add to this, that Nastradin of Tuz, in his geographical tables, places Belor fourteen degrees east of Badakhshan. Household Geog. Min. Grac. vol. III. p. 116. There seems, therefore, to be some uncertainty as to the true country to which the name was at first applied. The name, at least, of Belor, is also given to the country by Rabbi Abanah Paul. Kircher’s China Illustrata, p. 48. See also Hopper, in cap. 31 of Mars. Paul. p. 31.

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‡ That is, the Chequered Mountain. It is said to be “bars of forest, and all ever as if studded with rocks.” Tooke’s View of the Russian Empire, vol. 1. p. 121.

† This name is still united with the names of several districts, as Jumhair, Aser, &c.

|| The only edition of Ptolemy which I have had an opportunity of consulting, is the Latin translation, Venice, 1684. See p. 235. The Chiae-Syrtius may be either those of Khota or of Khottam.
a corruption of Klashadar: 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 Klashadar, the rivers take their course in opposite directions, and to different seas: the Sind or Indus, and the Kashgar or Cheghanserail river, flow through the mountains to the south, and after uniting near Attock, proceed to the Indian Ocean; while the Aun, which originates from the snows and springs of Pishaltchak, in the same high table-land, pours down the western mountains of Belut-tagh, and after keeping for some time along the Hindukush range, pursues its course towards the Sea of Aral. † 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 Laguna. Of those 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 Klashadar, though plain when compared with the huge and broken hills which raise and incline 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 Chitral, the north-east portion Pamir, or the Plain, whereas the whole country is often denominated. The country of the Durda 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 Uzbeck Turkestan may be considered as a large basin, hollowed out by the waters descending from the Paropamisian and Hindukush hills on the south, and those of Belut-tagh and Ali-tagh on the east and north, but formed into two divisions by the Astern Mountains; on the south of which lies the vale of the Aun or Oxus, and on the north the vale of the Sird or Jaxaries. 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 Aral. Uzbeck Turkestan on the south, after the termination of the Paropamisian hills, may be considered as divided from Persia Khorasan by a line beginning north of Herat, in latitude 33°, 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 Discoveries in Caucassia, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, in 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 Kus, or Khnoyi, in Khorassan, 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 Aral, and thence again to the Alai-tagh, or Ming Buluk Mountains, which run north of the Sirr, or Jaxartes, as far as Tashkend, completes its northern frontier.

That part of Usbek Türkistan which lies south of the Aster 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. Badakshân; 2. Bukhâr; 3. Khwarizm; and, 4. The Deserts of the Turkomans.

The divisions to the north of the Amu are five: 1. Khâbul; 2. Karatûgh; 3. Hisâr, or Cheqânâk; 4. Kesh, or Shekar Shez, including Karal and Khazar; and, 5. The Vale of Seghâl, in which are the celebrated cities of Samarqand and Bokhara.

The countries lying along the Vale of the Sirr, or Jaxartes, may be considered as being six in number: 1. Ferghana, now called Kokân and Namangan; 2. Tashkend; 3. Urâtippa, or Urahusha; 4. Ghâz, or the Arâl Desert, to which may perhaps be added, 5. Bâl, extending between Urâtippa and Tashkend; and, lastly, The district of Türkistan Proper.

I. DIVISIONS SOUTH OF THE AMU.

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

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

1. BADAKSHAN.

Badakshân is the first district to the south of the Amu. In the age of Hâber, it was considered as being bounded on the south by Kâleria, on the east by Upper Kâshghar, on the north by Khatlân, and on the west by Kindez 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 Hamun,* which appears to be the Harat of the Arabian geographers. It has lately been ascertained to rise in the high grounds east of the Belûk-tagh range, issuing from under the snow of the lofty mountains of Pûsktehâr, and working its way by the lower grounds of Shugamun and Derwâzî.† The second river, which is called the Kokcha, or Badakshân river, is inferior in magnitude and length of course to the first, rising to the south of it, in that high mountainous ridge of Belûk-tagh, which separates Badakshân from Chitrâl, and

* Hence probably the name of Amu.
† Mr Elphinston's MSS.
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the course of the Kâshâkâr or Cheghanserâl 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 Kekcha 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 Wakhân † 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 Kaffiristan, and which transmit several streams of considerable size to the larger rivers. The Penj and Kekcha 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 turquoise. 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 Bactrians, which subsisted so long unconnected with the empire of Alexander’s successors.

2. BALKH.

The country between Badakhshân and the desert of Khwirizm, on the east and west, and the Hindûkush 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 Hindûkush 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 Andarkal, Talkisan, Kunduz, and Khâním, to the east; Balkh, in the centre, in a plain below the Dera Gez, or Valley of Gez, and Shâberghan, Andakhân, and Maimano, 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 Hindûkush. The country round Balkh is level and rather sandy. The Dehâ, or Balkhân, as it ap-

* See Esm Haukalt.
† See Abdulkâf, As Geograph. Min. Gnez. vol. III.
§ This is the ancient Barzis, a term probably taken from the old Persian name of Bakhshivan, or Bakhshivan country, which is given it as late as the Institutes of Tartar. Khwâsian 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 edges to Kâshâkâr on the other. See Esm Haukalt, Baber’s Memoirs, &c. The name of Khwâsian may be derived either from its being the country east of Persia, or that west of Bakhshivan; as, by an old singularity, Kâshâkâr, 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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approaches that city, after leaving the Dora 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.

Babur 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 Urgench, 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 Aral.

4. DESERT OF THE TURKOMANS.*

This desert, which extends from Khwarizm and the borders of Balkh to the Caspian, and from the limits of the Persian Khorasan 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 Khwarizm, or Urgench, 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 Belut-tagh mountains, which extend northward from the Hindukush to the Astara 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 Badakhshin. And it is remarkable, that, in consequence of the height and abruptness of the mount-

* The Chorasmian of the Persian Symm. (see Geog. of Minor, vol. III. p. 3.) is, I presume, the two Khwarizms; and indeed it includes places both in Khwarizm and Balkh. The Greek translators, to express our El, always use Ap: as in Bachron, Balkh, Thrac (Temrit), &c. The Latin translator does not seem to have understood some of the names; thus, Matpanda, Megmalla, is Mavaramber; Iao, in Zabah, in Zelah, &c. Khazistan, Kolistan, is Kohistan; Kowsar, Ghom, Garman, frrte Chahin, le Hamalbin, are Suvan or Shireh; Sietana, Shoshan, Arakchi; Gjan-la-Chach, &c. &c.
† The term Turkman, James de Vigny derives from Turul 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 Azerbaijan and the desert of Khwarizm, as both advance advancing out of the country called Comania, by the earliest travellers, from the wandering tribes of Kousan, who inhabited it, there seems to be no good reason why they might not have received their name from being designated as Turkans, or Kousan-Turks, to distinguish them from the numerous tribes of the same race. See the travels of Carpin and Rubaiquis to Hakiloyd and Bergam. The Cahan derives its name from this tribe of Comans, or Cenai.
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tains, which encloses the country that has been denominated Usbek Tartastân, 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 Amound and the Sirr, to which the country appears to owe many of its most obvious features. The one of these grand passes leads through Badakhshan, and is the route taken by the caravan of Kâhul, and frequently by that of Samarkand and Bokhârâ, on its road to Khoten and Kasâghur. This was the road followed by Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, and more recently by De Goez,* the last European who is known to have crossed these mountains. The second pass, which ascends by the source of the Sirr, lies in the hills that separate Ferghana from Kasâghur, to the eastward of Uch. This is the road by which the ambassadors of Sharokh returned from Chinâ. Some accounts of Taimur’s generals, by this pass, are recorded; and the caravan of Kasâghur seems to have taken this road in going between that city and Samarkand in the time of Babur’s father, as it does at the present day. The route pursued by the caravan of Kâshkend, in its way to Kâsâghur and Chinâ, is not quite clear; but, in some instances, it seems to have gone up the right bank of the Sirr; and after passing the Julghâk Ahegerân, or Blacksmith’s Dale, to have crossed the range of hills that encloses Ferghana on the west, near Aham; to have proceeded on thence to Uch, and from that place, by the same pass, as the caravan of Samarkand. There is, however, reason to imagine, that the caravan of Kâshkend frequently kept a more northerly course, skirting the Alu-tagh hills that enclose Ferghana on the north and east; and that after rounding them, and passing near Aimâlgh, it proceeded straight to Kâsâghur. These are the only routes by which Eastern Tartastân 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 Alu-tagh hills was really one of those followed by the caravan of Kâshkend, it will perhaps explain a difficulty stated by Major Renauld, in his Memoir of a Map of Hindostan. After mentioning that Kâsâghur was 35 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 Kâshkend to Kâsâghur, “although Kâshkend is supposed to be five journeys nearer to it than Samarkand is.” If the Kâshkend route led round the hills to the north of Ferghana, whereas the traveller had to return southward towards Kâsâghur, the itinerary in question will not be so inconsistent with the others as it might at first seem to be.

I. KHUTLAN.

The two districts of Khutlan and Karatlan, which stretch along the Belit-tagh mountains, are more inaccessible and less known than most of the others. The name of Khutl,
or Khutlan, 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 Elun Hankal,* to the country lying be-
tween the upper branches of the Amu, called Harat, or Penj, which divided it from
Bakhashan on the south; the Wakhashah or Surkhrud, which separated it from
Cheghani in or Hissar on the west; the hill country of Karatgin on the north; and
the Belouch on the east. Khutlan is broken into quarters by hills. Its few valleys
are said to be narrow, and overhung with lofty mountains. The glens of Sughumah
and Derwaz, which lie near the source of the Penj, are fertile. The country of Wakshah,
which is always joined with Khutlan by the earlier geographers, probably extended
between Khutlan and Karatgin, or may have included Karatgin itself. Its name is
still to be found not only in the uncertain district of Wakhil, but in the country of
Wakshah, the Vochan of Marco Polo, which lies above Badakshah, near the source of
the Penj, close upon Phistekher. The name Wakhashah, anciently given to the river
which divided Chegani from Khutlan, is said, by Elun Hankal, to be derived from
that of the country of Wakhshah, where it originates. It run by Weishird, the ancient
capital of the country, and joined the Amu above Khabadun. On this river was the
Pul-e-Sangin, 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
Khabadun, opposite to Kunduz, others certainly accord much better with the Surkhrud,
or the river of Karatgin, which has a course of upwards of 160 miles before it falls
into the Amu. The Wakhshah language still remains in many districts in the hills of
Bakhashan and Khutlan, and it is not improbable, that the Wakhshah or Wakhshah 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 Khut-
lan. It is said to have been the seat of a splendid dynasty, before the Musulman-con-

* See Ouseley's translation of Elun Hankal's geography, pp. 223 and 239.—The geographical position
of certain places seem to require a departure from the reading in the text of that work. In the descrip-
tion of the boundaries of Maweristan, we may perhaps read p. 238, "The north, Maweristan is
bounded by Turkistan, which, enclosing Farghah, extends round Khoti, on the river Harat (Penz or
Harrat). To the north, Maweristan begins from Badakshah, and extends along the river Jihon down
to the sea of Khorasan."—Again, p. 238, "Advancing in one direction from the Jihon, we have the ter-
ritory of Sagd, Samarkand, Semothah, Chaj, and Farghah; and, in another direction, from the bor-
ders of Samarkand, that of Kesh, Cheghani and Khutlan; whence we have the river Jihon from Termed,
and Cuthan, down so far as Khorasan. Fazak, Sinta, Tartak, and Alikan, are reckoned to be
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 Khorasan. On one side it is bounded by Ghazniak, that is, the
western side; the eastern and southern sides are bounded by Kheranak and Maweristan; before Kha-
ranak, there is no water on the Jihon until you come to the lake." In p. 241, Ghazniak is probably Ghaz-
or Kheranak; and for Kesh, the same requires Kesh and Koth, the maternal capital. Dehkab and Dehkab,
p. 241 and 243, should be Dehak; the modern Jirak. "The mountains of Atrak, should probably be
the mountains of Asphar."—Ibid. p. 241, the mountains of Asphar, "should be Dehkab. The running title (or Surkhi)
is sometimes included in the text, to which instances occur in p. 313, p. 319, &c. Having no copy of
the original, these imprints are merely conjectural; but they seem to be necessary for the sense, and the
alteration of a single letter, or of the present, is sufficient to produce most of them. These observations are
made solely to justify the sense in which I have read Elun Hankal. They cannot affect the acknowledged
mutil 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 Kheranak-Shak (p.
241) rather surprising? Perhaps, however, the palace was only of a king of Khurasan.
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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 Belut-tagh; on the south, it has part of Khutlan and Wakhila, and the country of Hissâr; on the west, it extends to the hill-districts of Uratippe and Yar-Aillik. It is altogether mountainous. The height of the Asfera and Belut-tagh mountains, the former covered with perpetual snow, prevents it from having much communication with the countries to the north and east.

3. HISSâR.

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 Khejend, as has been already mentioned. All along the south of Ferghana, their summits are everywhere covered with perpetual snow. As they approach Uratippe, they appear suddenly to lose their height, and to divide into three or perhaps four branches. One of these, running south by Derbeod or Kohllagh, (the Iron Gate), under the name of Kara-tagh, or the Black mountains, divides the country of Hissâr from that of Kesh. 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 Amsu, where it probably altogether disappears. The second branch, running south-west from Karatigin, extends to the south of Samarkand and Bokhara, 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 Kesh branch, and the country between it and the Kara-tagh, forms the territories of Kesh and Karshi. The hill between Samarkand and Kesh is, by Sheriffeddin, called the hill of Kesh. Elia Haukal tells us, that the mountain of Zorke, as he calls the same range, runs from Bokhara, between Samarkand and Kesh, joins the border of Ferghana, and goes on toward the border of Chin. 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-kiya, the white mountains, and by the Arabian geographers, Botomi, or Al-Botom, extending to the westward, runs to the north of Samarkand and Bokhara, 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-Aillik, and, lower down, one boundary of the celebrated valley of Shegdi. This branch is lofty, and bears snow in its hollows all the year.

† It is called Câr Takh in Petis de la Croix’s Hist. de Timur Ber, vol. I, pp. 174 and 184.
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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 Uratipna. It slopes down towards the sea of Arvil, and a portion either of this, or of the last branch, crosses the Amu below the cultivated country of Khwārizm, before that river works its way into the sea of Arvil. 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 Jaxaries.

The country of Hisar, which was often traversed by Baber, until which, for some years, in the middle period of his life, formed his head-quarters, is by the Arabian geographers denominated Saghaniān, while the Persians called it Cheghāniān and Jeghāniān, from the city of that name which lies on the Chequān-rūd, more frequently, however, called the river of Cheghāniān. This country received, in later times, the name of Hisār (or the Castle), from the fort of Hisār-Shahmān, 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.

Hisār, on the south, was bounded by the river Amur Oxos, on the east by the hill country of Wukshān and Khutān, from which it was divided by the Shar Shād or Karatūqo river, formerly called the Wakhshāh; on the north by Karamān, and on the west by the Kass-tagh 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 Wakhshāh, which proceeds from the north-west, joins the Oxos considerably to the east of Kekāliān. The river of Cheghāniān, and that of Hisār or Kafrijānān, are the other streams of chief note in this district. In the days of Baber, the most important places in this division were Hisār, Cheghāniān, Kekāliān and Termāz. The city of Termāz or Termāz has always been famous as covering the best passage over the Amu; but somewhat higher up is the passage of Ubah, lying between Cheghāniān and Khānān, which is several times mentioned, both in Baber's Memoirs and in the History of Taimur. The country towards Weishāq, 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 Mawerunneh. 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 Kamrūd, which he
ascended in his flight from Hisâr to Yar-aillâk, after his defeat near Samarkand. The valley of Kamruâl leads up to the summit of the Kara-tagh range.


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

The chief cities now, and they are the same that existed in the time of Babur, are Kesh, also called Sheher-Seha (or the Green City), and by the Arabs Naser. Khozâr also has always been a place of consequence, and lies south-east of Kârshi, in a desert tract. The country round Kesh is uncommonly fertile, full of streams, and rather marshy, but degenerates as it approaches the Anu, and becomes a perfect desert, inasmuch that the rivers of this district disappear before reaching that great river. The famous Pass of Kohlugha (the Iron Gate), or Derbend, lies in the hills between Kesh and Hisâr. Faizullah* pretends that it was cut in the rock, which only proves that it was narrow and difficult, and perhaps improved by art. Near Kesh, the native town of the great Taimur, is the plain of Akiâr, where, close by the river Koshka, were held the Kurulaia or annual reviews of his armies, and what have been called the diaths 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 Kesh hills on the south, the Desert of Khwârizm on the west, and the Uraitipa, and Ak-tagh mountains dividing it from Uraitipa, on the north. On the east, it has the hill country of Karatigin 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 Karatigin, flows down by Yar-aillâk 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 Anu. The country near the sources of the Kohik is hilly and barren, and in the time of Babur was full of petty forts, especially along the skirts of the hills. This is the district so often mentioned under the name of Yar-aillâk or Bar-aillâk. It seems to comprise the countries at the present day called Karatigin and Urgâl. Uraitipa extends over the opposite side of the hills, to the north-west, except only the district called the Alikas of Uraitipa, which is higher up on the same side of the hills, and not far distant from Yar-aillâk. The

* Hist. of Ghamigian, p. 237; and Hist. de Timur Ben, vol. 1, p. 92, &c.
† i.e. Gold-bearing.
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The vale of Soghd, which commences lower down* than the Ailkas, 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 Turkic tribes. The country beyond the Amu, called by the Arabs Maweralhaher, (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 city in Maweralhaher without a convenient inn or stagehouse, for the purpose of accommodating travellers with every necessary. One of the Governors of Maweralhaher, 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 paradies of the world, the Rud-Abilik and the Ghanuts 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 Alnifeida 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 Bokhara 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 Bokhara. 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

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* Alnifeida tells us that it commences twenty farsangs (about eighty miles) higher up than Samarkand, p. 32.
† Kent in the Turki is the town, as in Tashkent, Yarkand, &c.
‡ Geographical by Ebn Haukal, p. 322.
§ Abulfeda ap. Geno. Gene. Min. vol. III. p. 32, in Charanassia Descript. calls the Shabs-Bhawain in Persia. The name of the second of these paradies is sometimes erroneously read Rud Afsh.

Ebn Haukal, p. 322.
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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 Khadir, King of Persia, to check the incursions of the Turks, 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 district of Bekhara.

A town of considerable note in the northern part of the country is Jizik, or Jahl, better known in history by the name of Dinak. It lies towards the Ak-tag mountains, on the road to the Pass of Ak-Kain. To the south of Jizik, on the road to Samarkand, is Shiraz, which has long been in ruins.

Down the river, below Samarkand, was the town of Sir-pul (or Bridgehead), as frequently mentioned by Baber. It is probably the place noticed by Abulfazl, under the name of Kaisifegh, and by the Arabs called Ras-al-kantar, a translation of its Persian name.

The town and castle of Dabul, or Dabusha, often mentioned in the history of Bekhara, lies between that city and Samarkand.

The city of Bekhara, 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 Buchara. These names, however, are unknown in Asia, the name of Bekhara being confined to the city of that name and the country subject to it. It lies far down in the Valley of Seghez, 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 1749, gives an amusing account of the city and its trade. It was visited by Junikson in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in 1812 by Izzet-Ulla, whose account of its present state is highly interesting.

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

The hills of Nuratul lie ten miles north from Bekhara, and run from east to west for about twenty-four miles. This is probably the Nir of the Arabian geographers, with the addition of a hill.

Miunkal, which is several times mentioned by Baber, includes Katta-Korghan, Yung-Korghan, Penjshembah, Kuttich, and some other places on both sides of the Kohik near Dabusha.

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

+ P. 35.
‡ Halkuyt's Voyages, vol. 1.
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III. COUNTRIES ALONG THE SIRR, OR JAXARTEES.

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 Ferghana from Kashghar. The chief source appears to lie east from Usuk, 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 Kashghar river. The Sirr, after dividing Ferghana, takes a turn to the north-west, passes to the south of Tashkend, and flowing down through the sandy desert, is nearly lost in the sands before it reaches the Sea of Arik.

1. Ferghana.

The particular account of this country, with which the Memoirs of Baber open, renders it needless to enter into any description of it. It now forms the powerful kingdom of Kahan, whose capital, of the same name, is the ancient Khmend, lying between Khojend and Ahsî. Though Ferghana is in general fertile, yet several small deserts are to be found within its extent. It is divided into three parts by the Sirr. That on the left bank has for its boundary on the south the snowy mountains of Asfura, which on their northern face slope down into the hill countries of Wufl, Waskh, Husbiwar, Suck, &c.; while their southern side forms the frontier of Karasgin. On the west it has Urtippa, from which it is divided by the river Aksî, which flows into the Sirr. The portion of Ferghana on the right bank of the Sirr, has for its western boundary a range of hills running south from the Ala-tagh, past Ahsî to Khojend, on the Sirr, and dividing Ferghana from Tashkend. 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 Kashghar. The country north of the Sirr, which formerly contained Ahsî and Kahan, is now called Nemengin. 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 Ferghana, so we find that the Kirghis pass freely at all seasons, on the north and east of that country, from Tashkend to the vicinity of Kashghar; 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 Hordes of Kirghis, we find Kashghar, Tashkend, and Otrar put together, as constituting their range along the Ala, or Alatagh Mountains, without advertence to any intervening hills.* One Usbek traveller, from whom I had an account of his journey from Kashghar to Astrakhan, mentioned, that he passed some broad low hills near Almaligh; so that, if any connecting range

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runs from the Ala-tagh to the Ulingh-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 Siir is very narrow.

Abulfeda mentions, that in the mountains of Ferghana 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 Tashkend lies along the north bank of the Siir, 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 Aboi bound it on the east, and the desert of the Karn Kilpaks on the west. The ancient Turkistan-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 Siir, and decline in height toward the western desert. The inferior range of hills that run from the Ala-tagh, between Tashkend and Aboi, within eight miles of the latter place, have several times crossed by armies that marched from Tashkend to Kashan, Aboi, and the northern provinces of Ferghana. In this route lies the Julgeh Abougerian, or Ironsmith's dale, and Kundezik und Amani, so often mentioned in the Memoirs of Baber. It was probably by this road that the caravan of Tashkend proceeded to Urgench, on the route to Kanschar; though it appears sometimes to have gone to Kashgar by keeping to the north of the Ala-tagh hills. The road generally pursued from Tashkend to Aboi did not follow the course of the Siir, but went eastward directly toward Aboi, cutting off, to the south, the large tract of country surrounded on three sides by the river which runs south-west from Aboi to Khojend, and north-west from Khojend to Tashkend. The city of Shahrakhan lay between Khojend and Tashkend, on the Siir, while Seiram lay north-west of Tashkend, still lower down. Magnificent accounts of the wealth, cultivation and populousness of Tashkend, and the country along the rich banks of the Siir, in the time of the Arabs, and of the Khwarismin dynasty, are given by Eln Haukel, Abulfeda, and the historians of Chengiz 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 Khwarismin kings, destroyed by Chengiz Khan, were eminent encouragers of letters. In Baber's time, Tashkend and Shahrokhwin were its chief towns. A considerable traffic has of late years been carried on at Tashkend, between the Russians and the inhabitants of Bokhara, but the country is not in a flourishing state.

* Chorassan, Descript. p. 38.
+ D'Herbelot says, at Aboi, that the plain reaches to the hills; which are only two leagues (perhaps farangs) off. Abulfeda says they are at the distance of one farang.
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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 Pamir; close to Derwâz and Badakhshan. They are Turks, and speak a dialect of the Türkic language, though probably mingled with Moghul-words.

3. Uaratippe.

The country of Uaratippa, which is also called Ustrush, Ustrushan, Setrukh, Isâriskhân, and Ustâshân, is the hilly tract which lies west of Khojend, whence it is separated by the river Ak-su. It has that river and the Ansera mountains, including part of Karatigin, on the east; on the south-east, in the days of Beber, it seems to have stretched over to the Kâra-tagh mountains, which divided it from Hisâr, while Yar-uklak completed its boundary in that quarter. On the south, the Akg-hai and Uaratippe mountains divided it from Samarkand and Bokhâra; on the north, the Sirr, and probably the districts of Wilk, separate it from Tashkend; and on the west it has the desert of Ghaz, (by Abulfeda, called Ghuzzma,) or the Kura Kilpâkes, towards the sea of Aral. 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 AAR. It is now subject to Bokhâra. Uaratippa and Râmân, or Zámân, 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 Kesil (or Red River) is made to rise in the hill country of Uaratippe, and to proceed downward to join the Amu, below the cultivated country of Khwârizm. Yet Etn. Hunkal,* tells us, that in all Setrukh (or Uaratippa), there is not one river considerable enough to admit of the plying of boats; and the river, after leaving Uaratippa, would have to run for several days' journey through a desert sand. It rather seems, that no such separate river exists; but that the Kesil is only a branch that proceeds from, and returns to, the Amu. Razârasp, which certainly stands on the Amu, is said to lie on the north side of the Kesil. This must be just where the Kesil runs off from the great river. Kal. or Kâth, the old capital of Khwârizm, which was six farsangs, or twenty-four miles, from Hâkiraspe down the Amu, and certainly stood on that river, is, however, said to lie on the north side of the Kesil. The different branches of the Amu, in passing through Khwârizm, or Urganj, 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 Etn. Hunkal and Abulfeda.
+ F. 263.
+ See Arny's or Green's Voyages, vol. IV, p. 401.
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4. The Desert of the Kara Kilpaks.

The desert country which is bounded by the sea of Aral on the west, the river Sirr on the north, Uratippa on the east, and Bekhars and Kvarizm on the south, is now traversed by the wandering Torki tribe of Kara Kilpaks (or Black Bonnets), who, according to the general opinion, are Turkmans, though some accounts describe them as Uzbeks. This district, which was, by the Arabian geographers, called Ghazah, and sometimes, if we may trust the readings of the manuscripts, Ghazahlah, 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. IUK.

Iuk, 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 Tashkend and Shabrokhla. It is, by some ancient geographers, made to comprehend the whole country between the northern hills of Tashkend and the river, including Tashkend and Bemket, or Shabrokhla. It is little known, and is probably dependent on Tashkend to the north of the Sirr, and on Uratippa to the south.

6. TURKISTAN.

The country peculiarly called Taurkistan by Baber, lies below Seirah, between it and the sea of Aral. 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 Jumal, Youngkent, &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 Sheibani Khan never recovered the great kingdom of Taur, whence his grandfather Abulkhair had been expelled, the succession of which was continued in another branch of the family. It was to this Taurkistan that Sheibani Khan retired, when unsuccessful in his first attempt on Samarkand; and it was from the deserts around this tract, and from Tashkend, which they had conquered, that his successors called the Turcuses, who assisted them in expelling Baber from Maweralnahr, after Sheibani's death.

Such is a general outline of the divisions of the country of Uzbek Taurkistan, 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 Farghana, the greater part of Khwarizm along the branches of the Amu, with large portions of Balkh, Badakhshan, K什, and Hisar, 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 unfixed and roving wanderers of the desert, the Ims and the Ulbas 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 camels 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 Cymhiana, who, in this quarter, appear to have been of the Turki race. When Alexander advanced to the Sirr, he marched by Murakandu, a name, the termination of which, as has already been remarked, seems to speak a Turki origin. The Turanian monarchs, so long the rivals and terror of those of Iran, seem also to have been Turks. After the Arab conquest, in the first century of the Hijra, 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 Maweranamber were cultivated, and the larger towns inhabited chiefly by men of Persian extraction, and speaking the Persian tongue. Down to the age of Chinghiz 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 Tashkend, Parnawat, Jand, and Yengiken; the Turki being, however, understood and familiarly used in the

* Snow broken 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 navigators. The Amu is also frozen for a considerable extent above Khiva.

* Ferein, pasma.
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sars and markets of all these northern districts. The Persian language also crossed the Alai-high hills, and was the language of the towns of Eastern Türkistan, such as Khongor and Yarkand, as it continues to be at this day as far east as Tashkent. A proof of the remote period from which the language of Persia was spoken in Merv and Nishabur, is to be found in the present state of the hill country of Karatujin. The language of that mountainous and sequestered tract is Persia; 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 Khwarizmian 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, Badakhshan, the greater part of Khwarizm, Kandahar, Kesh, Bokhara, Uratippa, Ferghana, and Tashkent, while the surrounding deserts were the haunts of various roving tribes of Türkmen race, as in all ages, from the earliest dawn of history, they appear to have been.

While the Türk 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 Beluch-teagh, towards the source of that river, extending for a considerable extent to the north and north-west, as well as those of Hindukush, 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 Arabians within the first century of the Hijrah, yet in the fourth or fifth, when their power was beginning to wane, the Kafirs, or Insidales, still held the mountains of Ghour, and the lofty range of Hindukush. Down to the time of Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, the language of Badakshân was different from that of the lower country, though we cannot ascertain whether it was the same as that of the Kaffirs or Shiahpoohes, whose country he calls Bauda, or that of Wakhân, which he denominates Vuchan. It is not improbable that one radical tongue may have extended along the Hindukush and Beluch-teagh mountains, though the continuity of territory was afterwards broken off by the interposition of the province of Badakshân, which, being rich and fertile, was overrun earlier than the others. Indeed, Kaffiristan, or the country of the Shiahpoohes, is still a country untouched, except during one expedition of Timur Beg, who crossed the snowy tracts of their mountains with incredible labour, but was unable to reduce them under submission to his yoke. Some correct specimens of the language of the Dard, near Kashmir, of Kaffiristan, of Wakhân, of Wakhân, of the Pasham, 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 origination of nations. The present Afghan language, if I may judge of it from the specimen which I have seen, is certainly in a great degree composed of Hindustani and Persian, with the usual sprinkling of Arabic terms. It would be desirable to ascertain what proportion of the un-
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 Afgân tribes in the districts to the north of the road from Kâbul to Peshâwar, is not of very ancient date. Their peculiar country has always been to the south of that line.

Besides the Türkí tribes that have been mentioned, a body of Moghuls had taken up their residence for some years in the country of Hisâr; and the whole of Tâshkend, with the desert tract around the Alâ-tagh mountains as far as Khud shar, though chiefly inhabited by Türkís, was subject to the principal tribes of the Western Moghuls, who were then ruled by two nudes 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 Bishkakligh, the place chosen by Jangharâ Kham for the seat of his empire, on the bank of the Illi river, before it falls into the Bâh-küh, or Pulkâri Nêr. 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 Jetlah.

The Kâsâkkhs, frequently mentioned by Baber, are the Kirghís, who to this day call themselves Sava-Kâsâkkhs, or robbers of the desert, a name which its etymology proves to be of later origin than the Arabian settlement on the Sîr. 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 Jilîk river, and as far as Siberia, as will afterwards be mentioned; but they had more recently occupied the country called Türkstân, which lies below Seîram, and stretches north from the Sîr or Jaxartes, along the Târâs, and the other small rivers that flow into the Sîr, 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 Mâvernumber 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 contest; and, 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 Türkí language.
nander. 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 harem 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 revert, 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 obviou: and it is not easy for any high principle 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 partisans. 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 one country can have no place. It may be questioned whether the prevalence of the Mahometan religion, by swallowing up civil in religious distinctions, has not a tendency to increase this indifference to country, where it is established. A Moslem considers himself as in a certain degree at home, wherever the inhabitants are Muselmans. The case with which one even of the highest rank abandon 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 Haber’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 Khwâjâs 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 oracles to regulate future conduct. Many instances occur in the history both of India and Mâvarlâ Shahr, 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 Yezâl-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 Hujur-al-matter, the rain-stone, the Turks call Yezâl-stân, and the Persians Sangchel. 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 Turks, 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.

Isâel-Ulla, the intelligent traveller to whom I have already alluded, in giving a description of Yârâbâd, mentions the Yezâl-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 Yezâlchî. Isâel-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 Yezâlchî, of whom there are many at this day in Yârâbâd, 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 Yârâbâd, we are not to look for them in

+ 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 magnet.

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 Bûchân-oldins and the Avicenna, was past away from Mâmerâhâr; but every department of science and literature was still successfully cultivated on the opposite side of the southern desert, at Herât in Khorassân, at the splendid court of Sultan Hussain Mirza Bâkera. It is impossible to contemplate the scene which Khorassân then afforded, without lamenting that the instability, inseparable from despotism, should, in every age, have been communed 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 Khorassân 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 princes. But the manners of Bâler'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 Türk 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.

Bâler frequently alludes to the Türk or Yâsi, that is, the Institutions of Chingiz Khan; and observes, that though they were certainly not of divine appointment, they had been held in respect by all his forefathers. This Türk 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 inauguration. 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

+ Hist. de Timur Reg. vol. III. p. 227, 202, 328, &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 Khoud, 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 Chagata Khan were merely traditional, 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 Moghal 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 unchanging, 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 Mussulman 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 Kallum, or Hukka, 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 Mussulmans) 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, previous 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 diversified him from the immoderate use first of wine, and afterwards of deleterious drugs, which ruined his constitution, and hastened 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 forest 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 further account of this code, see Notes to Langlet, Histoire Politiques et Militaires de Timurid, p. 240; Hist. des Deuxièmes Russes, tom. III. p. 267; and Tood's Russia, vol. IV. p. 58; whence further particulars may be gleaned.

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 laterly 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 skirmishers 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 Hindukush Mountains; and little need be added concerning those to the south, which were described by Baber. The labours of Major Hennell 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 Afghanistan, by the publication of the work of Mr Elphinstone on that country. It may only be briefly remarked, that the Hindukush range, after passing to the north of Kábul, breaks into numerous hills running west and south-west, which constitute the ancient kingdom of Bamián, and the modern countries of the Hazaráns and Aimaks; that the Belúz-tágh Mountains, formerly mentioned as running north from Hindukush, seem also to shoot south by Sefid Koh, forming the Sulaimán range which traverses the whole of Afghanistan, as far as the country of Beluchistán, 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 Kábul, appear to be obliged to force their way through a rapture in the transverse ranges, when they pursue their course eastward to the Indus. Such is the case with the river of Kábul, when it bursts its way first through the Lagur range, and lower down, through the Sulaimán, near Jelláhabd; and in an inferior degree, with the Kurram and Gomal 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 Khairah, or Kohat range, which extends from Sefid Koh, to Niláh 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 Bângash Hills, and by Mr Elphinstone is designated as the Salt Range, runs from Sefid Koh, south-east to Kâlahagh, where it is crossed by the Indus, but pursues its course in its original direction to the Belot or Jelân river, the Hysarp of antiquity, beyond Pîmî-Dâden-Khan. The third, which runs from Bázâr to Panâlâ, on the Indus, may be called the Dûhî Range. Between the two first lies the valley of Kohat, so particularly mentioned by Baber; and between the two last, Bûm, part of Bângash, and several other districts. The other places in this direction will be noted when they occur.

From the west of the Sefid 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 Afghanistan, 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 Afghanistan which is most frequently alluded to by Baber, is the tract lying along the southern slope of the Hindûkhâsh Mountains, and the angle formed by the Paropamisus 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 Ghaurâbâd and Punjâbâr, down to Purâkora 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 Afghanistan.

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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PART SECOND,

CONTAINING

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSORS OF
TAIMUR BEG,

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

Babar begins his Memoirs abruptly, by informing us, that he mounted the throne of Persia 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.

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

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his encomiasts may assert, he was no legislator. He had marched into Tartary, into Hindustan, 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 Maveralaher, with Persia and Kabul, alone remained in his family, and Persia also very soon after jumped from their grasp, and was over-run by the Turkomans.

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 Turk and Mogul tribes, like other Asians, 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 Kbal; an amiable prince of refined genius and warm affections, but better fitted to adorn the walks of private life, than to compose the decisions 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 Khurasan, which was the seat of his dominions, took possession of Samarkand, and reduced all the rest of Maveralaher under his obedience. He governed his extensive dominions with a steady hand till his death, which happened in 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 direction, 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, Al-Ed-doulet, the son of his brother Buiesghan, who was the third son of Shahrokh. Al-Ed-doulet, who had occupied the kingdom of Khurasan, being defeated by his uncle Ulugh Beg, on the river of Marghâb, fled to his brother, the elder Baber Mirza. That prince had taken possession of Jorjân, or Karagan, 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 Al-Ed-doulet; but being defeated, and hard pressed by Ulugh Beg, was forced to abandon even his capital, Asterabad, and to take refuge in company with Al-Ed-doulet, in Ichâb, which was then held by another of their brothers, Mahomed Mirza. Ulugh Beg having soon afterwards returned across the Iâsâb, the Anu to Bokhârâ, Baber Mirza again entered Khurasan, and took possession of Herât; while Ulugh Beg's own son, Abdal-latîf, revolted and seized upon Balkhz.‡

† De Guignes, vol. V. p. 82.
‡ See the learned H. de Smet's Danzer's vol. I. and Tabari's Geography Minor. Grace, vol. III.
§ There is some confusion regarding the succession in Faréh, Thishâb, the second son of Shahrokh, Mirza, had held it in his father's lifetime, and was succeeded by his son, Abdollah Mirza.
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To complete Ulugh Beg's misfortunes, Abulsad Mirza, who was the son of Muhammad Mirza, the grandson of Taimur Beg, by that conqueror's second son Miran Shah, but who is better known by his own conquests, and as the grandfather of the great Babur, also appeared in arms against him. Abulsad had been educated under the eye of Ulugh Beg. When his father, Muhammad Mirza, was on his death-bed, Ulugh Beg had come to visit him. The dying man took Abulsad'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 in 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." Abulsad, during the disasters that followed the death of Shahrokh, had for some time held the province of Fars; but, being stripped of that possession by Muhammad Mirza, (the brother of Abdu-l-latif and of Babur 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 Abdu-l-latif, his rebellious son, to seize on Samarcand. Ulugh Beg, on hearing of this new revolt, had turned back to defend his capital, but was followed from Balkh by Abdu-l-latif, who defeated and slew him, after a short reign of three years.

Abdu-l-latif, after the murder of his father, continued his march, defeated Abulsad Mirza, took him prisoner, and recovered Samarcand. But Abulsad, 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 Bokhara. While in this retreat, he heard that Abdu-l-latif had been murdered by a mutiny in his army, and had been succeeded by his cousin Abdulla, who was the son of Ibrahim, the second son of Shahrokh, and consequently a nephew of Ulugh Beg. The ambitious hopes of Abulsad Mirza were revived by this event. He succeeded in forming a party, seized upon Bokhara, and marched against Samarcand, but was defeated and forced to take shelter in Turkestan, beyond the Sirr. Next year, however, having engaged the Uzbekhs of the desert to assist him, he returned towards Samarcand, defeated Abdulla in a great battle, and occupied all Merv and Makhmouli. 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.

Meanwhile Baber Mirza had not remained long in possession of Herat, 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

* Tarikh Khân Khan, vol. III. MS.
† It does not appear how this Abdulla had lost Fars, or even if he was the same prince who had held it.
‡ This is the Turkestan below Tashkend, and north-west from that country.
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succeeded in occupying all Khorsân. 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, Ala-é-dóuléet and Mohammed Mirza, the Kings of Fars and Irán. He retired for some time to the strong fortress of Oman, whence he took the field and defeated the governor, whom Mohammed Mirza had left in charge of Asterabad; 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. Mohammed Mirza did not long remain in Khorsân. Disguised with some circumstances of the conduct of his brother, Ala-é-dóuléet, he withdrew to his own territories, whereupon Babor, once more, issued from his retreat, drove Ala-é-dóuléet out of Khorsân, following him to Balkh, which he took, as well as all the low country up to Badakhshan, where the fugitive prince sought refuge. He then returned back to Herât. Ala-é-dóuléet soon after fell into his hands.

This success of Babor Mirza recalled his brother Mohammed into Khorsân, in an evil hour. He met with a fatal discomfiture, was taken prisoner, and put to death by the command of Babor, who, at the same time, to free himself from all apprehensions from his surviving brother, ordered the five-penin to be applied to the eyes of Ala-é-dóuléet. The operation, however, from accident, or the mercy of the operator, was imperfectly performed, and Ala-é-dóuléet did not lose his sight. Babor Mirza, for the purpose of improving his victory to the utmost extent, now marched against Mohammed Mirza’s kingdom of Fars. He had made some progress in the conquest of it, when he was recalled into Khorsân by the alarming intelligence that Ala-é-dóuléet had escaped from custody; and was at the head of a numerous and increasing army. On his return to Khorsân, he found the revolt suppressed, and Ala-é-dóuléet expelled from his territories; but Jehân-Shah, the powerful chief of the Turkménes of the Black- sharp, now descended from Tabriz, and after occupying Persian Irán, pursued his conquests, and in a few years subdued Fars and the remaining territories of Mohammed Mirza. To regain these provinces, Babor Mirza led a formidable army into Persian Irán and Azerbajan; but had scarcely set his foot in the country, when he learned that Abusaid Mirza had entered his dominions from the north. Enraged at this insult, he marched back his steps, followed Abusaid across the Aum, and laid siege to Samarkand; but after lying before it forty days, he concluded a peace, which left the Aum or Oxus the boundary between the two countries. Babor then returned to Khorsân, 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.

His death was the signal for Abusaid Mirza again to attempt the conquest of Khorsân. From this enterprise he was, however, recalled towards Balkh, by a revolt of the sons of Abdal-láff Mirza, one of whom he slew, while the other, Mohammed Juki, took refuge in the deserts of Tartary, with Abdid-Khayr, one of the Khans of the Uzbek principality of Tart, a part of the empire of Kipchak that lies to the east of the

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Ural mountains, and who dwell in summer towards the banks of the river Jaik, and in winter on the Sivir.* Abussaid soon after returned into Khurasan, a great part of which he overran, and repressed the commotions excited by the restless Ala-ed-doutlet. But he was glad to retire before the formidable interruption of Jahan Shah, the Turkoman chief, who entered Herat, which was cruelly plundered by his troops. When the first fury of the invasion was over, the Turkomans began to divide their forces. Abussaid, watching the opportunity, fell furiously on Jahan Shah’s son, near Marghun, defeated the detachment under his command, and compelled his father to sue for a peace, and retreat from Khurasan. A treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that the town of Semnan, which lies between Khurasan and Persian Irak, should be the boundary between the territories of these two princes.

In these times of confusion, Sultan Hussain Mirza, a prince of great talents, and who is often mentioned in the Memoirs of Babur, had fixed himself in the possession of Astrabadd and Mazanderan. He was descended from Taimur Beg† by his son Omersheikh Mirza. Not contented with the peaceful enjoyment of the rich province which he held, he had pushed on his plundering parties into Khurasan as far as Shahrarz. Abussaid having despatched himself of the Turkomans, and defeated Ala-ed-doutlet, who had once more invaded his territories on the side of Meshed, now marched to chastise Sultan Hussain Mirza. The contending armies met, and Abussaid was victorious, and, pursuing his advantage, entered his enemy’s capital, Astrabadd, in which he left one of his sons, Sultan Mahumud Mirza.

But Abussaid was not yet destined to enjoy repose. Mahumed Juki, the son of Abdul-latif, and grandson of Ulugh Beg Mirza, who, after his defeat, had fled, as has been mentioned, to Abdul-clair, the Khan of the Uzbeks,‡ had meantime returned, accompanied by his new allies, and was ravaging Abussaid’s territories beyond the Amu. Abussaid once more hastened to Samarkand, and the predatory bands of his enemies, on his approach, retired beyond the Sivir. From the prosecution of this war, Abussaid was recalled by the unwelcome intelligence of the defeat of his son, Mahumud Mirza, whom Sultan Hussain Mirza had driven from Astrabadd. Not contented with this success, Sultan Hussain had advanced into the very heart of Khurasan, and had even laid siege to the capital, Herat. The return of Abussaid 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 Jorjan and Mazanderan.

This success enabled Abussaid to turn his undivided force to complete the destruction of Mahumed Juki. He besieged that prince in Shahrakha, a strong and populous city on the Sivir, and, after a siege of one year, took the place and his rival. Being finally disengaged from this enemy, he may returned across the Amu, where Sultan Hussain Mirza had availed himself of his absence to enter Khurasan. That active

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† He was the son of Mastanir, the son of Babar, the son of Omersheikh, the son of Taimur Beg. See Ilirhisb, art. Taimur.
‡ Abdul-clair’s wife was sister of Mahumed Juki’s father. Gen. History of Turks, vol. 1. p. 281.
§ Abulghazhl Khan says of four months. Vol. 1, p. 91.
prince was once more compelled to fly, and sought shelter in Khwarizm. Abusaid, being now delivered from all his enemies, gave his attention, for some time, to the extension of his territories on the side of Siuan 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, Omer Sheikh Mirza, Baber's father, received the government of Fergana, as is mentioned in the Memoirs.

While Abusaid was yet at Merv, Hassun Ali, the son of Jehan Shah, the prince of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, arrived from Irak, where, by one of those reverses so frequent in the East, his father had been defeated and slain by the celebrated Uzbek Hassan, the Beg of the Turkomans of the White Sheep. Hassun Ali now solicited the protection and assistance of Abusaid, 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 Irak." Abusaid Mirza advanced into Azerbaijan with a powerful army, subduing the country in his course. He sent two detachments to take possession the one of the Persian Irak, the other of Persia. As he pushed on towards Andir and Talaraiz, among the hills of Azerbaijan, Uzbek Hassan, alarmed at his progress, sent repeated embassies to sue for peace; but in vain, as Abusaid, to all his offers, annexed the condition that the Turkomans should appear in his presence, and humble himself before the descendant of Talaraiz Beg. To this Uzbek 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 Abusaid 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. Abusaid 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.

The dominions of Abusaid, who was by far the most powerful prince of his time, extended, at the period of his death, from Azerbaijan to the borders of India, and from Moeckan to the deserts of Tartary. Of his sons, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, who was the eldest, retained possession of Samarkand and Bokhara, the government of which he had held in the lifetime of his father. Another of them, Sultan Mahmoud Mirza, held the government of Astarabad, from whence, after the "disaster of Irak," he marched to take possession of Herat; but the inhabitants preferring the government of Sultan Hassun Mirza, called him in; and Sultan Mahmoud Mirza, expelled from Khomsan, and forced to cross the Amu, took refuge in Samarkand, with his brother, Sultan

Ahmed Mirza, having lost Asturbahd in his attempt to gain Khorasan, 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 Hissar, gained possession of all the country, from the straits of Kaliza, or Derband, to the Belit mountains, and from the hills of Ashera to the mountains of Hindukush, an extensive tract of country, that included Hissar, Chegman, Termiz, Kandahar, Badaikhan, and Khutlan. Another of Abusaid’s sons, Ulugh Beg Mirza, retained possession of Kabul 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 Abusaid, continued to reign in Fergana. Sultan Murad Mirza, another of Abusaid Mirza’s sons, who had held the government of Gurgur and Kandahar, had advanced, at the period of his father’s death, to occupy Kermán. He was forced to retreat by the ensuing events, and found that he could not maintain himself even in Kandahar. He repaired to the court of Sultan Husain Mirza, by whom he was sent to Samarkand, to his brother, Sultan Ahmed Mirza; but he soon after returned to Herat, 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.

Sultan Husain Mirza was no sooner relieved of his formidable enemy, by the death of Abusaid, than he once more entered Khorasan, invited, as has been already mentioned, by the wishes and affection of the inhabitants. He quickly drove from Asturbahd, Yadgar Mirza, a son of Muhammad Mirza, the late sovereign of Irak and Fars, who had been selected by Umre Husain and the Turkomans to fill the throne of Khorasan, and compelled him to take refuge in Tebriz, at the court of his patron. Next year, however, Yadgar Mirza returned, supported by a formidable body of Turkomans, penetrated into Khorasan, and took Herat, which Sultan Husain, 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 surprise, while overpowered with wine, in the Bugh-e-zaghum, near Herat, took him prisoner, dispersed his troops, and put him to death.

The remaining years of the reign of Sultan Husain Mirza were little disturbed, except by the rebellion of his sons, and, towards its close, by the invasion of Shiahul 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.

Sultan Omer Sheikh Mirza, the sovereign of Fergana, and the father of Baber, has by some writers been supposed to have had his capital at Samarkand, and by others...
to have extended his dominions even into India. His dominions, however, never extended beyond the narrow limits of Ferghana and Uratippa, unless for a short time, when he received Taghkan and Sirlam from his eldest brother, Sultan Ahmed, and gained Shahrokhshu by stratagem. These acquisitions he soon lost, having given them up to his father-in-law, Sultan Mahmud Khan, in return for assistance afforded him in his wars; and at his death, which happened in 1494, he only retained possession of Ferghana, 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 Babar, then only twelve years of age.

It is from this event that Babar commences his Memoirs. At that period, his uncle, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, was still king of Samarkand and Bokhara. Another of his uncles, Sultan Mahmud Mirza, was the sovereign of Hissar, Termiz, Kandez, Badakhshan, and Khutlan. A third uncle, Ulugh Beg Mirza, was king of Kâbul and Ghurid; while Sultan Husein Mirza Bâkra, a descendant of the great Taimur, and the most powerful prince of his age, was king of Khurasân. To the west and north of Ferghana, Sultan Mahmud Khan, a Moghul prince, Babar’s maternal uncle, and the eldest son of Yunes Khan, so often alluded to by Babar, held the fertile provinces of Taghkan and Shahrokhshu, along the Sar 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 Yunes Khan, the sisters of these two princes, had been married to the three brothers, the kings of Samarkand, Hissar, and Ferghana; and the relations of affinity arising from these marriages are often alluded to by Babar.

To prevent the necessity of hereafter interrupting the narrative, it may be proper, in addition to these remarks, to observe, that Shihâni Khan, a name which occurs in almost 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, Tusi or Jâji Khan, the sovereign of Kipchak. Batun, the eldest son of Tusi, having returned from his expeditions into the north of Europe, bestowed on one of his younger brothers, Shihâni Khan, a large party of Moghuls and Tarks, who fed their flocks in the campaign between the Ural hills and the Sea of Arál, and along the river Jaxk or Yauk, which flows into the Caspian, and he became the founder of the Khaman of Türk, 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 nation. Abdulkhan Khan, the Khan.

* Catrou, Hist. des Moghul, p. 48, supposes that he possessed all Moweralhâther, 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, Langlës, who, in the article Shihâni, in the Biographie Françoise, in the Bibliothèque Universelle, vol. M. Paris, 1831, supposes that his territories extended to Samarkand and the Indus, and that Babar, on his father’s death, was declared king of Western Tartary and Khorasan: such is the more extraordinary, as he had access to a copy of the Memsâra of Babar in the royal library at Paris. See Aris, Abradaphon, vol. 1, of the same valuable work.


‡ See D’Herbelot, Art. Uzbek.
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Abulkhair Khan, grandfather of the second Shibli, was a contemporary of Abulaid Mirza. When that monarch had expelled Muhammad Juki Mirza from Samarkand, the young prince, as has already been mentioned, had fled for protection to Abulkhair Khan, who sent him back, accompanied by one of his sons, with a powerful army, which took Tashkend and Shahrkhol, and occupied all the open country of Mervainaher. The approach of Abulaid 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 Turkar princes against him, by which he was defeated and put to death, with several of his sons; the others saved themselves by flight. But his grandson Shibli or Shibli Khan, the son of Bokak or Budak, 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 of Samarkand, an expedition to which the Usbecks 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, Shibli 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 Turk, Moghul, and probably of Fennic race, moulded down into one people, but with a great preponderance of Turks. His army was latterly swelled by volunteers from all the Turk and Moghul tribes from Kashi 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.

Such was the general division of the neighbouring countries when Zahir-ud-din Muhammad, 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 Mansur 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.

* Tashkend and Shahrkhol, as well as all the cultivated country down the Sirr, were at that period subject to Samarkand.
‡ The Khanship of Kipshak expired A. D. 1406, and broke into several smaller divisions. That of Tura seems to have continued under a different branch of the family of Shibli Khan, until the year 1696, when the kingdom of Tura fell into the hands of the Russians.
INTRODUCTION.

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

Babar 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 Amin-ud-din, who makes some characteristic remarks on it; founded on his fondness for astrology:—"As that generous prince was born on the sixth of Muharram; the date of his birth is also (Shah Muharram) the sixth of Muharram." The numeral letters in these two words happen to give 888.
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 Ferghana 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 Arabic 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 Ferghana and Bokhara,
as there is but one communication between them, by a long narrow pass near Khoejend, between the mountains and the river. The whole of Karapin is perfectly impracticable from its mountainous nature, and precludes the possibility of presenting a cross route from Badakhshan to Hissar, which would determine at once, with accuracy, the true position of Ferghana. On the uncertain method of laying down this country, from the circuitous routes through Khoejend, the only check that can be obtained, is by continuing those routes to Kashghar, 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 these places through which the routes most frequently passed. The distance between Samarkand and Bokhara, 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 an slight proof of the general accuracy of the map.

Having observations on the latitude and longitude of Bokhara, 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. Khoejend, 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 Khoejend 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 Khoejend to be 41° 5', and, by intersecting it with its distance from Samarkand, I made its longitude 66° 40'; 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 Khoejend 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 Khoejend 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 latitudes of the two cities, that it cannot lie to the east of Samarkand. On the other hand, the
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 Bokhara 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 Ferghana, 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 projecting 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 best 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 Ferghana, 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 Bokhara, and it will be sufficient to add, that it has been filled in from the information afforded by Babur's and Mr. Elphinstone's description of the country, and from such particulars as could be gleaned from the accounts of Ebn Hankal, and other writers who have touched on the geography of those countries.

As I found, after availing myself of every piece of information which I could collect as correct, that the map was still so meagre and imperfect as, in many places, not to answer my chief object, the illustration of Babur'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
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 Bokhara. 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 Bokhara 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 Eljik, the western extremity of Bokhara. I have laid down two cross routes through the desert, one, from Karshi to Boshir on the Amu river; another, from Karshi through Kirki to Andkhoo. 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 Imam, the Karatigun river, and the route from Killa-Barat-Beg to Wiskirou, 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 Imam, and proceeds to Kunduz. On the other side, this arrangement agrees remarkably well with the journey along the Amu through Badakhshan, which joins the route between Killa-Barat-Beg and Wiskirou, at a place called Yokatit. I have inserted a few additional towns or villages in Badakhshan 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 Derwaz, the capital of Derwaz, which is inhabited by a fair and handsome race of people, calling themselves descendents of Alexander the Great. The limits and provinces of Bokhara, I was enabled to describe from the MS. accounts of that kingdom by Mr Elphinstone.
A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS OF BOKHARA AND

FERGHANA.

The principal range whichconnects the lofty mountains of Hindúkúsh and Mústagh, and which gives rise to the two most considerable rivers in the map, is the Bełút-tagh, whose highest point appears to be the mountain of Púshítikhar, the source of the river Amu. From this spot till its junction with the Hindúkúsh, 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 Púshítikhar, is what must now engage our attention; and, of this little seems to be known, except that it joins the Múx-tagh. It appears exceedingly probable, and has already been conjectured by Mr Elphinstone, that the mountains crossed by the route between Fergána and Káshghar, are a continuation of this range. These mountains, when they reach the lat. of 42°, throw out a branch called the range of Mingbúlák, reaching to Tashkend, and, shortly after, either terminate or become so inconsiderable, as to form no obstacle to a free communication between Tashkend and Káshghar to the north of the Mingbúlák mountains. In long. about 71° and lat. about 41° 31' in the Bełút-tagh, lies the real source of the Sírr or Sáhún river; though what is usually considered as its source, is situated in the Mingbúlák mountains, considerably to the north-east, in long. about 70° and lat. 42° 31'. The Bełút-tagh, in its progress from Púshítikhar to Máx-tagh, probably throws out many branches to the west, as the whole of the country in that direction is described as mountaneous in the extreme. The only branch of the Bełút-tagh, to the south of Púshítikhar, which is contained in the map, is the Hádákhsán 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 Bełút-tagh, are the Sírr river, the Shíber, the Pénj or Amu, and the Hádákhsán river. Those to the east are the Káshghar river and the Kámeh river.

The mountains which I shall next speak of, and which, from their magnitude, ought perhaps first to have engaged our attention, are the Aftleo mountains, which I have also seen denominated the Pamirs mountains. This range forms the southern boundary of Fergána, and runs in a direction almost due east and west. From its latitude and
ACCOUNT OF THE MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS

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 Muztagh. The only considerable river to which this range gives rise on the south is, I believe, the Surkhāb or Karatigik, 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 Kokān, dividing into two branches as it approaches that city, which, according to Lieutenant Macartney, comes from the Asera mountains, and has a course of 70 miles before it joins the Sirr. It appears probable, that the river rising in the mountains between Kokān and Kashghar, which is said by Izzat Ullah to join the Sirr near Khojend, is the same as the Kokān river. The Asera mountains extend from a long of 71° to their termination near Khojend, and it is of strong evidence of their magnitude and impracticability, that the only communication between Bokhara and Ferghāna 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 Asera 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 Sogd, whilst the other, which is the proper Ak-tagh, separates Bokhara from Yar-Ailk, and terminates in two divisions at Jizzakh and Jopi. 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 Asera 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 applies to be certainly known of it is, that it proceeds from the Asera 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 Hissar. Mr Erskine has suggested to me, since the construction of the map, that this range probably leaves the Asera mountains near Khojend, and that the hills running from the north of Khojend to the Minghulak 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-Sch and Khojend rivers, and would not agree with Baber's marches over the mountains from Asera to Samarkand. The Kara-tagh gives rise to several rivers. The Kobik, the Shahrabad river, the Hissar river, and the Chegahnûn, are amongst the number. It will not be unreasonable here, to mention the great uncertainty which there is concerning the positions of Hissar and Chegahnûn; 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 reports in Ibn Hankal.
OF BOKHARA AND FERGHANA.

The Samarkand mountains, which form the southern boundary of the Valley of Soqhd, though I have not traced them beyond 66° of lung., I have every reason to suppose, are a branch of the Kara-tag. Were I to turn them to the north, they would intercept the Koubak 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 Kâshi 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 Bokhara and Ferghana, 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, Ferghana, 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 Baker'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 Caunul. 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.

TAMSHIR, DECEMBER 20, 1818.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

In the month of Ramzán, in the year eight hundred and ninety-nine, and in the twelfth year of my age, I became King of Ferghana.

The country of Ferghana 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 Budakhan; on the north, although in former times there were cities such as Almâligh, Almâán, 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 Uzbek, they are desolate, and no population remains.

Ferghana 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 Khogând, 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 Khogând, comes from the north-east, and after passing through this country, flows towards the west. It then runs on the north of Khogând and south of Tâ♥atî, which is now better known as Shâhrokhîa; and thence, inclining to the north, flows down towards Tûrkestan; and meeting with no other river in its course, is wholly swallowed up in the sandy desert considerably below Tûrkestan, 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 Anârân, which has a central position and is the capital of Ferghana. It abounds in grain and fruits, its grapes and inc.

1 The month of Ramzán, 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 Amlâgh, in Türkî, signifies a grove of apple trees. Amlâán, in the same language, signifies Almighty, the city which lies south-east from Kâshgar, on the other side of the Alâkhan mountains. Otrâr lies between Tâ♥atî and the sea of Arâz; and in the days of Tâ♥atî was a place of great note. He died there while preparing for his expedition against China.

3 Tâ♥atî is also called Benâkat and Tâºatî. It is situated on the Seihun or Sûr, between Tâ♥atî and Khogând.
ions are excellent and plentiful. In the melon season it is not customary to sell them at the bazaar. There are no better Nāshqāhs produced than those of Andejan. In Mādermālah, after the fortresses of Samarkand and Kāsh, none is equal in size to Andejan. 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; 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 pleasures are so hot, that the report goes that four persons may dine on the brooks of one of them, and not be able to finish it. The inhabitants of the country are all Turks, and there is none in town or market who does not understand the Türkî tongue. The common speech of the people of this country is the same as the correct language of composition, so that the works of Mir Ali Shik, renowned Navâl, though he was bred and flourished at Herat, are written in this dialect. The inhabitants are remarkable for their beauty. Khwâjeh Yâṣeri, so famous for his science in music, was a native of Andejan. The air is unwholesome, and in the autumn agues are prevalent.

Another district is Ush, which is situated in the south-east of Andejan, but more to the east, and distant from Andejan four farsangi by the road. The air of Ush is excellent. It is abundantly supplied with running water, and is extremely pleasant in spring. The excellencies of Ush are celebrated even in the sacred traditions.

On the south-east of the fort is a mountain of a beautiful figure, named Bata-khân, on the top of which Sultan Mahmud Khan built a small summer-house, beneath which, on the shoulder of the hill, in the year 902, I built a larger palace and eunuchade. 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 Andejan, after passing through the suburbs of Ush, flows on towards Ande-

1. Passages set them gratuitously. — Layard.
2. The Nâshqâh is a species of melon.
3. The Persian itadâshteh here given — 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 Metheney's copy reads. "And it is singular that they all come from the same place." — A leaf of the Türkî original is here unfortunately torn out, so that the translation is acquired 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 Metheney's copy is admissible.
4. Kirghiziel. — The brook here mentioned is called Jâlbâni; and is a sort of river, or rather jelly brook.
5. The ancient name of Herat, whence probably the name of antiquity.
6. The Persian here differs. "The air is however, corrupt, as that inflammation and swellings of the eyes are common; such as by physicians are called qurgh." The chiasm in Mr Elphinstone's Türkî copy still continues.
7. Turki.
8. The farsangi is general be taken as four English miles. It is the ancient parsang.
10. About A.D. 1496.
MEMOIRS OF BABAER.

jan. 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 Bakhshah, between the hill and the town, there is a mosque, called the Mosque of Jumna; and from the hill there comes a great and wide stream of water. Beneath the outer court of the mosque, there is a meadow 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. 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 bands of belts, and other things of that sort, and it is a very beautiful stone. In all Ferghana for healthiness and beauty of situation, there is no place that equals Ush.

Another is Marshan, which lies on the west of Andijan, at the distance of seven 3.52
farsangs, and is a fine district. It is noted for its pomegranates and apricots. There is one species of pomegranate named ādān-bidān (or great seed), which, in its flavour, unites the sweet with a sour acid, and may even be deemed to excel the pomegranate of Samân. They have a way of taking out the stones of the seed-bidâ (or apricot), and of putting in almonds in their place, after which the fruit is dried. When so prepared, it is termed Sekhâni, and is very pleasant. The game and venison are here also excellent. The white deer is found in its vicinity. All the inhabitants are Sarts; the race are great horsemen, noisy and turbulent, so that they are famous all over Mughal India for their brawling and boldness for boxing, and most of the celebrated bulls of Samarkand and Bokhara are from Marshan. The author of the Hadîya was from a village named Rashidâni, a dependency of Marshan.

Anders is another district. It is situated at the foot of the mountains, and possesses 4.6
numerous streams and beautiful gardens. It lies south-west of Marshan, at the distance of nine farsangs. Many species of fruit-trees abound there; but, in the gar-

1. For the river of Andijan, see one of these that form the great river Sir.
2. The Persians have between the garden (palace) and the town.
3. The Persians have a meadow (or plain) of extraordinary beauty, having those famous waves.
4. The meaning of this passage is obscure.
5. Marshan, a town between Khwarazm and Bokhara.
6. The blue weevil is said to be the most delicious in many books of natural history, see Voyage of the same.
7. The Surs in Tajik are mainly the inhabitants of the towns and villages, and the cultivators of the ground, who speak the Persian tongue; as opposed to the Turks. They appear to be the remains of the same ancient population, and probably received the name of Surs from the Turks as being subjects of the Arab or Turkish government; the Persians and Turks having first known the Arabs by the name of Taib or Taj.
9. About 24 miles. It is not easy to convey the Tartar and Indian measures used by Baber into English ones, with any degree of certainty; but a few observations are required to amount for the mode of reckoning adopted in the Gink.
10. The smaller measure most commonly used is the Gink. Akhsh-fest (Azmur Alber, vol. 1, p. 481) specifies three kinds of it, each measure containing twenty-four small (fingers or inches), but the length of the
dens, the almond trees are most numerous. The inhabitants are all mountaineers and Sarks. Among the small hills to the south-east of Asera, is a slab of stone called sang-ainuch (the stone-mirror), its length is about ten geas. 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 Asera is separated into four divisions, all situated at the foot of the hills; one of them is Asera, another Warukh, another Sukh, and the fourth Hushur. When Muhammad Shiebani Khan defeated Sultan Mahmud Khan, and Ulchi Khan, and took Tashkendi and Shaltrukdha, I spent nearly a year in Sukh and Hushur among the hills, in great distress; and it was from thence that I set out on my expedition to Kambil.

Khojend, another of the districts, is situated on the West of Andejjan, at the distance of twenty-five farsangs, and it is also at the same distance from Samarkand. This is a very ancient city. Shaikh Musaehet and Khwajaq Khamal 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 Marghinan. The fortress of Khojend is situated on an eminence, having on the south the river Seilum, which flows past at the distance of about a bow-shot. On the north of the fort and of the river Seilum, there is a hill, which is named Myughil, where they say that there are turquoises and other mines. In this hill there are many serpents. Khojend is a good sporting country; the white deer, the mountain goat, the stag, the fowl of the desert, and the hare, are found in great...
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. Kandahām 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, are of excellent quality, and are exported to Hindostān, Hormuz, and other quarters. It is distant from Khojend five or six farsangs to the east. Between Kandahām and Khojend, there is a desert, named Ha-dervishā, where a sharp wind prevails, and constantly blows from the desert in the direction of Marghīnān, 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 Dervishīs having encountered the wind in this desert, and being separated, were unable to find each other again, and perished, calling out, "Ha, Dervishā! Ha, Dervishā!" and that hence the desert is denominated Ha-dervishā unto this day.

Of the districts to the north of Sehun, one is Akhū, which in histories is called Akhūkhū." Hence Aasr-ed-dīn, the poet, is termed Aasr-ed-dīn Aakhūkhī. There is no town in Ferghāna after Andeqān, which is more considerable than this. It lies to the west of Andeqān, at the distance of nine farsangs. Omer-Shikh Mirza made it his capital. The river Sehun 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-Shikh Mirza made it his capital, he, in one or two instances, scarped the ravines outside of the fort. In all Ferghāna there is no fortified town so strong as this. The suburbs are rather more than a shirma kos from the fort. The proverb, "Where is the town, and where are the trees," applies in a particular manner to Akhū. The melons here are excellent; there is one species which is termed Mir Taimūrī, so such melons are known to exist in the world. The melons of Bokhāra are also celebrated; but, at the time when I took Samarkand, I had melons brought from Akhū and Bokhāra, and cut open at an entertainment, when those of Akhū were judged beyond comparison the best. There is good hunting and hawking. From the river of Akhū to the town there is a desert, in which the wild deer are very numerous. Towards Andeqān is a waste, abounding with the stag, the fowl of the desert, and the hare, all of which are extremely fat.

Another district is Kāsān, which lies to the north of Akhū, and is of small extent. As the river of Andeqān comes from Ush, so the river of Akhū comes from Kāsān. The air of Kāsān 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

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1 Kand ut bālīc means a town in Türkī, and bālīc or almond.
2 Our lili of Ormus, in the mouth of the Persian Gulf.
3 Help, Dervishā! Help, Dervishā!
4 It is singular that D'Herbelot expresses doubts whether Tashkend, Khojend, and Aakhand, are not all the same place.—See these articles in the Bibliothèque Orientale, a very strong proof of the imperfection of the geography of those quarters down to his time.
5 About 25 miles.
6 I. e. Where are your houses and gardens?—Leyden.
7 Guizot's.
of five lambkins. There is a standing quarrel between the inhabitants of Kašān and those of Ushā concerning the beauty and climate of their respective districts.

All around the country of Fergāna, among the mountains, there are excellent Yalūks (for summer stations). The Ishīlūth wood is found here among the mountains, and in no other country. The Ishīlūth, which has a red bark, is a wood of which they make walking-staves, whip-handles, and bird-pages. They also cut it into the forked tops of arrows. 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 Yalūk-me-samam grows on these hills; but now it is quite unknown. There is, however, a species of grass which is produced on the mountains of Beto-kend, and which the people of the country term akhū, that is said to have the virtue of the meghānīt, and is what passes under the name of meghānīt. In these hills, also, there are mines of turquoise and of iron.

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

As Omer-Shiikh 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 despairing. He often than once called in to his assistance his father-in-law, Yenise Khan, who was descended of Chaghānī Khan, the second son of Chengi Khan, and who was at that time the Khan of the tribe of Moghul in the dominion of Chaghānī Khan. He was also my maternal grandfather. Every time that he was called in, Omer-Shiikh gave him some province; but as things did not succeed to the Mirza's

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1 Pālīn-jāb-burrū. The Persians have partly a wild burrū, or lambkin mutton.

2 The wandering tribes all over Persia and Turkistan 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 avoiding the excessive heats. They are called Yalūks, from the Turkic word Yalūk, summer. In winter, they move southward, or descend to warm and sheltered valleys, to their winter stations, which are called Kāhū, a word derived from Kāhū, which in the Turkish signifies winter. The empress is said as the age of the Gūn. —See Xenoph. Inst. Cyri, l. vii, p. 244.

3 Gil. —

4 I f. The mallow consecrated to hubs. —Lexicon. The Tuleh-me-samam is the plant called the mangle; or mangle-rose. —See the Itāf, 1713, in the Musicae, Musulmane, Musulmane, published with a translation by Gladwin, Calcutta, 1793. The name akhū is derived from the Turkic word aghū, nut, and aghū, grass. Aghū is said to be merely a Persian translation of the same, from aghū, affixion, and aghū, grass. It is, however, called aghū, or aghū, or aghū, 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 they are sufficiently loosened, to it to the neck of a dog, who, by his endeavours to get away, pulls it out of the earth. —See D'Herbelot, Art. Ataheemam. The same story is still told.

5 Beto-kend.—Mr. Phipps's travel copy has Yetikann; Mr. Mitchell's Persian MS. Biskhah; my Persian MS. Nerkum.

6 Ushā.
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 Moghulistan. The last time, however, that he brought his force, Omer-Sheikh Mirza 5 gave Yunis Khan the country of Tashkand, which was then in the possession of the Mirza. Tashkend is sometimes denominated Shah, and sometimes Chakh, from whence comes the phrase, a box of Chakh. From that time to the year 906, the countries of Tashkend and Shahrokhla remained subject to the Chughatāi Khan. At this time, the Khanship of the (Ullās or) tribe of Moghuls was held by my maternal uncle, Sultan Mahmad 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 Mahmad 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.

At this very crisis a singular incident occurred. It has already been mentioned that the fort of Akhīs 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 Ramzan, of the year that has been mentioned, Omer-Sheikh Mirza was precipitated from the top of the steep, with his pigeons, and pigeon-house, 4 and took his flight to the other world.

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 Abusaid Mirza, being younger than Sultan Ahmed Mirza, Sultan Muhammad Mirza, and Sultan Mahmad Mirza. Sultan Abusaid Mirza was the son of Sultan Muhammad Mirza, the son of Mirza Muhammad, who was the third son of Timur Beg, being younger than Omer-Sheikh Mirza and Jahanig Mirza, and elder than Shahrokh Mirza. Sultan Abusaid Mirza had at first given Kābul to the Mirza, and sent him off for that country, attended by Baha Kāhel as his Beg-akhan, (or Protector and Regent.) He, however, recalled him to Samarkand, when he had reached the Dera-Geo, 5 in order that he might be present at the festival of the circumcision of the Mirzas. 6 After the festival, as Timur Beg had given Omer-Sheikh Mirza the elder, the country of Ferghānā, Abusaid was induced, by the coincidence of names, to bestow on his son Omer-Sheikh the country.

4 The character of the restless Omer-Sheikh, as given by Caussin, may serve to shew how history is sometimes written:—“Ammes Prince Turcos ne part d'un sentiment plus peinable que Ser Omer. Vaincu par de tristes, que de Passions lui sont soulevées, il se montre plus ou moins par ses ambitions, et s'insinue point ses sujets de tribus et de fagelles.”—Hist. Generale du Mogul, p. 47.

5 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-Fazal tells us (Ayesh Akber, vol. I. p. 221,) 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.

6 The valley of Yez or Yanaq, which lies on the Daria ob Balkh south of Balkh.

7 The festival given by Abusaid Mirza at Mawr or Mercy, A.D. 1488, to celebrate the circumcision of his son, lasted five months, and was famous for its unexampled splendour.
of Andejan, appointed Khoda-heral Taimur-Tash his guardian and regent, and sent him off to his government.

Omer-Sheikh Mirza was of low stature, had a short, bushy, brownish beard, and was very corpulent. He used to wear his tunic extremely tight; inasmuch, that as he was wont to contract his belly while he tied his 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 Dostar-pach (or plaited turban). At that time all turbans were worn in the char-pach (or four-plait) style. He wore his without folds, and allowed the end to hang down. During the heats, when out of the Divan, he generally wore the Mughal coat.

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, and during his whole life he rigidly performed the Kaza, or retributory prayers and fasts. He devoted much of his time to reading the Koran. He was extremely attached to Khwajah Obaidullah, whose disciple he was, and whose society he greatly affectioned. The reverend Khwajah, on his part, used to call him his son. He read elegantly: his general reading was the Khamaisah, the Maanavis, and books of history, and he was in particular fond of reading the Shahnamah. Though he had a turn for poetry, he did not cultivate it. He was so strictly just, that when the caravan from Khiva had once reached the hill-country to the east of Andejan, 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 Khorasan and Samarkand, in consequence of the excitement which they received, he delivered back the goods safe and uninjured into their hands. 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 amply.

Andejan, it will be recollected, was the capital of Ferghana, and the name is often given to all that country.

It is very well known that the Maanavis 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.

These are prayers and fasts performed, if the expressum may be allowed, by pious Mauzithans, to make up for any sins committed at the stated times. If sick, if on a journey, or in war, they are not bound to fast at the ime, but should do so afterwards.

Several Persian poets wrote Khamaisahs, or poems, on five different given subjects. The most celebrated is Nahshul.

The most celebrated of these Maanavis is the mystical poem of Mouhri Jilavakht. The sublime of this is as equal to the Koran.

The Shahnamah, or Book of Kings, is the famous poem of the great Persian poet Ferdowsi, and contains the romantic history of ancient Persia.

North China, but often applied to the whole country from China to Turfan, and now even west to the Altai Mountains.

This account is erroneously related of hover himself by Ferchits and others—See Dav's Hist. of Hindostan, vol. II. p. 219.
occasions he advanced in front of the troops, and exhibited distinguished prowess: once, at the gates of Akhali, and once at the gates of Shahrokhu. 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 raih and talar. 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 facility, appropriate verses from the poets. In his latter days he was much addicted to the use of Munjum, 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 of chance with the dice.

He fought three great battles: the first with Yumis Khan, to the north of Andejian; on the banks of the Seljun, at a place called Tika-Sakarathk, 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 Yumis Khan, who treated him with great generosity, and sent him back to his own country. This is termed the battle of Tika-Sakarathk, because it was fought at that spot; and it is still used as an era in that country. Another battle he fought in Turkesthan, on the banks of the river Armea, with the Uzbeks, who, having plundered the territory of Samurkand, were on their return back. The Armea 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 Shahrokhu and Uratippa, at a place named Khanwa, where he was defeated.

His father gave him the country of Ferguna. He held for a short period Tashkand and Seirahm, which his eldest brother Sultan Ahmed Mirza had given him. He was also, at one time, in possession of Shahrokhu, which he gained by a stratagem. Finally, however, he lost both Tashkand and Shahrokhu, and only retained Ferguna, Khoejend, and Uratippa, the original name of which is Urschna, and which is also called Ansberia. Many do not reckon Khojend to be included in Ferguna. When Sultan Ahmed Mirza went to Tashkand against the Moghuls, whom he engaged, but

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1 Raisi is a sort of intoxicating liquor somewhat resembling beer, made from Miller. I do not know, but understand it to be a preparation from the poppy. There is, however, nothing about raih or raih in the Persian, which only specifies shewk, wine or strong drink.

2 Any medicinal mixture is called a manjum; but in common speech the term is chiefly applied to embalming, and especially those prepared with muc.</p>

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3 Khanwa was in the Uratippa territory.
was defeated on the banks of the river Chirr, 1 Hafiz Beg Duladah, who was in Urmia, delivered it up to Quair-Sheikh Mirza, from which period it continued in his possession.

He had three sons and five daughters. Of the sons I, Zekhreddin Muhammad Baber, was the eldest. My mother was Khatlak-Nigar Khannum. The second son was Jehangir Mirza, who was two years younger than myself. His mother was one of the chief of the race of the Moghut Tumans, and was named Fatima Sultan. The third was Nasser Mirza, whose mother was of the country of Andjaran, and a convert, by name Umeed. He was four years younger than I. Of all the daughters, the eldest was Khurum-Zadeh 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-pul, I threw myself into the town, and sustained a siege of five months; when, no succour or assistance coming from any of the neighboring kings or Begs, in despair, I abandoned the place. During the confusion that ensued, Khan-Zadeh Begum fell into the hands of Muhammad Shehban 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. 1 When Shah Ismail defeated the Usbeaks at Merv, Khan-Zadeh 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 Kunya. We had been separated for ten years, when I and Muhammad Golshah 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 Mehriban Begum, who was born of the same mother as Nasser Mirza, and was two years younger than I. The third daughter was Shahbibi Begum, who was likewise born of the same mother with Nasser Mirza, and was eight years younger than I. The fourth daughter was Yadgar Sultan Begum, whose mother, Aisha Sultan, was a convert. The youngest daughter was Rokhla Sultan Begum, whose mother, Sultan Mahlagan Begum, went by the name of Karaguz Begum, (the black-eyed princess.) These three last were born after the Mirza's death. Yadgar Sultan Begum was brought up by my grandmother Iban, Downit Begum. When Muhammad Shehban Khan took Andjaran and Aklar, Yadgar Sultan Begum fell into the hands of Abdallatif Sultan, the son of Khansheh Sultan. When I defeated Khamsheh Sultan and the other Sultan in Khulistan, and took Hassar, Yadgar Sultan Begum came and joined me. During those same troubles, Rokhla Sultan Begum had fallen into the hands of Jalal 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.

The principal wife of Osman-Sheikh Mirza was Kutlak-Nigar Khannum, who was the second daughter of Yusuf Khan, and the elder sister of Sultan Mahmud Khan and

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1. The Chirr, Sir, or rivers of Khuzistan, the ancient Jaziria. It is also called the river of Chahal Stonch.
2. A well-educated Mughalman is very unwilling to say directly that a man died. He uses some circumlocutory expression, which gives the fact by inference.
Sultan Ahmed Khan by the same mother. Yumis Khan was of the race of Chughastai Khan, the second son of Chengize Khan, and his genealogy runs thus: Yumis Khan, the son of Wais Khan, the son of Shit Ali Oghlu, the son of Muhammed Khan, the son of Khazir Khan, the son of Tughril Taimur Khan, the son of Ashubgha Khan, the son of Dawa Khan, the son of Burak Khan, the son of Isan-bugh, the son of Mutukan, the son of Chughastai Khan, the son of Chengize Khan.

Since the opportunity thus presents itself, I shall now briefly state a few particulars regarding the history of the Khans. Yumis Khan and Isan-bugh Khan, were the sons of Wais Khan. The mother of Yumis Khan was of Turkestán, and was either the daughter or grand-daughter of Sheikh Nūr-ed-din Beg, who was one of the Amir of Kipchak, and had been brought forward by Taimur Beg. On the death of Wais Khan, the Ilīya (or Horde) of the Moghuls divided into two parties, one of which adhered to Yumis Khan, while the majority sided with Isan-bugh Khan. This occasioned a separation of the tribes. Before this time the elder sister of Yumis Khan had been engaged by Ulugh Beg Mirza to be married to his son Abdal-Aziz Mirza. This connexion induced Aizvin, who was a Beg of the Tuman & of Nārib, and Mirak Turkman, who was a Beg of the Tuman of Khirāz, to carry Yumis Khan attended by three or four thousand families 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, imprisoned some, and dispersed the rest in all directions over the face of the country; so that "the Dispersion of Aizvin" has become an era among the Moghuls. The Khan he sent into Irik. Yumis Khan accordingly remained in Tabriz for upwards of a year, at the time when Jehun-Shah Barani Kāro-koliūk (of the black sheep) was sovereign of Tabriz. Thence he proceeded to Shirāz, where Shahrak Mirza's second son, Ibrāhīm 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 Shirāz and that country for seventeen or eighteen years. When the disturbances between Ulugh Beg Mirza and his sons broke out, Isan-bugh Khan, seizing the opportunity, came and plundered the country of Fergana, as far as Kand-hādām, took Audejān, and made all the inhabitants prisoners. Sultan Aḥmaūd had no sooner mounted the throne, than he collected an army, advanced beyond Yangi, and gave Isan-bugh Khan a severe defeat, at a town in Moghulistan,

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1 Alu called Abbigli Khan.
2 Some Tumans are the seats or divisions of the larger tribes or associations.
3 Locally houses; the Tartars reckon the number of the families in their houses by thousands, tens, and sometimes by kettles.
4 This happened in the lifetime of Shahrak Mirza, Ulugh Beg's father, who had given the government of Samarkand to his son.
5 The Kāro-koliūk, or Kāro-koliūk Türkman, that is, the Turkmen of the black sheep, as called from their banner, are celebrated in the history of Persia and of Baghdad.
6 Yangi, or Yangi-kent, that is New Town, the ilmah-al-polish of the Persian geography, letter
named Ashpera. In order still more effectually to secure himself from such intruders, he was induced by his connexion with Yunnis Khan, to invite him back from Irak and Khorsdin, Yunnis Khan's elder sister having been married to Abdalaziz 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 Sagharische had come to Moghullistan, highly displeased with Isan-Bugha Khan, Yunnis Khan went among them. The greatest of the Begs of the Sagharische, was then Shir Haji Beg, whose daughter, Ais-doulou Begum, Yunnis Khan married. Shir Haji Beg having invited the Khan and Ais-doulou Begum on a white felt, according to the Thul, or ancient institutions of the Moghuls, they proclaimed him Khan.

The Khan had three daughters by Ais-doulou Begum, of whom the eldest was Meher-Nigar Khanum, whom Sultan Amnas 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 Shelibani Khan; but after I went to Kabul, she accompanied Shah Begum from Samarkand to Khorsdin, and thence to Kabul. When Shelibani Khan invested喀什米爾 in Kandahar, I proceeded to Lamghán, and Khan Mirza, Shah Begum, and Meher-Nigar Khanum, set out for Badakhshan. Moharak-shah having invited Khan Mirza to the fortress of Zafar, they were met on the road, attacked and plundered by one of Abu-beker Kasighari's marauding parties, and Shah Begum and Meher-Nigar Khanum, with their whole family and attendants, were taken prisoners; and, in the prisons of that wicked miscreant, they departed from this miserable world.

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

The third daughter was Khlib-Nigár Khanum, who was married to Muhammed Hussain Kaskha Doghle. He had by her one daughter and one son. The daughter married Abdal Khan, and when I took Bokhár 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 Said Khan, she accompanied him back, and was married to Sultan Said Khan. She had a son, Hashem Mirza, who, after his father was slain by the Usbeks, entered my service and re-

Known as Otrar, is a city of Turkestan low down on the river Sirk. Ashpera, which is mentioned in the histories of Tamarlane, lies N.E. from it, on a small river which flows towards the Sirk.

Petis de la Croix, in his history of Goughian, describing the general state held by that prince at Roxwar, says, "They created a magnificent shrine for Goughian, and forgot not to place on an eminence the black feliks on which his prince was seated when he was proclaimed Grand Vizir. And this emblem of the past estate of the Moguls at that time was always held in great veneration by them as long as their Empire lasted." — P. 246. Eng. Translation. See also Blun, "des Thems," vol. 1, p. 78.

Muhammed Hussain Kaskha Doghle held the government of Uralippe under Sultan Mahomed Khan.

Sultan Said Khan was Prince of Kasighar.
Mained in it three or four years; he then took leave of me and went to Kashghar to the Khan; but as

Everything returns to its original principle.
Whether pure gold, or sliver, 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-locks, and also in drawing the bow-string. He is remarkably neat at all kinds of hand-work. He has also a turn for poetry, and I have received an epistle from him, the style of which is by no means bad.

Another of the Khan's wives was Shah Begum; though he bad other wives besides Shah Begum, yet he had children by these two only; Shah Begum was the daughter of Shah Murad Khan, Muhammed, King of Badakhshan. The Kings of Badakhshan are said to trace back their descent to Sekander Fedts. This Sultan Muhammed had also another daughter, elder than Shah Begum, who was married to Sultan Ahmad Mirza, born to him Abubekir Mirza. Yusuf Khan had two sons and two daughters by Shah Begum. Among these, Sultan Mahumad Khan was younger than the three daughters who have been mentioned, and elder than the other three children. In Samarkand and those quarters he is generally called Janike Khan. Sultan Ahmad Khan was younger than Sultan Mahmud Khan, and is well known by the name of Itebel Khan. He received this denomination from the following circumstance:—In the language of the Kilmaks and Moghuls, they call a slayer Itebel; and, as he several times overcame the Kilmaks with great slaughter, he on that account was generally spoken of under the name of Itebel; which, in pronunciation, was converted into Itebel. It will often be necessary to make mention of these Khans in this history, when their transactions and affairs shall be fully detailed. Sultan Niyaz Khanum was the youngest of all the family, except one daughter. She was given in marriage to Sultan Mahmud Mirza (the son of Sultan Ahmad Mirza), by whom she had one son, named Sultan Waiz, who will be mentioned in the sequel. After the death of Sultan Mahmud 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 Uzbeck Sultan, one of the sultans of the Kuzaks, who was descended of Juji Khan, the eldest son of Chingis Khan. When Sheikhan Khan defeated the

1 The Kilmak, or Art of letter-writing, in Persia, is quite a science, requiring a long study to be perfectly understood. It is generally the art of setting insignificant things in an involved and rhetorical style. The number of rhymed stanzas to be observed is quite overwhelming.

2 Alexander the son of Philip, concerning whom the Persians have many anecdotes and old stories. The King of Deshik, a small territory south of Badakhshan, still claims descent from the Macedonian line.

3 The Kilmak, or Kalmak, are one of the chief divisions of the Moghuls.

4 The Persians have Ayvick Sultan.

5 The Kirghiz tribes at this day call themselves Sara-Kal马克, or robbers of the desert, and occupy the desert about Tashkend. The name Cosack is a corruption of the same word.
Khans, and took Tashkend and Shahrokhhia, she fled with ten or twelve of her Moghul attendants to Uebek Sultan, by whom she had two daughters: one of them was given to one of the Shehansi Sultans, and the other to Rashid Sultane, a son of Sultan Said Khan. After the death of Uebek Sultan, she married Kasm Khan, the chief of the horse of the Kizaks. It is said that no one of the Khans or Sultans of the Kizaks ever kept the horse in such complete order as Kasm Khan. His army amounted to nearly three hundred thousand fighting men. After the death of Kasm Khan, she went to Kashghar to Sultan Said Khan Kashghari. Doulet Sultan Khanum, who was the youngest daughter of the Kizaks, fell into the hands of Taimur Sultan, the son of Shehansi Khan. By him she had one daughter. She left Samarqand along with me, and lived three or four years in Babakhah, after which she went to Kashghar to Sultan Said Kashghari.

Another of Omar-Sheikh Mirza's wives was Ulha Agha, the daughter of Khwajeh 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 Hiraum.

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

There was yet another named Kargah 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 Minocholver Mirza, the elder brother of Sultan Ahmed Mirza.

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

Of his Ambes, one was Khoda-berdi Taimurtash, who was of the family of the elder brother of Akhugh Beg, the Hakim of Heri. When Sultan Ahmed Mirza besieged Jaki Mirza in Shahrokhhia, he gave the country of Ferghana to Omar-Sheikh Mirza, and sent Khoda-berdi Taimurtash with him as Master of his Household. At that time Khoda-berdi Taimurtash 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 Ibrahim Begzad ravaged the territory of Uab, Khoda-berdi Taimurtash having pursued and overthrown him, a severe battle ensued, in which Khoda-berdi was defeated and slain. When this event occurred, Sultan Ahmed Mirza was among the Yallaks (or summer habitations) of Ustapha, called Ak Keshghai, eighteen farsangs to the east of Samarqand, and Sultan Ahmed Mirza was at Babakhah, which is twelve farsangs to the east of Heri, when this intelligence was transmitted to him.

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1 The Chief of Kashghar.
2 Here are the last digression concerning the family of Baber's mother. He next proceeds to mention the father's other wives.
3 Most Turki names, both of persons and places, have some significations. Thus Khoda-berdi means kindly, God, and Taimurtash, tran. name.
4 That is, as Prime Minister.
5 About seventy-two miles.
6 About forty-eight miles.
express by Abdal Wahab Shaghawal. The messenger accomplished this distance, which is one hundred and twenty-six farsangs, on horseback in four days.

Another of his Amirs was Hafiz Beg Dulaili, the son of Sultan Malek Khakghar, Hafiz Beg and a younger brother of Ahmad Haji Beg. After the death of Khodabard budgets, he was appointed Master of the Household, and sent to succeed him. As he was unpopular among the Begs of Andijan, on the death of Sultan Ahmad Mira, he repaired to Samarkand, and entered into the service of Sultan Ahmed Mira. When the news arrived of the defeat of Sultan Ahmed Mira in the battle on the Chir, he was governor of Urutipas, and when Omar-Sheikh Mira had reached Urutipas on his way to attack Samarkand, Hafiz Beg delivered up the place to the Mira’s people, and himself entered into his service. Omar-Sheikh Mira again intrusted him with the government of Andijan. He latterly went into the service of Sultan Mahmud Khan, who gave him the charge of Mirza-Khun with the government of Deyak. Before I took Kaba, he had set out by way of Hind with the intention of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, but, on the road, he departed to the mercy of God. He was a plain unassuming man, of few words, and not very profound.

Another was Kvozdet 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 Tawak, a sort of Moghul drinking-song.

There was another named Sheikh Mazid Beg, who was first appointed my governor, 3. His arrangements and discipline were excellent. He had been in the service of Baber Mirza. No man stood higher in the esteem of Omar-Sheikh Mira than himself. He was, however, of grossly libidinous habits, and addicted to pedantry.

Ali Mazid Beg Koshim was another. He twice rebelled, once in Akhei and once in Almas Tashkand. He was a libidinous, treacherous, good-for-nothing hypocrite.

Another was Hassan Yakib Beg, who was frank, good-tempered, clever, and active. Hamayun 5.

The following verses are his:

Return again, O Hero, 6
For without the yew bow in thy hand
The crew will surely lose carry off my bones.

He was a man of courage, an excellent archer, and remarkable for his skill in playing the game of choughan7 and leap-frog. After the death of Omar-Sheikh Mira, he

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1 Upwards of five hundred miles.
2 Brazil.
3 The Persian has Ahmed Chachil Beg.
4 The Persians say the son of Hacangbhat, the son of Shahab, son of Talimur Beg’s son. He was an active prince, and for some time master of Khurasan, and died on the 15th of July.
5 The Tashkens were a nest of smugglers and robbers. It never alleged any ground, and it is believed that every hand which it overshaunders will pay one day with a crown. The verses here quoted are written in the character of one in adversity, who had formerly enjoyed better hopes.
6 The choughan is a game played by men on horseback, with long hooked sticks. They divide into two parties, each party trying themselves to cause the other party to drop its ball and to prevent the other party doing it. It requires both strength and skill. See Ayen Abbey, vol. i. p. 945.
became Master of my Household. He was, however, narrow-minded, of small capacity, and a promoter of dissension.

Another was Kasim Beg Kuchin, who was one of the ancient Begs of the army of Andejun. 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 Uzbek 's having ravaged the country round Kasaun, were on their retreat, when he pursued, overtook, engaged, and gave them a severe defeat. He had also distinguished himself by his gallant work in the seyment in the presence of Omar-Sheikh Mirza. In the war of Yasi-kiyet he made some bold forays. During my difficulties, when I proposed going from the hill-country of Maelkhi to Sultan Mahmud Khan, Kasim Beg separated from me, and went to Khoram Shah. In the year 310, when I took Khoram Shah and blackened Moklm in Kabul, Kasim Beg came again and joined me, and I showed him my wonted affection and regard. When I attacked the Turfan, Hissar, in the Dera, or glen of Khish, as Kasim 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 Humaiun. He was received into the mercy of God about the time I reduced the Zemin Dauver. He was a pious, religious, faithful Muslim, and carefully abstained from all doubtful meats. His judgment and talents were uncommonly good. He was of a factious turn, and though he could neither read nor write, had an ingenious and elegant vein of wit.

Another was Baba Kuli Beg, of the family of Sheikh Ali Behzad. After the death of Sheikh Mazid Beg, he was appointed my governor. When Sultan Ahmed Mirza led his army against Andejun, he went over to him and delivered Uratippe into his hands. After Sultan Mahmud Mirza’s death, he fled from Samarkand, and was on his way to join me, when Sultan Ali Mirza, coming out of Uratippe, 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 idolat in his whole deportment.

Another was Mir Ali Dost Taghaz, who was of the Begs of the Tumans of Saghirchi, and related to my maternal grandmother Imam-doolat-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 Ahmed Mirza’s service, and pretended to be an enchantress. He was Grand Huntsman, and was a man of disagreeable manners and habits, covetous, mean, sedulous, finciscious, self-conceited, harsh of speech, and sour of visage.

1 A city in the bounds of the Surr.
2 So ascribed to the battle fought at Yasi-kiyet, A. J. 904.
3 Babur’s son, who succeeded him in his dominion.
4 The district of Zemun Dauver, the chief town sixty miles was of Kanishk, on the right bank of the Harumand, remains the upper part of its course, after it issues from the mountains.
5 For an account of the Yehud and Yehud See the Introduction, p. 349. These magicians pretended chiefly to being vain by rubbing the Yehud skins.
Wei Laghari was another. He was from Samarkand and of the Tokhari 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.

Mir Ghias Taghi, the younger brother of Ali Dost, was another. None of all the young Moghul Imirs in Sultan Ahsan Mirza’s court was a greater favourite, and the Great Seal 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 Wei Laghari. From the time that Sultan Mahmud Khan got possession of Kasan, 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.

There was another named Ali Dervish, a native of Khurasan, who served in the Khorasan Bands under Sultan Ahsan Mirza; for when that prince got possession of Samarkand and Khurasan, 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 Khorasan, and the Bands of Samarkand. He made a gallant charge in my presence in the affray at the gate of Samarkand. He was a brave man. He wrote the Nazad, character after a fashion. He was, however, a gross flatterer, and cordially mean and miserly.

Kamber Ali, Moghul, an Akhteri, 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 Sehak, (or the skinner). He had served Ynis Khan in the capacity of Evers-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 silly; 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.

At the time when this fatal accident befell Omar-Sheikh Mirza, I was in Andejân, at the Chiribagh palace. On Tuesday the fifth of Bumazam, 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 Taghi seized my horse’s bridle and carried me towards the Igābi. The idea had entered his mind that, as Sultan Ahmad Mirza,
who was a powerful prince, was approaching with a great army, the Bega of Andjeän
might deliver up both the country and me into his hands; he was therefore for con-
ducting me towards Urukdu 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 uncle Ithnâ Khan or Sultan Mahmud Khan.

Khâwîjeh Moullaâna Kazi, the son of Sultan Ahmed Kazi, was of the race of Sheikh-
Bûrhanûn-ud-dîn Kili, and by the mother's side descended of Sultan Ilkâ Mûsî. 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 by hereditary
descent, and will hereafter be often mentioned. The Kazi, and the Bega who were in
the Castle, on hearing of our proceedings, sent Khâwîjeh Mûlâmûn Derzi, who was
an old and trusted household servant of Omar-Sheikh Mirza, and the Beg-utkâh or
governor of one of his daughters, to dissuade our apprehensions. He overtook us and
made us turn, after we had nearly reached the Begâl, and conducted me into the cit-
adel, where I alighted. Khâwîjeh Moullaâna Kazi and the Bega 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 râmpa-
orts, in a state of defence. Hassan Yâkub, Khââm Kuchhe, and some other Bega, who
had been sent on an excursion to Marignan and that quarter, arrived a day or two
after, and entered into my service; and all of them, with one heart and soul, set them-
soever zealously to maintain the place.

Sultan Ahmed Mirza, after having made himself master of Uratippa, Khajend, and
Marghâlan, advanced to Kaha, within four farsangs of Andjeän, and encamped. At
this time one Dervîsh Caw, a man of note in Andjeän, was capitaly punished on ac-
count of some seditious expressions, an example which reduced all the rest of the in-
habits to their duty.

I now sent Khâwîjeh Kazi, Uzîn Hassan, and Khâwîjeh Hassûn, 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 Be-
 and as they were not favourably disposed to this proposition, a harsh answer was re-
turned, and he marched forward.—But the Almighty God, who, of his perfect power,
has, in his own good time and wisdom, 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.

One of these was the following: the Kaba is a black river and extremely slimy, in summer, 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 Chittir, the present disaster recalled the former to their remembrance, and the soldiers of the army were sick 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 numerous 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. Discordant by these circumstances, after they had come within one league of Andijan, they on their part sent Dervish Mohammed Torkhan, who was near the Idjash by Hassan Yulkub, from the castle, when they conferred together and patched up a sort of a peace, in consequence of which the invading army retired.

In the meanwhile Sultan Mahmud Khan had entered the country on the north of the river of Khojand in a hostile manner, and laid siege to Akhsi. Jehangir Mirza was in the place, and Ali Dervish Beg, Mirza Kuli Gulkastan, Muhammad Kaker Beg, and Sheikh Abdullah the Chamberlain were along with him. Weis Laghari and Mir Ghias Taghi were also there, but, in consequence of some misunderstandings between them and the other Beys, they withdrew to Khasan, which was Weis Laghari's government. As Weis Laghari was Bag-Utke (or governor) to Nair Mirza, that prince resided at Khasan. As soon as the Khan arrived in the neighbourhood of Akhsi, these Beys waited on him, and surrendered Khasan: Mir Ghias continued with the Khan; but Weis Laghari carried off Na'ir Mirza and delivered him to Sultan Ahmed Mirza, by whom he was given in charge to Muhammad Marjut Torkhan. The Khan having approached Akhsi, made several assaults on it, but without success; the Beys and youth of Akhsi fought with distinguished valor. At this crisis Sultan Mahmud Khan fell sick, and being besides disgusted with the war, returned to his own country.

Alauddin Doshir Khashguri, who acted as an independent prince, and had for several years been Hakim of Khashgur and Khotan, was seized, like the rest, with the desire of conquest, and had advanced to Urkand, where he constructed a fortress, and employed himself in plundering and laying waste the country. Kureish Kati and a number of Beys were dispatched to expel him. When the army approached, the
Kashgharizm, who perceived that he was unable to contend with it, applied to Khwajah Kari 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, Jelangir Mirza, and the family in the harem, from Akbav to Amidi, where they performed the ceremonies of mourning for him, and distributed food and victuals to the poor and to religious mendicants.

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 Amidi, and the prime authority in the Court, were bestowed on Hassan Yakub; Usuf was given to Kasim Kochin; Akbav and Marghinan were intrusted to Ustun Hassan and Ali Dost Taghi; 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.

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 Aka, (or White river,) in the middle of the month Shawwal 890, in the 44th year of his age.

He was born in 855, the year in which Sultan Abusaid Mirza came to the throne, and was the eldest of all his sons. His mother was the daughter of Uzul, Bogha Tekkhan, was elder sister of Dervish Muhammad Tekkhun, and the most respected of the Mirza's wives.

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 Chirvind (the four-plaited), with the tie or hem brought forward over the eyebrows.

He was strictly attached to the Hanifite 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 Khwajah Abid-Alla, who was his religious instructor and guide. He was polite and ceremonious at all times, but particularly in his intercourse with the Khwajah; 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 Khwajeh desired them to examine what there was particular in the place in which the Mirza had been seated, when they found a stone lying there.\footnote{The Habib-e-seer makes him sit at Amsad, a village on the Aka, which is a considerable river, rising in the Asek hills, and which falls into the Sirr a little to the west of Khelijd.}

\footnote{The Habib is one of the four orthodox Musalmans sects.}

\footnote{It will be recollected that the Asiatics sit cross-legged on a carpet. The stone of a dead animal being impure, is thought to defile a Musalman, who is obliged, after touching it, to purify himself.}
He had never read any, and, though brought up in the city, was illiterate and unrefined. He was a plain honest Turk, but not favoured by genius. He was, however, a just man; and as he always consulted the reverend Khwajah 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 marksmen. With his arrows and forked arrows he generally hit the mark; and in riding from one side of the exercise ground to the other, he used to hit the brass basin several times. 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 equaled 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. 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 Baghs.

He fought four battles: the first with Sheikh Jamul Arghun, the younger brother of Niâmot Arghun, in the territory of Zâmin, at Akâr-îzâ, in which he was victorious; the second with Omar-Sheik Mirza, at Khawas, in which likewise he was victorious; the third affair was with Sultan Mâhmid Khan, in the vicinity of Tashkend, on the river Chirîr, 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 expression in the text would lead us to suppose that he could not read.
2 Gis.
3 This refers to an exercise in archery practised by the Turks. A brass 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. Abuâlghani Râshid, in his account of the festival of Khân 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 placed near the tents on the right hand; and on the top of the tree which was placed near the tents on the left side, a hen of silver; ordering that all who were the name of Khâmis should exercise themselves in shooting at the golden hen, running full speed, and that those of the name of Câhâ should shoot at the same manner at the silver hen; and he ordered considerable prices for those who hit the hen."—Geographical History of the Turks, vol. i. p. 122, Lond. 1830, loc.
4 When the Asarios 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 Hâmin, lies in Utrâppa. Akâr-îzâ signifies the plain of the flowing stream.
6 Khâwâ is between Utrâppa and Tashkend.
another, or even seen an enemy, was completely panic-struck and broken up, and numbers of them drowned in their disorderly flight across the Chiris. His fourth battle was with Haidar Gokalsaib, in the confines of Yar-Illik, in which he was victorious.

He possessed the countries of Samarkand and Bokhara, which his father had given him; and, after the death of Sheikh Jamil, who was slain by Abdul Kadh, he got possession of Thakund, Shahrakiba, and Seirun. He afterwards gave Thakund and Seirun to his younger brother, Omar-Sheikh Mirza; and also, for some time, occupied Khojend and Uraitops.

He had two sons, who died young, and five daughters, four of whom were by Katak Begum. The eldest of them all was Baba Sultan Begum, whom they called Karagez (or the Black-eyed) Begum. He gave her in his lifetime to Sultan Mahmud Khan, by whom she had a son, named Baba Khan, a very promising boy. When the Uzbekh slew the Khan in Khojend, they put to death him and many others like him of tender years. After the death of Sultan Mahmud Khan, Jani Beg Sultan married her. The second daughter was Sallkeh Sultan Begum, who was called Ab Begum (or the Fair Lady.) After Sultan Ahmed Mirza's death, Sultan Mahmud Mirza celebrated her marriage with that prince's eldest son, Sultan Masud Mirza, with great festivity. She afterwards fell into the hands of the Khushtarz in the same time with Shah Begum and Mehri-Nigar Khannum. 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 Thakund, 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 Mahdf Sultan. The youngest of all his daughters was Mashumeh Sultan Begum, whose mother, Habilsh Sultan Begum, was of the tribe of Arghun, and the daughter of one of Sultan Arghun's brothers. I saw her when I went to Khorasan, and, being pleased with her, asked her in marriage, and carried her to Kafui, 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.

Of his wives and ladies, the principal was Mehri-Nigar Khannum, the eldest daughter of Yusuf Khan, who was betrothed to him by his father, Sultan Masud Mirza. She was my mother's eldest sister of the full blood.

Another of his wives was of the family of Terkhs, and named Terkhan Begum. Another was Katak Begum, who was the foster-sister of this same Terkhs 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

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

2 This name is variously written in the different manuscripts at various times—sometimes Bar-ilik, sometimes Yar-ilik, and sometimes Yar-ilik.
dare not venture to frequent any other of his ladies. At last, however, he put her to death, and delivered himself from his reproach.

Another of his wives was Khan-Zadeh 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, his had newly married her, and she still kept her face covered with a veil, according to the custom of the Turkay. He directed me, and I took off her veil.

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

There was another, named Habibeh Sultan Begum, the brother's daughter of Sultan Arghun.

Of his Emirs, one was Jâni Beg Duhâ, the younger brother of Sultan Malek of Kashghar. Sultan Abusaid 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 Bukh. Jâni Beg asked him, "Why do they call you Bukh? If you are a Bukh, then let us have a set-to." The ambassador, do what he would, was unable to get off. The Hâkim grappled with the Uzek, who was thrown. Jâni Beg was a man of perfect courage.

Another of his nobles was Ahmed Hakî Beg, who was the son of Sultan Malek of Kashghar. Sultan Abusaid 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 amnous character, and in his poetical compositions assumed the name of Wâfi. He was the author of a Divân, and was no mean poet. The following is his:

Let me alone today, my good judge, for I am tipsy;  
Call me to account some other time, when you wash the censer.

Mir Ali Shir 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 Turkî 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 Divân is considered as the great trial of skill among the poets of Persia. It is a series of poems, in which the rhythm is taken successively from each item of the alphabet, beginning with a poem, the rhythm of which terminates with the first item of the alphabet, and finishing with one rhyming with the last. In these Divâns there are generally many poems rhyming in the same item.
with most extraordinary favour. Ahmed Häji Beg kept excellent horses of the breed termed Tipchák. He was an admirable horseman, and most of his Tipchák 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 Baisanghar Mirza attacked Sultan Ali Mirza in Bokhára and was defeated, Ahmed Häji Beg was taken prisoner and shamefully put to death, on the charge of the blood of Dervish Muhammed Terkhán.

Another of his officers was Dervish Muhammed Terkhán, the son of Uraja Bughá Terkhán, and full maternal uncle of Sultan Ahmed Mirza and Sultan Mahmúd Mirza. He stood higher in rank and estimation with the Mirza than any other of the Begs. He was a good Musulman, 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 Baisanghar Mirza he died, in bad repute, in the height of his greatness.

Another was Abdal Ali Terkhán, a near relation of Dervish Muhammed Terkhán, he married Dervish Muhammed Terkhán’s younger sister, who was the mother of Bakí Terkhán. Though Dervish Muhammed Terkhán 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 Bokhára, 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 and levees, were all quite prudently. He was a strict disciplinarian, tyrannical, lascivious, and haughty. Shébáni 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 Terkhán was the prime cause of the rise and progress of Shébáni Khan’s fortune, as well as of the downfall and destruction of the family of the ancient Khans.

Syed Yusef Oghlakéchí was another. His grandfather was from the house of Moghul. 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 jérd. He was one of those who were with me when I first went to Kábul.

1 Round-bodied and swift. — Lat. rettis. They are taught particular passes.
2 The Musulman law abominates the doctrine of retaliation, a murderer is frequently given up to the vengeance of the nearest relatives of the person murdered, by whom he is sometimes ransomed, sometimes put to death with circumstances of great cruelty.
3 The Terkhán was originally a rank among the Moghul and Turka, though in the time of Baber it had some to belong to a particular family or clan. The ancient Terkhán was exempt from all duties; he did not divide his bóyery even with the prince’s collarys; he could go into the royal presence without asking leave, and was to be pardoned nine times, he the faint what he would. Abd-ul-Arz, ap. Petis de la Croix’s Life of Genghis, p. 48. See also Vis de Timur, vol. II. p. 107. He had perfect liberty of speech, and might say what he pleased in the royal presence.
4 The strife was an enterainment to dependants, in which food was often distributed, instead of giving a regular dinner; much as the répétion was given by the French priests to their clients.
5 But his Khánísmoun’s Térick zéry and the Persiam trad. 6 He played well on the Kálibo, a kind of musical instrument.
showed him great attention, and indeed he was deserving of it. The first time that I led my army against Hindustan, I left Syed Yosef Beg behind in Kābūl, and he departed into the mercy of God that same year.

There was another named Dervis Beg, of the race of Aiko Taimur Beg, who was a favourite of Taimur Beg's. He was extremely attached to the renowned Khwajeh Abid-dīla, 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 Chirra, he perished in the river.

Another was Muḥammad Mazīd Terkhan, who was brother of the full blooded Dervis Muḥammad Terkhan, but younger. He was for some years Ḥākim or Governor of Turchestān. Sheibānī Khan took Turchestān from him. He had an excellent judgment and understanding, but was impatient 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 Kūl-Maḥaleh.

Bābī Terkhan was another, the son of Abdallā Ali Terkhan, and maternal cousin of Sultan Ahmed Mirza. After his father's death he had the government of Bokhara. 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 Sheibānī Khan and was defeated at the fort of Dāńshāri, when Sheibānī Khan, pursuing his advantage, took Bokhara. 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 eccentric and grew up in the midst of magnificence and state. As his father had conferred benefits on Sheibānī 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 Bābī Terkhan departed this life in great wretchedness and misery, in the country of Akhsā.

Another was Sultan Husain Arghūn. As he for some time held the government of Kārnūkūl, he was thence known by the name of Sultan Husain Karakūlī. He was a man of reflection and sound judgment, and was much with me.

Another was Kūl Muḥammad Baghālī Kuchī, a man of courage.

Abdul Kerim Ashrai was another; he was a Yūḡhūr, and chamberlain to Sultan Ahmed Mirza. He was a man of generosity and courage.

After the death of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the Bega having held a consultation, dispatched a messenger over the hills to Sultan Muḥammad Mirza to invite him to join them. Meanwhile Muḥammad Mirza, who was the son of Muḥammad Mirza, Sultan Abūsaid 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 Yūḡhūr, Tschūhūr, or Yūḡhūr, was a very celebrated Turch tribe. They had a peculiar alphabet, and were generally chosen as secretaries to the Turch Princes.
2 Edik-Agha, Master of Ceremonies.
3 Sultan Muḥammad Mirza was then at Hissār. The messenger, therefore, was obliged to cross the Karatah mountains.
and was only the cause of his own destruction, and of the death of several innocent princes.

Sultan Mahommed 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, army 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 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 Khwajah Abul-hau, 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 Khwajah himself. What added to these evils was, that, as the Prince himself was tyrannical and debauched, his Bega and servants all faithfully imitated his example. The men of Hissar, and particularly the body of troops that followed Khosru Shah, were constantly engaged in debauchery and drinking; and to such a length did matters go, that when one of Khosru Shah’s retainers had seized and carried off another man’s wife by force, on the husband’s coming with a complaint to Khosru 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 townspeople or shop-keepers, and not even the Turks and soldiers, could leave their houses, from a dread lest their children should be carried off for ransomes. 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 revered Khwajeh, were strong 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.

(Procter) Rescue of the souls of interned wounds:
   For a wound, though hidden, will at last break out.
Afflict me, if you can, even one heart,
   For a single groan is sufficient to confound a world.

1 The Gok-serai, or Greco-nomion, was the prison 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.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

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

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 906.

This year Abdal Kadīr Beg came to me as ambassador from Sultan Mahmud Amur Mirza, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son Sultan Masudd Mirza to Ak-Begum, the second daughter of his elder brother Sultan Ahmed Mirza, and brought me a present, consisting of almonds and pistachios of gold and silver. This ambassador, on his arrival, while he openly claimed kindness to Hassan Yakub, 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 of flattering promises. Hassan Yakub returned him a conciliatory answer, and in reality was gained over. When the ceremonial of the congratulations in the marriage was over, the ambassador took leave. In the course of five or six months the manners of Hassan Yakub 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 dispose me, and make Jhängir Mirza king in my place. His department 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, Khwājeh Ka'ī, Kāsim Kochhn, Ali Dost Taghāi, Ḫūz̄a'ī, Hassan, and several others who were attached to my interests, having met at my grandmother Isan-donOLT Begum's, came to the resolution of dismissing Hassan Yakub, and in that way of putting an end to his treasonable views.

There were few of her sex who equalled my grandmother Isan-donOLT Begum in sense and sagacity. She was uncommonly far-sighted and judicious; many affairs and enterprises of importance were conducted by her advice. Hassan Yakub was at this time in the citadel, and my mother and grandmother in the same fort. I proceeded straight to the citadel, in execution of the plan which had been concerted. Hassan Yakub, 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 Muḥammad Bākīr Beg, Sultan Mahmud Dālalādī, the father of Sultan Muḥammad Dālalādī, and some others. The greater part of them I allowed to proceed to Samarkand. Kāsim Kochhn was appointed Master of the Household, and received the government of Andijān.

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

* This year commenced at October, A.H. 1484.
* She was the widow of Yānis Khan, the chief of the Moghuls.
* That is to say, Prime Minister.
attempt on Akbas; and, with that view, entered the territory of Kuhân. 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 Yikub, 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.)

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

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

In the month of the latter Rabia, Sultan Mahmud 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.

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

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 dirham or dinar of his revenues was expended without his knowledge. He was regular in paying the allowances of his servants; and his banquets, his domestics, 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 of 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 nilhala. He carried his violence and debauchery to a frantic excess; and was constantly drinking wine. He kept a number of eunuchates; 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, may his own foster-brothers, and the

1 Kuhân, the Kuchand of the Arabian geographers, is the modern Kohan, which lies on the road from Kingiand to Akbas.
2 The Musulmans have many observances regarding unwholesome meats and ceremonial defilements. Some of these are not much attended to by soldiers or men in active life.
3 The dirhams and dinars are Persian pieces of money; the former is now of the value of about fifteen halfpence; the latter of about nine shillings.
4 I do not know what animal the nilhala is. From its name it may perhaps be the Nâg-jux. It is said to be the Geminus holb.
5 The connection formed between foster-brothers is always very strong in rude ages. The Turks called them Golumshah, or bear of stones, to denote their unchangeable attachment. Later Sikh statesman his Golumshah with great attention.
children of his foster-brothers, he made satamites 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 satamite 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.

He had a turn for versifying, and composed a Divān; but his poetry is flat and his prose stupid; and it is surely better not to write at all than to write in that style. He was of an unbelieving disposition, and treated Khwājeh Abd-Allah very ill. He was, in short, a man equally devoid of courage and of modesty. He kept about him a number of buffoons and sycophants, 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.

He fought two battles, both of them with Sultan Hussain Mirza; the first at Asturabad, in which he was defeated; the second in the territory of Andeshkūd, at a place named Chakman, in which likewise he was defeated. He went twice on a religious war against Kōftaristan on the south of Badakhshān; on which account he used in the Togha of his Firmān the style of Sultan Mahommed Ghāzī.

Sultan Ahmadd Mirza bestowed on him Asturabad, and, after the unfortunate business of Irāk, he repaired to Khurasan. At that crisis Kamber Ali Beg, the Hākin of Hisar, who, according to orders which he had received from Sultan Ahmadd Mirza, was conducting the army of Hindustān towards Irāk to the assistance of that prince, had got as far as Khurasan, where he joined Sultan Mahommed Mirza. The people of Khurasan, immediately on hearing the report of Sultan Hussain Mirza's approach, rose in revolt, and drove Sultan Mahommed Mirza out of Khurasan; whereupon he repaired to Sultan Ahmed Mirza at Samarkand. A few months after, Syed Beiser, Khaere Shah, and some other officers, under the direction of Ahmed Meshkītā, carried off Sultan Mahommed Mirza, and fled with him to Hissar, to Kamber Ali Beg. From that time downwards Kołkugha, with all the countries to the south of the hill of Koīn, such as Termas, Chogāmān, Hissar, Khulitan, Kāndiz, Badakhshān, and the districts as far as the mountain of Hindukūsh, remained in the possession of Sultan Mahommed Mirza. On the death of his elder brother Sultan Ahmed Mirza, that prince's territories also fell into his hands.

He had five sons and eleven daughters. The eldest of his sons was Sultan Mūsā Mirza, whose mother was Khanāzāde Beg, a daughter of Mr Buzīry of Termas; another of his sons was Bātesaṅghar Mirza, whose mother was Pashe Begum, a third was Sultan Ali Mirza, whose mother, Zahreh Bāghi Aga, was an Uzbek and a concubine. Another son was Sultan Hussain Mirza, whose mother was Khanāzāde Bē-

1 On the south-east corner of the Caspian.
2 Below the hills, east of Balkh 83 miles, towards the Desert.
3 Mr Masselie's copy has Chekmān-ward.
4 The country of the Indus ganges.
5 The Togha is the commissioned preamble of public papers containing the prince's titles, &c.
6 Ghāzī means victorious in a holy war.
7 The hill of Koīn seems to be the unambitious country that bounds Kūrtūnum on the south. Kołkugha, or Kaluga, is the Pass of Derbend (between Hissar and Erak), where there was probably a fort.
gum, the grand-daughter of Mir Buzurg. He went to the mercy of the Almighty in his father's lifetime, at the age of thirteen. The other son was Sultan Wais Mirza, whose mother, Sultan Nigar 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.

Of the daughters, three were by the same mother with Baisanghar Mirza; the eldest of whom Sultan Mahmud Mirza gave in marriage to Malek Mohammed Mirza, the son of his paternal uncle Munscheher Mirza. By Khanzadeh Begum, the grand-daughter of Mir Buzurg, he had five daughters, the eldest of whom, after the death of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, was given to Abaecker Kaghchari. The second daughter was Begah Begum, whom Sultan Hassan Mirza, when he besieged Istar, engaged to Hanif Mirza, his son by Payemshah Sultan Begum, a daughter of Abusaid Mirza; after which he made peace and raised the siege. The third daughter was Ak-Begum. When Sultan Hassan Mirza advanced against Kundez, Omar-Sheikh Mirza sent his son Janghir Mirza with the army of Andjals to succour the place; at which time the fourth princess was betrothed to Janghir Mirza. In the year 910, when Baki Cheghani came and met me on the banks of the Amu, these Beguums were with their mothers in Termez, and they all of them came along with the wife of Baki Cheghani and accompanied me; and, on our reaching Kohmerd, Janghir Mirza married his bride. They had one daughter, who is at present with her grandmother Khanzadeh Begum in Badakhshan. The fifth daughter was Zeinab Sultan Begum, whom, when I took Kaul, I married, at the instance of my mother, Kultuk Nigar 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 Mahmud Mirza's daughters was Maksudin Sultan Begum, who was the eldest sister of Sultan Ali Mirza, by the same mother. She is now in Badakhshan. His other two daughters were by concubines; the name of the one was Rajab Sultan, that of the other Mubeh Sultan.

The chief of his wives was Khanzadeh Begum, the daughter of Mir Buzurg of Termez, to whom the Mirza was strongly attached, and who was the mother of Sultan Masaid Mirza. The Mirza was deeply afflicted at her death. After that event he married the grand-daughter of Mir Buzurg, the daughter of a brother of Khanzadeh Begum. She also was called Khanzadeh Begum, and she was the mother of five daughters and one son. Another of his wives was Patshah Begum, the daughter of Ali Shir Beg Behard, one of the Begs of the Turkoman Horde of the Black Sheep. She had been married before to Mahammedi Mirza, the son of Jehan-shah Mirza B aircraft: a Turkoman of the Black Sheep. At the period when Umar Hassan, who was a Turkoman of the White Sheep, took Azerbaijan and Irak from the family of Jehan-shah Mirza, the sons of Ali Shir Beg, with four or five thousand families of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, entered the service of Sultan Abusaid Mirza. After the defeat of the Sultan, they found their way to the countries north of the Amu, and

It is to be remembered that Sultan Mahmud Mirza had two wives of the name of Khanzadeh Begum, the one the daughter, the other the grand-daughter of Mir Buzurg.
when Sultan Mahmud Mirza went from Samarkand to Hissar, they entered his service. It was at that time that the Mirza married the Padshah Begum, who was the mother of one of his sons and three of his daughters. Another of his wives was Sultan Nigar Khanum, whose extraction has already been mentioned in the account of the Khans.

He had many concubines and handmaids, the principal of whom was Zehre Begi, his second. Agna, an Ugtek, whom he had taken in the lifetime of Sultan Ahsfid 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.

The first of his Begs was Khooran Shah, who was from Turkestan, of a tribe of Kipchak. In his youth he had been in the service of the Turkhan Begs, 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. The time of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, his dependants amounted to the number of five or six thousand. From the banks of the Amu to the mountain Hindukush, the whole country, except Badakhshán, depended on him, and he enjoyed the whole revenues of it. He was remarkable for making a very extensive distribution of vienals, and for his liberality. Though a Turk, 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 Mahmud 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 a sadder 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 man, 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 servitors, he had not the spirit to face a barn-door chicken. He will be often mentioned again in these memoirs.

Another was Pir Muhammad I则hi Bagha, a Kochin. In the war of Huškar, near the gates of Bakhsh, he did great execution with his hosts by way of bravado, in the presence of Sultan Ahsfid 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 Kunduz, Pir Muhammad, from rivalry to Khooran Shah, made 1 This Khosru Shah sets a considerable part in the course of these Memoirs.

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

Another was Ayâh, who had served Sultan Abussâd Mirza in the band of Khorasan Youths. He was a man of courage, and was Beg Uthâ (or governor) to Baiesanghar Mirza. He was moderate in his table and dress, and of an honourable, lively turn. Sultan Mahommed Mirza having called him Biyâ (or skameloss), the epithet stuck to him.

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 Masûd Mirza was hanged, and Baiesanghar Mirza carried out the death sentence. 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 Kunduz, in the vicinity of Khalkâ and Doshâ, and dismissed him, Wali, from dread of the Uzbek, went to Anderâb and Sirâh. The Almas of these quarters defeated and plundered him, and he afterwards came to Kâbul with my permission. Wali subsequently went to Muhammed Shebabâni Khan, who ordered his head to be struck off in Samarkand.

Another of his chiefs was Sheikh-Abdulla Birlass. He married Shah Sultan Muhammad's daughter, who, by the mother's side, was aunt to Sultan Mahomed Khan and Ababekar Mirza. He wore his frock very straight and tightened by a belt. He was an upright, unaffected man.

Another was Mahommed Birlass, who was of the Birlass of Nundâh. He had attained the rank of Beg in Sultan Abussâd Mirza's time. When that prince subdued the territories of Irâk, he gave Kermân to this Mahommed Birlass, and at a later period, when Ababekar Mirza, accompanied by Mazid Beg Arghum, and the Begs of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, came against Sultan Mahommed Mirza at Hisâr, and the Mirza fled to Samarkand to his elder brother, Mahommed Birlass refused to surrender Hisâr, and manfully held it out. He was a poet, and composed a Divân.

After Sultan Mahommed 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 soldiers and citizens, rising tumultuously, fell upon Khosrou Shah. Ahmed Hâj Beg and the Terkân Begs, having allayed the tumult, sent off Khosrou Shah towards Hisâr. Sultan Mahommed Mirza, in his lifetime, had given Hisâr to his eldest son Sultan Masûd Mirza, and Bodhârâ 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

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1 Shah Sultan Muhammad, King of Bokhârâ, has already been mentioned as the father of Shah Begum, who was one of the wives of Yunic Khan, and mother of the Great and Little Khans, and their two queens.
Begs of Samarkand and Hisâr having met and consulted together, sent an express to Bâiesânghar Mirza, who was in Dukhâr, and, bringing him to Samarkand, placed him on the throne. When Bâiesânghar became king he was only eighteen years of age.

At this crisis, Sultan Mahmûd Khan, at the instigation and by the advice of Sultan Jûneid Birâh and some of the chief men of Samarkand, advanced with an army against that capital, as far as Kandâh, which lies in the territory of Samarkand. Bâiesânghar Mirza, with the utmost activity and vigour, led out a strong and well-appointed body of troops, and engaged him not far from Kandâh. Haider Gokulâsh, 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. The instant that the resolute mailed warriors of Samarkand and Hisâr charged keenly on horseback, the whole of Haider Gokulâsh’s division, which had dismounted, was ridden down and trampled under the horse’s feet. After the disgracefulness 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 Bâiesânghar Mirza, that they were forced three several times to shift his pavilion, in consequence of the heaps of slain that lay before it.

At this same time Ibrâhîm Sârû, who was of the tribe of Minkalîsh, 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 misdeemour, now entered the East of Asia, read the Khutbâ (or public prayer for the Prince) in the name of Bâiesânghar Mirza, and commenced open hostilities against me. In the month of Shâbîn I made the army mount, and marched to quell the revolt of Ibrâhîm Sârû; May 1446.

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 Kasim, the chamberlain, this day acted the most distinguished part, pushed on before the other assailants, and laid about him with his semyr. Sultan Ahmed Tâbâh, and Mohammed Dood Tâghâ, also wielded their semyars gallantly; but Syed Kasim gained the Úfah (or prize of valour). The Úfah (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 Úfah, or prize of valour. When I went to Shahrokh in visit my maternal uncle Sultan Mahmûd Khan, Syed Kasim claimed and received the Úfah. In this first day’s action, Khuda-herdî, my governor, was struck with an arrow from a cross-bow, and died. As the troops had rushed into the enterprise without armour, several of them were slain, and a great many wounded.

* A tâghâ is a kind of forked arrow, often mentioned in the Memoirs.
* The prisoners were brought out one after another, and had their heads struck off before the royal tent.
* The Úfah is an Arabic word, signifying the fied left after a feast. The fumour seems nearly to correspond with the Aristaia of the Greeks.
* Afshâr.
Ibrâhîm 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-koh, to ram mines, and to use every exertion to get ready whatever machinery or works were wanted for pushing on the siege. The siege lasted forty days; but, at last, Ibrâhîm Sâru, being reduced to the last extremity, made his offer of unlimited submission through the medium of Khwâjeh Mouli Khan Kazî; and, in the month of Shawal, having come out and presented himself before me with a cymiter suspended from his neck, delivered up the fort.

Khojend had, for a long period, belonged to Osman 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.

Abdul Wahab Shâhâbuddowl, the father of Mir Moghul, commanded in the place; and, immediately on my approach, without making any difficulty, surrendered the fortress.

At this period, Sultan Mahmûd Khan happened to be in Shahrûkhan. Some time before, when Sultan Ahmed Mirza advanced into the territory of Andejan, 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, 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 further advantage, that it would enable me to form a nearer and better idea of the real state of things at his court.

Having formed this resolution, I went on, and waited on the Khan in the neighbourhood of Shahrûkhan, 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 Khandelik and Amâni, and proceeded towards Akhsi and Andejan. 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 Andejan, by the route of Bedel-Sillar, and arrived between evening and bed-time prayers. The road by Bedel-Sillar is nine farsangs.

1 Sir-koh 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 Turks, great respect was paid to the father or chief person of the family; and the forms of this respect submitted, both in language and ceremony, long after the custom had ceased.
4 Shahrûkhan, formerly Renâbêt, stands on the Sirr, between Khojend and Tashkend.
5 The road by Khandelik and Amâni seems to have been that generally pursued in going from either Tashkend or Shahrûkhan to Akhsi.
Among the inhabitants of the wilds of the country of Andijan, 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 Ferghana and Kashgar. They have great numbers of horses and sheep; and on these mountains, instead of the common ox, they have the Kitha, or mountain ox, in great numbers; and as they inhabit mountains difficult of access, they will not pay tribute. Having, therefore, given Kasm 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. Kasm Beg accordingly proceeded against them, and took twenty thousand sheep and fifteen hundred horses, which were divided among the soldiers of the army.

After the return of the army from the country of the Jagrag, I proceeded against circuit Urutippe, which had long been subject to Omeir Sheikh Mirza, but had been lost the year of his death. It was at present held for Kaisangar Mirza by his younger brother, Sultan Ali Mirza. Sultan Ali Mirza, on receiving information of my approach, escaped alone to the hill-country of Maukha, leaving his governor, Sheikh Zakim, in Urutippe. While on the road, after I had passed Khujand, I dispatched Kholifa as my envoy to Sheikh Zakim, to communicate with him; but that wrong-headed man, instead of returning a suitable answer, seized on Kholifa, and gave orders that he should be put to death. Such, however, was not the pleasure of God; and Kholifa 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 Urutippe; 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 Andijan. After my departure, the Khan's people attacked Urutippe, and the inhabitants being unable to resist, were obliged to surrender the city. The Khan gave Urutippe to Muhummed Husain Korkan, in whose hands it remained from that time till the year 908.6

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 901.7

Sultan Hussain Mirza having led an army from Khorsan against Hissar in the winter season, arrived at Termes.8 Sultan Musa Mirza, on his part, also collected an army, advanced towards Termes, and took post in front of him, to prevent his crossing the Amu. Khosrow Shah, having fortified himself in Kandes, sent his younger

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1 In that year it was taken by Sheikhli Khan.
2 The year of the Hijra 901 commences 31st September, A.D. 1093.
3 Termes is the chief passage over the Amu, between Balkh and Hindo.
brother, Walli, to join Massa'id's army. 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, having an experienced and intelligent general, and full of expedients, he marched up the river towards Kushin; and, after having by this manoeuvre put the opposite army off their guard, he dispatched Abdallah Bakshi, who was an excellent officer, with five or six hundred chosen men, down to the passage of Kilif. Before the enemy were apprised of his motions, Abdallah Bakshi had made good his passage with his whole party at the ferry of Kilif, and fortified a position on the opposite bank of the river. When this intelligence reached Sultan Massa'id Mirza, in spite of the warmest instances of Khosrou Shah's brother Walli, 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 Bakti Chasmani, who hated Walli, would not march against them, but, breaking up in terror and confusion, took the road to Hisar. Sultan Hussain Mirza having passed the river, detached Billa-es-Zeman Mirza, Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, Muhammad Walli Beg, and Zulfin Argibin, without loss of time, against Khosrou Shah, and sent Muhammad Berenduk Birlas against Khutlin; whilst he himself advanced upon Hisar. On learning the news of his near approach, Sultan Massa'id Mirza no longer thought himself safe even in Hisar; but flying up the river Kamrud, by way of Sirnatik, went to join his younger brother Baisanghir Mirza, in Samarkand. Walli drew off towards Khutlin; while Bakti Chasmani, Mahmud Birla, and Sultan Ahmed, the father of Kuch Beg, fortified themselves in Hisar. Khanmiz Sultan and Mehedi Sultan, who, several years before, had separated themselves from Shershah Khan, and had been entertained in the service of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, with a body of Uzbeks, and Muhammad Doghlet and Sultan Hussain Doghlet, who, with a band of Moghuls, had settled in the country of Hisar, all now, in this general dispersion, retired towards Karatigin.

Sultan Hussain Mirza, being informed of these proceedings, dispatched Abdul Hassan Mirza with a body of troops to the valley of Kamrud, in pursuit of Sultan Massa'id Mirza. They overtook him at the pass, but were unable to effect nothing of importance. Mirza Beg Fereingi distinguished himself by his bravery. The Sultan also dispatched Ibrahim Turkhan and Yakh Ayub with a considerable detachment, against Khanmiz Sultan and the Moghuls, who had taken refuge in Karatigin. The detachment having overtaken them in that country, an engagement ensued, and Sultan Hussain Mirza's troops were defeated. The greater part of the Beys were dismounted and taken prisoners; but afterwards suffered to depart. Khanmiz Sultan, Mehedi Sultan, and Manuk Sultan, the son of Khanmiz Sultan, Muhammad Doghlet, who was afterwards better known by the name of Muhammad Hisari, Sultan Hussain Doghlet, and such

1 Sultan Massa'id Mirza, it will be recollected, was the eldest son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, whom he had nominally succeeded in the sovereignty of Hisar; and the adjoining countries. The real authority was in the hands of Khosrou Shah.

2 Kilif is on the Aras, below Temur. The expression rather imports foot of Kilif, but it may be implied that there is any kind of low-down.

3 The Kamrud river descends from the Kirgiz mountains, flowing S. E. towards Hisar.
of the Uzbek as depended on the Sultans, along with the Moghuls who had settled in the country of Hasar, and who had been in the service of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, after giving me due notice of their approach, came to Andejâh in the month of Ramzan. On this occasion I received them sitting on a toshak, according to the custom of the sovereign of the house of Taimur. When Khurâsh Sultan, with Mehedi Sultan and Mannâh 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. A body of Moghuls, commanded by Muhammad Hassârî, also came and entered into my service.

Sultan Hassan Mirza having invested the fort of Hasar, encamped and pitched himself, without rest or intermission, night and day, in running mines, in assaulting the fort, in battering it with shot 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 counteracted, discovered it, and from above introduced smoke upon those in the mine, the besiegers, on observing this, instantly closed on 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.

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 attempted except pushing on the work, the running of mines, the raising of works to overtop the walls, and discharging of stones. There was no fine fighting.

Badg-ez-Zemân Mirza, with the detachment sent by Sultan Hassân Mirza against Khosrû Shah, having encamped three or four farsangs below Kunduz, Khosrû Shah immediately armed and marched out of that place with much of his troops as he had left with him, and next morning came down upon Badg-ez-Zemân Mirza and his army, when that mighty body of Mirza, and Begg, and Chief, who, with their men,
if they were not double the number of Khosro 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. Khosro Shah’s force, good and bad, great and small, might perhaps amount to four or five thousand. And this Khosro 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.

Hajja-ye-Zemin Mirza, having encamped, halted after some marches; at Talikhan in the Ulugh Bugh. Khosro Shah remained in the fort of Kandiz, and sent his brother Wall with a chosen body of well-appointed troops to Ishkamish, Fülül, and the skeris of that hill-country, to hang upon the rear of the enemy, and to harass them in their march. On one occasion Mahbub Ali Korofi, accompanied by a body of well-armed warriors, having fallen in with a party of the enemy on the banks of the river of Khvilun, 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, Sultan Ali Derkan, and his younger brother Kuli Beg, with Behsal Ayub and a party of spirited young men, having overtaken the army of Khosraun at Amboor, near Khwajah Changal, charged them on their march, but without success; and Sultan and Kuli Baba, with a whole body of their followers, were dismounted and made prisoners.

When news of these transactions reached Sultan Hussain Mirza, whose army, besides, was not without apprehensions on account of the spring rains of Hisar, he pitched up a camp; in consequence of which Mahmud Birads having come out of the fort, and being met on the part of the besiegers by Haji Pir Bekawal with a few great lords, and such musicians and singers as were to be got being collected, the eldest daughter of Sultan Mahmoud Mirza by Khamsedeh Begum was given in marriage to Haider Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Hussain Mirza by Payendeh Sultan Begum, and grandson of Sultan Ahmad Mirza by one of his daughters; after which the Sultan broke up from Hisar and took the route of Kandiz.

Having reached Kandiz, he drove in all the enemy’s parties, and set about making

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1. Talikhan lies nearly 60 miles higher up the river than Kandiz.
2. That is, the Great Garden.
3. Ishkamish lies higher up the Aksara river than Kandiz, on the Busai branch of it.
4. The Persian has Shulad.
5. Khwajah Changal lies on the Talikhan river about fourteen miles above that place.
6. The above paragraph is not in the Leyden’s manuscript, and is taken from the other copies.
his arrangements for the siege; but Badia-ez-Zemān 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 Khozestan Shah, and all his subsequent doings, so much out of his sphere, were entirely owing to the two expeditions of Sultan Husain Mirza to reduce him, and to the retreat of that monarch without effecting his purpose.

When Sultan Husain Mirza reached Balkh, in order the better to watch the potentialities of Mawerzain Khan, he gave Balkh to Badia-ez-Zemān Mirza, and the province of Astarābād to Muradār Husain Mirza; and made them both kneel at the same knee for the grant of these provinces. This arrangement gave great offence to Badia-ez-Zemān, and was the original cause of his engaging in a long series of rebellions and revolts.

In the same month of Ramaḍān, the rebellion of the Turkhāns broke out in Samarkand. It was occasioned by the conduct of Baissanghar Mirza, who held much greater intercourse with the Begs and soldiers of Hisáir, and behaved towards them with much more confidence and familiarity, than he did towards those of Samarkand. Shálíkh Abdullá Búrsh, 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 mistresses and lovers. This gave great offence to the Turkhán Beghs, and to several of the nobles of Samarkand, so that in the end Dervish Muhammad Turkhán leaving Bokhára, brought Sultan Ali Mirza from Kaschi, proclaimed him king, and advanced along with him to Samarkand to the New Garden, where Baissanghar 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. After afternoon prayers they had a consultation, and came to the severe resolution of sending the Mirza to Goshserād. Baissanghar Mirza, under pretence of a necessary occasion, entered an edifice on the north-east of the palace gardens. The Turkhāns waited without at the door, while Muhammad Kuli Kischin and Husáin Sherbétchi entered along with him. To the back part of this house into which the Mirza had gone under the pretence that he 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 Goshserād side of the bastion, and, descending by the Aqueduct, threw himself over the dūthic or parapet wall. He betook himself to Kháchîkh Kushtír, to the house of Khwājah Khwājah. Those who waited without, after a certain time, having entered to look after him, found that the Mirza had escaped.

1 This ceremony of kneeling, or rather bowing the knee, to the prince on receiving a grant, was equivalent to an acknowledgment of submission.
2 Badia-ez-Zemān asserted that his father had previously made a grant of Astarābād to Muhammad Minān Mirza, a son of Bálí-ee-Zemān, and the young Mirza was made in possession of it.
3 Rega-ee-see.
4 Kaschi lies south of Káshkí.
5 The dūthic is a double wall that projects from fortifications in order to reduce and cover a road which generally leads down to water.
Next morning the Terkhanus collected round the house of Khwajehs 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 Ahul Makârim, Ahmed Hâl Beg, and some others of the Begs and soldiers, with a multitude of the town's people rising simultaneously, brought away the Mirza from the Khwâjeh's house, and besieged Sultan Ali Mirza and the Terkhanus in the citadel, which they were unable to hold out for a single day. Muhammad Mazid Terkhan fell into the hands of the assailants.

Baissanghar Mirza was in Ahmed Hâl Beg's house when Derrish Muhammed Terkhan 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: but this did not save him, and he received his punishment. Sultan Ali Mirza was ordered to be conducted to Gok-serai, and to have the salt or fire-penail applied to his eyes. The Gok-serai is one of the palaces built by Taimur Beg; 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. Inasmuch, that it has passed into a common expression, that such a prince has been conducted to the Gok-serai, a hint which is perfectly well understood to mean, that he has been put to death. Sultan Ali Mirza was accordingly carried to Gok-serai, and had the fire-penail 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 the circumstances, he was sent to Khwâjeh Yâhâ's house, and, after two or three days, fled, and joined the Terkhanus at Bolghär. From this period an enmity subsisted between the sons of the revered Khwâjeh Abdûl-ulhaq, for the elder became the spiritual guide of the elder prince, and the younger of the younger. In a few days Khwâjeh Yâhâ followed him to Bolghär.

Baissanghar Mirza, having collected an army, advanced towards Bolghär against Sultan Ali Mirza; but when he arrived in the vicinity of that city, Sultan Ali Mirza and the Terkhanus Begs, having arrayed their forces, marched out, and a trilling action ensued, which terminated in favour of Sultan Ali Mirza, Baissanghar Mirza being...

1. Taimur Beg is located.

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

3. It is certain that though Gok-serai, the green palace, is here said to be one of the palaces built by Taimur Beg, we are told by Pâto de la Croix, Hist. of Grangha Cilm, p. 171, that that campagne put to death Gauzer Khan, who made the brave defense of Quraz, to the palace of Choomserai, and the same fact is repeated p. 223, and said to have taken place in Choomserai, 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.
defeated. Ahmed Haji 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 Dervish Muhammad Turkhan, under presence of revenging the blood of their master, put Ahmed Haji Beg to a miserable death. Sultan Ali Mirza pursued Baisangher Mirza as far as Samarkand.

This intelligence reached me at Andijan in the month of Shawal, 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 Hisaib and Kunday, and as Sultan Mansud Mirza and Khwaja Shah had recovered from their alarms, Sultan Masud Mirza now likewise, on his side, advanced by Shehr Seh, in order to assert his pretensions to Samarkand. Khwaja Shah sent his younger brother Wali to accompany the Mirza. For three or four months Samarkand was thus beleaguered on three sides; when Khwaja Taha came to me from Sultan Ali Mirza, with proposals for an alliance and conciliation between us, and managed matters so successfully that a personal conference was agreed upon. I therefore moved with my army three or four farsangs, on the Sughd side of Samarkhaid, 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 middle 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 Bina and Muhammad Saleh, who were with the Khwaja. Muhammad Saleh I never saw except on this occasion; but Mulla Bina was afterwards for some time in my service.

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 Andijan, and Sultan Ali Mirza to Bokhara. Sultan Masud Mirza being deeply enamoured of the daughter of Shiekh Abdulla Birlas, married her; and renouncing his schemes of ambition, returned to Hisat. Nay, this was his only object in advancing against Samarkand.

About this time Muzaffar Sultan fled from the territory of Shiraz and Kandah and went to Samarkand; and Khwaja Sultan, having received my permission, also went from Rampa and repaired to the same place.

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1 The month of Shawal A.H. 804, begins 15th June 1498.
2 Or Koh, S.E. of Samarkand.
3 About 148 miles; the Persian has shaima (kw), which would be probably six or seven miles.
4 A particular account of Mulla Bina is afterwards given by describing the eminent men of Sultan Hussain Mirza's Court. He was distinguished as a man of letters and a wise.
THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 902.

During this winter the affairs of Baissangheir Mirza had attained their most prosperous situation. Abdal Kerim Ashret having advanced on the part of Sultan Ali Mirza to Kofia and its environs, Mehedi Sultan issued from Samarqand with Baissangheir Mirza’s light troops, and attacked him by surprise. Abdal Kerim Ashret and Mehedi Sultan having met face to face, engaged each other with their sayyuris. Abdal Kerim’s horse fell with him, and, as he was in the act of rising, Mehedi Silling 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 Samarqand and the court of the Mirzas were in complete disorder, availed themselves of their foresight and went off to join Shohbani Khan.

Elated by the issue of this skirmish, the men of Samarqand assembled and marched out in array to meet Sultan Ali Mirza. Baissangheir Mirza advanced to Sarpul, and Sultan Ali Mirza to Khwajab Kardzin. At this same time, Khwajah Abd Makkin, with Weis Lagoari, Mahomed Bakhir, and Mir Kasim Dukuh, who were of the Begs of Andijan, acting on the advice of Khwajah Murad, set out one night with a party of the household and retainers of Baissangheir Mirza, intending to surprise Bokhara. Before they reached the city, however, the people of Bokhara were alarmed, and the attempt failed; so that they were obliged to return back without effecting anything.

In my conferences with Sultan Ali Mirza, it had been settled, that, in the summer, he should advance from Bokhara, and I from Andijan, to form the siege of Samarqand. According to this agreement, in the month of Ramzan, I mounted, and proceeded from Andijan to Yar-Ishak, where, having received information that the Mirzas were lying front to front, I dispatched Talian Khwajab Moghad, with two or three hundred skirmishers, to advance on them with all expedition. By the time that they got near, Baissangheir 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 Shiraz, which at that time belonged to Kasim Dukuh. 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 Ibrahim Sara. Next morning, after having performed the prayers of the id-Fitr, I proceeded towards Samarqand, and halted in the fields of Abyar. The same day, Kasim

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*The year A.H. 902 begins on the 9th September 1496.
* The Shurza here spoken of lies about 25 miles north of Samarqand.
* The id-Fitr is the festival of the first new moon in Shawal, when the last fast of Ramzan finishes. The first appearance of the new moon is watched for at the end of the fast, and is instantly announced, as the signal of joy, by the minarets of the mosques.
* Fields of Abyar, the Kurish of Abyar. These Kurish are retired fields, in which the Prince in the summer months comes to enjoy the season, taking the families of his family with him. The outskirts of them are carefully guarded by patrols, to keep off intruders.*
MEMOIRS OF BARBER.

Dulda'i, Weis Llaghari, Hassan Nabireh, Sultan Muhammed Signel, and Sultan Muhammed Weis, with three or four hundred men, came and entered into my service. Their story was, that, as soon as Balesanghar 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 Balesanghar Mirza, they had undertaken to defend the fortress of Shiraz; and had set out with that intention; but that, on discovering how things stood with regard to Shiraz, they found that there was nothing left for it but to come and join me.

When I halted at Kara-bulakh, many straggling Moghuls, who had been guilty of great excesses in different villages through which they had passed, were seized and brought in. Kasim 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 Mushta to the Khan, Kasim Beg found it necessary to separate from me on account of this very transaction, and went to Hissar.

Marching from Kara-bulakh, I crossed the river, and halted near Yarn. The same day, some of my principal Begs attacked a body of Balesanghar Mirza's troops on the Khilalan (or public pleasure-ground) of the city. In this skirmish, Sultan Ahmed Tumbol was wounded in the neck with a spear, but did not fall from his horse. Khwajaulla Mullah, the Sadler (or chief judge), who was the eldest brother of Khwaja Kialo, 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. While we were in the vicinity of Yarn, a number of persons, both traders and others, came from the town to the camp-bazaar, 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 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.

Marching thence, I halted at Yare-Khan, about three kas 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 Khilalan (or pleasure-ground of the city), between our people and the townsmen. In one of these actions, Ibrahim Begchik received a

1. From an apprehension that the relations of the Moghuls so punished would presume the revenge of blood.
2. The Khilalan so often mentioned, is a large square, planted with several parallel rows of trees, and spreading over a considerable extent of ground, where the townsmen come out in the evening, or on holidays, to divert themselves. The broad walks of a garden inclosed by low shrubs often receive the same name.
3. Yarn Khan means in Turkish the Khan's mansion or summer. This has may be about five miles.
saber wound in the face, from whence he was always afterwards called Ibrahim Chaspuk (or Shashed-face.) On a different occasion, in the Khibab, at the bridge over the Moghak, Abul Khair Khan Kohhur laden about him with his pissa (or mace) in grand style. At another time, and also in the Khibab, in the vicinity of Ternan, there was a skirmish, in which Mir Shah Kochin distinguished himself with his mace, but received such a dreadful wound from a similar, that his neck was half cut through; the arteries, however, luckily were not separated.

While we remained at Yuret-Khan, the townspeople treacherously sent a man, who was instructed to tell us, that, if we would come by night on the side next the Lower Cave, they would deliver the fort into our hands. Seduced by this promise, we mounted at night, and advanced by the bridge over the Moghak, whence we sent on a small party of chosen horses, 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 Haji, who had attended me from my infancy. Another was Malmud G Nodeameem. 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, and you could find in the camp whatever is procurable in towns. During this interval, the inhabitants surrendered to 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-dar, which obliged me to decamp from the Yuret, and march against them. Being unable to maintain the place, they availed themselves of the mediation of Khwajah Kazi, and surrendered. I received their submission, and returned to invest Samarkand.

This same year, the misunderstanding that had previously subsisted between Sultan Hussain Mirza and Badsh-e-es-zemim came to an open rupture. The circumstances are as follows:—In the course of last year, Sultan Hussain Mirza had given Bulak to Badsh-e-es-zemim Mirza; and Astarhabad to Mumaffer 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. All Shir Beg himself had at last been sent as ambassador, but, with all his endeavours, he could not prevail on Badsh-e-es-zemim Mirza to give up Astarhabad to his younger brother. That prince asserted, that, at the circumcision of his son Muhammad Momin Mirza, the Mirza had made him a grant of it. An incident one day oc-

1 Pahl-e-Moghak may, however, be the name of a village. The Moghak runs little east of Samarkand.
2 The pissa 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 Shahistan.
3 Two-edged.
4 Pahl-e-Moghak.
5 Gun sagal—Pers.

This friendly intercourse between nations bespoke an advanced state of civilization, and seems to declare that the long-continued prosperity of Samarkand, from the time of Taimur Beg downwards, had produced the small effects of refinement, mildness of manners, and mutual confidence.
curred between the Mirza and Ali Shír Beg, which equally proves the Mirza's sanctity and presence of mind, and the acute feelings of Ali Shír Beg. Ali Shír 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, in the next, answered, with apparent indifference, "Pray, what was it you mentioned?" Ali Shír 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, towards Balkh and Astaryáb.

Sultan Husain Mirza advancing up the country, and Badda-ex-zemán Mirza marching down, the two armies encountered below Gīzewan, in the meadows of Yekchirgh. On Wednesday the first of Ramzan, Abúl Husain Mirza, and some of Sultan Husain Mirza's Beys, having pushed on with a detachment of troops as a plundering party, routed Badda-ex-zemán Mirza after what could hardly be called an action. Many young cavaliers of his party were taken prisoners. Sultan Husain 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 Ramzan, 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 reveling 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. Badda-ex-zemán Mirza had held the government of Astaryáb for several years. During all that time, the young cavaliers, faith in that place and its environs, were all arrayed in gay and gallant attire. He had many armaments and accoutrements of silver and gold, much furniture of rich cloth, with innumerable Tichak 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.

After the defeat of his son, Sultan Husain Mirza advanced to Balkh, which Badda-ex-zemán Mirza had left in charge of Sháikh Ali Taghái, who found nothing left for it but to surrender the fortress. Sultan Husain Mirza having given Balkh to Ibrahim Husain Mirza, and left with him Muhammed Wall Beg and Shah Husain Cháhrá, himself returned back to Khorasán.

Badda-ex-zemán Mirza, after his defeat, being in great distress, and stript of every-

That is to say, in consequence of the dispute between Musáfer Husain Mirza and Muhammed Musaín Mirza, matters proceeded to such lengths, that Sultan Husain Mirza, the father of Musáfer Husain Mirza, advanced with an army towards Balkh against Badda-ex-zemán Mirza, the father of Muhammed Musaín Mirza; and Musáfer Husain Mirza, the son of Sultan Husain Mirza, led an army towards Samarqand against Muhammed Musaín Mirza, the son of Badda-ex-zemán Mirza. — Previous note.

* Gissawan lies between Balkh and Herat, three or four marches south-west of Balkh.
thing, accompanied by such of his men old and young, horse and foot, as still adhered to him, proceeded to Kāndahār to Khoṣru 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 there was no difference between their former and present arms or accoutrements, excepting that they were not mounted with gold and silver.

As some misunderstandings and differences had arisen between Sultan Mas‘ūd Mirza and Khoṣru Shah, occasioned by the ungovernable ambition of the latter, he now sent his brothers Wali and Bahl, accompanied by Bahlī-ez-zemān Mirza, to attack Sultan Mas‘ūd Mirza in Hisar. 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-Khanāh,⁴ on the north of Hisar, Moḥib-All-Koreh, 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 rush and rescued him. A few days after, a hollow peace was concluded, and the army retired.

Bahlī-ez-zemān Mirza soon afterwards set out, by the mountain route, towards Kandahār and Zandī-šāhezār,⁵ to Zulān Arghān and his son Shah Shujā Arghān. Zulān, in spite of his avarice and stinginess, gave the Mirza a good reception. He presented him with forty thousand sheep as a single pashkash.⁶ It is a very singular circumstance that Moḥammad Housain Mirza defeated Moḥammad Moʾīn Mirza at Astarahād on the very Wednesday on which Sultan Housain Mirza defeated Moḥammad Bahlī-ez-zemān Mirza; and what adds to the oddity of the coincidence is, that Chehar-šahmehb (Wednesday) was the name of the person who dismounted and made Moḥammad Moʾīn Mirza prisoner.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1092.⁷

We now encompassed behind the Baghe-Moḏān,⁸ in the meadow of Kubbeh. On this occasion the men of Samarkand, both soldiers and townsmen, saluted out in great numbers on the side of Moḥammad Chip'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 Kull and carried him off into the town.

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⁴ Kosh-Khanāh: The hawk-house.
⁵ Zandī-šāhezār lies west of the Helmand below the hills, and on the right bank of the Shahr-ezār river.
⁶ The pashkash is the tribute given to a superior prince.
⁷ The year 1092 begins on the 30th of August 1487. It may be worth while to observe, that it was in the end of this year of the Hijrā that Vasquez de Qara landed at Cadiz.
⁸ The Garden of the plains.
A few days after, we marched and encamped on the hill of Kohik, on the side of Kuhbeh. That same day Syed Yusef 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 Sheikhrudel’s gate as far as Muhamed Châp’s bridge. Orders were immediately issued for the cavalry 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 Muhamed Châp’s bridge. God prospered our proceedings—the enemy were defeated. Numbers of Begs and horsemen were dismounted and taken prisoners. Among these were Muhamed Miskha and Hâfez Dullâi. The latter was wounded with a sabre, and had his fore-finger cut off. Muhamed Kasim Nabireh, the younger brother of Hassan Nabireh, was dismounted and taken. Many other officers and fighting men of some note and distinction were also brought in. Of the lower order of townpeople there were taken Dîwâneh, a Jamshìdweaver, and one nicknamed Khimânt, who were notorious as the chief ring-tellers of the rabble, in fighting with stones and leading riots. They were directed to be put to death with torture, in retaliation for the foot-soldiers who had been slain at the Laver’s Cave.

The defeat of the men of Samarkand was decisive; from that time forward they never rallied 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, and the cold was becoming severe. I assembled the Begs and held a consultation, when we agreed, that the townpeople 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 Dîdâr seemed the fittest for our purpose. We therefore marched from our position, and halted in a plain in front of Khwâjeh Dîdâr. 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 Baisengar Mirza sent repeated messengers into Turkistan2 to Shihâni 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.

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

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1. The Jâle is a gown or tunic.
2. It was the end of September or beginning of October.
3. This is the Turkestan north-west of Tashkend, north of the Sîr, and west of the Aral, where the head-quarters of the Turkâs were, previous to their conquest of Bokhârâ.
Turkestan, advanced and presented himself before my cantonments. My army was in rather a scattered state, some of my people having gone to Rabat-Khwajeh-Anneh, some to Kandah, others the Shiraz, 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 Sheibani Khan did not venture to maintain his ground, but drew off towards Samarkand, and halted in its vicinity. Baisanghar Mirza, disappointed on finding that Sheibani 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, Sheibani Khan, seeing that nothing could be done, retired back in despair to Turkestan.

Baisanghar Mirza had now sustained the blockade for seven months, and had placed his last hope in this succour. Disappointed in this hope, he resigned himself to despair, and, accompanied by two or three hundred hungry and naked soldiers, set out for Kunduz to take refuge with Khozou Shah. In the environs of Termes, while he was passing the river Amu, Syed Hussain Akbar, the Hakim or Governor of Termes, who was related to Sultan Muzaffar 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. Mirza Turkhan perished in the stream. One Mohammed Tahir, a boy of Baisanghar Mirza's, was taken prisoner. Baisanghar Mirza met with a good reception from Khozou Shah.

No sooner had Baisanghar Mirza fled from Samarkand, than I received notice of the event. We instantly mounted and set out from Khwajeh Didar, 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 Bab-e Serai, and, towards the end of the month of the first Rabia, by the favour of God, I gained complete possession of the city and country 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. 69° 16'. The city is named Samarkand, and the country Mawerennaher. As no enemy has ever stormed or conquered it, it is termed the protected city. Samarkand embraced Islam in the reign of Osman the Commander of the Faithful, through the means of Khusin-ul-Akbar, who visited the city. His tomb is still by the Iron-gate, and is at present denominated Mazar-i-Shah, or the Shah's tomb. The city of Samarkand was founded by Se-kander. The Mogul and Turki Hordes term it Samarkand; 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...
found that it was ten thousand six hundred paces in circumference. The inhabitants are all orthodox Shias, observant of the law, and religious. From the times of the Holy Prophet, downwards, no other country has produced so many Imams and excellent theologians as Mawarandab. Among these is the great Imam Sheikh Abul Mansur Maturidi, the eminent scriptural expositor, who was of the quarter of Maturid in the city of Samarkand. There are two sects of scriptural expositors, or Aimaq Khatami, the one called Maturidi, the other Ashuridi. This Sheikh Abul Mansur was the founder of the sect of Maturidi. Another man of eminence was the Saint Bokhari. Khwaja Ismael Khurtang, who was also of Mawarandab. The author of the Hidaya, too, a work in jurisprudence, than which, according to the sect of Imam Abu Hanifah, there is none of greater or of equal authority, was of Marghazin in Fergana, which is likewise included in Mawarandab, though it lies on the farthest bounds of the populous cultivated country.

On the east it has Fergana and Kashghar; on the west Bokhara and Khowarizm; on the north Tashkend and Shahrizurgha, which are usually written Shish and Benakhet; and on the south Balkh and Termex. The river Kohik flows from the north of Samarkand, and passes at the distance of two kos 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 hill, it hence 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 Darugham. It may be about 1500 yards from Samarkand, and the gardens and suburbs of Samarkand lie on its banks. The whole country as far as Bokhara and Karakul, which is an extent of nearly forty farsangs, 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 Bokhara. The fruits from 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 Sahib. Its winter is severe, but less snow falls than at Kahul. It has a fine climate, but its summer does not equal that of Kahul.

There are many palaces and gardens that belonged to Taimur Beg and Uming Beg, and both in Samarkand and the suburbs. Taimur Beg built, in the city of Samarkand.
land, 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 front-gate, within the walls of the city, and is built of stone. A number of stone-cutters were brought from Hindoostan to work on it. In the frontispiece over the portal of the mosque, is inscribed the verse of the Koran, "Wa az yarfi Dauda al Kowsdin," &c. in characters of such a size that they may be read nearly a foot off. It is a very grand building. To the east of Samarkand there are two gardens. One of them, which is the more distant, is called Bagh-e-Bahal (or the Perfect Garden); the nearer, Bagh-e-Dilkash (or the Heart-delighting Garden). From the Bagh-e-Dilkash to the Firuzeh gate there is a Khinston (or public avenue), planted on each side with pine-trees. In the garden of Dilkash, there has also been built a large Kioskik or palace, in which is a series of paintings, representing the wars of Taimur Beg in Hindustan. There is another garden, on the skirts of the hill of Kabul, on the banks of the Ab-Solah (black-water) of Kairgul, which they call Ab-e-Raohdor (or the Water of Mercy), and this is denominated Nakah-e-Jelam (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-Chemun (the Plane-Tree Garden), which is in the immediate vicinity of the city. Lower down than Samarkand are the Bagh-e-Shemast (or Northern Garden), and the Bagh-e-Defaulat (or Garden of Paradise). Mohammed Sultan Mirza, the son of Jehangir Mirza, and grandson of Taimur Beg, founded a college just as you go out of the stone part 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.

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

Time's temple, there was then no idol. Yet Ebr. Houdal. p. 255, mentions a model of existing in his time, and Persisk Lit. Grafin the older mentions the Ghans-serai in Gengh Khan's time.—See Note p. 48.

The account given by Shirahzad Ali Yull of the building of this mosque is curious.—See Ebr. de Timur-Var. vol. III. p. 178-207. The stone-cutters, 200 in number, came from Averpeshk, Kasan, and Kandsch. They were 100 pillars of bowre stone, each seven cubits high. The Bagh-e-Chemun, at Samarkand, was built by workmen from Syria and Bashaq, who seem to have excelled in elaborate ornament, in a species of Mosaico, and in the construction of fountains and jetes-d'eau.—Ib. vol. IV. p. 172, and vol. II. p. 425. The great similarity observable in all Musulman sacred architecture, leads us to suppose that it proceeded from one common origin, which was probably Damascus in Jerusalem, then being the first great city in which they occupied the architecture of some favourite edifice there was probably their model. The same similarity that is observable in Musulman mosques is found in Chris-

Tent is a great expense. The best workmen came from Constantinople.—Ebr. de Berlin, vol. II. p. 425. Some work on the architecture of the eastern nations is much required.

The words, Wa az yarfi, &c. are from the second chapter of the Koran—"And Honest and Israel visited the foundations of the house, saying, Lord! accept it from us, for then art thou who believest and knowest; Lord! make us also relitigate unto thee, and show us thy holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for then art easy to be reconciled, and merciful."—Sale's Koran, vol. I. p. 25.

Some work on the architecture of the eastern nations is much required.

The Mahomedan artists have its enuclei; who are united to convet. They are found principally in Persia and Turkey.
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 checkerwork. There are no baths to equal them in all Khurasan or Samarqand.

On the south of this college is situated a mosque, which is called Meesjid-e-Malakat (or the Carved Mosque), because its timbers are curiously carved 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 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 Kohk, which is provided with an astronomical apparatus, and is three stories in height. By means of this observatory, Ulugh Beg Mirza composed the Zieh-Korkani (or Korkani Astronomical Tables), which are followed at the present time, scarcely any other being used. Before they were published, the Ilkhani Astronomical Tables were in general use, constructed by Khwajeh Nasir in the time of Hulakü, in the observatory built at Muragha. Hulakü Khan was also denominated Ilkhani. Not more than seven or eight observatories have been constructed in the world. Among these, one was erected by the Khalif Munsin, and in it the astronomical Tables entitled Zieh Munsini were drawn up. Another was built by Brahmins. Another was the observatory erected in Hindustan, in the time of Raju Bhermaji, a Hindu, in Ujain and Dharmapuri in the kingdom of Malvah, now known as the kingdom of Mandsur. The Hindus still follow the astronomical tables which were then constructed. Since the building of that observatory till the present time is 1584 years. These tables are, however, more imperfect than any of the others.

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

1 This seems to have been ornamented with mosaic work.
2 I am informed that there is an old mosque at Delhi, in the fort, which was by the name of Shie Shah, which is said to have furnished the model of this at Samarqand. It is said that it is sixty years to be ancient in 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 is bakte, in the temple of Mecca, is their Kibleh.
4 The illustrious Ulugh Beg Mirza, who governed Samarqand nearly forty years, chiefly in his father's lifetime, devoted much of his leisure in study, and was particularly skilled in the mathematical sciences. The task of computing the astronomical tables which go under his name was first intrusted to Mullah Schih-al-din Mirza, better known by the name of the Kasti-mulk Rumi. On his death, it devolved on Mullah Ghulam-al-din Jenahal; and he having died in the course of the work, they were completed by Abu Ali Muhammad Shahib, generally called Ali Kuchial. Great prayers, that he heard from a Turk worthy of credit, that the value of the quadrant used by Ulugh Beg in his observations, was equal to the height of 21 Sophies. Ulugh Beg is said to have himself assisted in the composition of the Tables.
5 Ptolomy, the Geographer.
6 This remark would seem to fix the period when Babur composed this part of his Conversations at A.H. 934, or A.D. 1527-8, that being the 154th year of the reign of Vikram-saditya, only three years before his death.
named Chihil-Sultum (the Forty Pillars). The pillars are all of stone. In the four turrets in the corners of this building, they have constructed four Goldentels, 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, likewise of stone. The raised floor of the palace is all paved with stone. Towards the hill of Kohk 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 feet in length, seven or eight in breadth, and one in height. This huge stone was brought from a great distance. There is a crack in it, which 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 Khilah for the purpose of bringing it. Within the walls of Samarkand is another ancient building, called the Lakhana (or Echoing) Mosque; because, whenever any person stamps on the ground in the mosque, an echo (Lakhana) 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 Beys formed gardens, some large, others smaller. Among these, the Cheshar-Bagh of Dervish Mohammed-Terkham, in respect of climate, situation, and beauty, is equalled by few. It is situated lower down than the Bagh-e-maidan, on a small eminence that rises above the valley of Kulbech; and commands a view of the whole vale, which stretches out below. In this Cheshar-Bagh, there is a variety of different plots laid out one above another, all on a regular plan, and elms, cypress trees, 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.

Samarkand is a wonderfully elegant city. One of its distinguishing peculiarities is, that each trade has its own bazaar, 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 jenab comes entirely from Kanegil, which is situated on the banks of the Abe-Siah (Black Water), called also the Abe-Rahmet, or Water of Mercy. Another production of Samarkand is the Kernex, or crimson velvet, which is exported to all quarters.

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

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1. The Goldentel is a minaret, or any high turco-like building, it is generally built with open galleries or corridors, and with a winding staircase to ascend to its summit.  2. Chir-drach.
2. Twenty-eight or thirty feet long, fourteen or sixteen broad, and two high.
3. The Persian has a goa and a half, which is three feet.
4. Cheshar-Bagh, or Chir-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.
5. Hence the meaning of our old ballads.
the name of Kunegil. It lies to the east of Samarkand, but a little inclining to the north. It may be about a thirza long off. The Aks-Kuhun (or Water of Mercy) runs through the midst of it, and has volume enough to drive seven or eight yells. The banks of this stream are full of quagmires. Many allege that the original name of this meadow was Aks-Kuhun (the Meadow of Quagmires); but in histories it is always denominated Kaus-Gil (the Clay-Pits). The Sultans of Samarkand were accustomed to guard this vale as a Kaus, and were in the habit of taking up their residence for two or three weeks annually in this meadow.

Higher up, this meadow, to the southwest, lies another, called the Yurut-Khan (or Khan's halting-place). It is to the east of Samarkand, about one shiraz kos. The Aks-Sulh (Black Water), after passing through it, proceeds on to Kunegil. The river winds round the Yurut-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.

Another is the Kuragh meadow, which lies between the Baghe-Dilkushah and Samarkand. Another meadow is that of Kül-Moghak, which lies to the west of Samarkand, but inclining to the north, at the distance of two shiraz kos. This is also a pleasant valley. On one side of it is a large reservoir or pool of water (Kail), where it is called the meadow of Kül-Moghak. During the siege of Samarkand, when I was encamped at Yurut-Khan, Sultan Ali Mirza took up his station on this plain of Kül-Moghak.

Another is the meadow of Kulkub, which is but small. On the north it has the village of Kulkub and the river of Kohak; on the south, the Bagh-e-mehdan and the Chekl-Bagh of Uwerkah Muhammad Terkhab: on the east, the hill of Kohak.

Samarkand has many provinces and Timauls. One of the largest of its provinces, which comes near to Samarkand, is Bakhsh, lying to the west of Samarkand. Bakhsh is a fine city, and has seven Timauls or districts, each of them resembling a town. Its fruits are both abundant and of good quality, particularly its melons, which are excellent; the melons of Bakhsh are not to be equalled in all Miwerempah, either for quantity or excellence. Though, at Akhsh, in the country of Ferghā, there is one extremely sweet and delicate species of melon, which they call Mir Taimuri, yet, in Bakhsh, there is a profusion of melons of every description, and all good of their kind. The prune or plum of Bakhsh 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, after which it is carried as a most acceptable rarity to other countries. As a dessert, it is a mark of approved excellence. The household fowls and geese are hens of a good breed. In all Miwerempah there is no wine superior, in spirit and strength, to that of Bakhsh. When I drank wine at Samarkand, in the days when I had my drinking-bouts, I used the wine of Bakhsh.

1 More than a mile and a half.
3 About 100 miles.
4 Perhaps the meaning of this only is, that they take out the stones.
Another province is Kash; to the south of Samarkand, at the distance of nine farsangs. Between the cities of Kash and Samarkand lies a hill called Amak Duyban, 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 cheery, whence it is named Shahr-Sehrz (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 Beys 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. In Kesh there is a college and mauseleum, in which are the tombs of Jelângir 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.

Another province is Karshi, which they also call Nesaf and Nakhalshah. Karshuk is a Moghul word, signifying a burial-ground. It probably received this name after the conquest of Chinghi 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. There is a small bird resembling the Baghri Kurn (black-liver), which they call Kilküirogh (horse-tails). They are innumerable in the district of Karshi, and, from the quantity of them there found, they give the name of Marghak-Karsh (the small fowl of Karsh).

Another district is that of Khoraz.

Karahk is another; it lies between Samarkand and Bukhara.

There is another district named Karakul (the black lake), which lies lower down the river than any of the rest. It is seven farsangs to the north-west of Bukhara, and has some very fine Tapans.

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

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

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1. About 25 miles.
2. The Tâk-e-Kesra, below Baghdad on the Tigris, is 100 feet high, 60 feet span, and 130 feet deep.
3. About 50 miles.
4. Probably the rock pigeons of Ram.
5. About 20 miles; it should be sixty miles.
6. About 100 and twenty miles.
Those who have travelled in Misc. and Shāfū acknowledge that nothing there is comparable to it. Though there are other Tomains dependant on Samarkand, yet they are not equal to those which have been mentioned.

Taimūr Beg conferred the government of Samarkand on his son Jehangir; and after the death of Jehangir Mirza, he gave it to that prince's eldest son, Muhammad Sultan. Jehangir-Shahrokh Mirza conferred the government of all the provinces of Mawrothauheer on his own eldest son Ulugh Beg Mirza, from whom it was taken by his son Abdal-latif 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:

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

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

If thee sovereignty beft a participle,  
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-latif, who rivaled the pomp of Khoisan and Jundish,  
Who was assissated by crowds of martyrs like Navid and Zardbalts;  
Was slain by Baha Husein on Friday night, with an arrow,  
And the date of the event is (Baha Husein, Baha Husein)—Baha Husein slew him.

After Abdal-latif Mirza, Abdulla Mirza, the son of Ibrahim 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 Abbas Mirza, who, in his own lifetime, conferred the government on his eldest son Sultan Ahmed Mirza. After the death of Sultan Abbas Mirza, Sultan Ahmed Mirza continued to exercise the sovereignty. On the death of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, Sultan Mahmud Mirza ascended the throne. After Sultan Mahmud Mirza, Balesanghar Mirza was raised to the throne. During the secession of the Terkhan Begs, Balesanghar Mirza was seized, and his brother Sultan Ali Mirza placed on the throne for one or two days. Balesanghar Mirza again recovered it, as has been related. I took it from Balesanghar Mirza. The events that followed will be mentioned in the course of these Memoirs.

* Egypt and Syria.

† 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 Abas Abas gives 888.

‡ The numerical letters united make 854.
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 of 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 Bai-Kuli. Ibrahim Beg-chik was another. All the Moghuls deserted; and, finally, Sultan Ahmed Tambol himself went off, and left me.

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 exert 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.

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 Akhâ and Andejân, Uzun Hassan and Tambol expressed a wish that these countries should be placed under Jehangir 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 Jehangir 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.

When they found that their request was not complied with, they collected all the
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 Akhbi against Andejn, they openly raised the standard of rebellion and hostility.

One Túlúm Khwájeh, who was the bravest and most resolute of my skirmishers, had been honourably entertained by my father, Ömer-şehíkh Mires, and I myself had continued to show him distinguished marks of my regard, and raised him in the rank of Beg. He was an extremely gallant soldier, an excellent partizan, and every way worthy of the favour shown him. As Túlúm Khwájeh was the man of all the Moghulns on whom I had conferred the greatest benefits, and in whom I reposed the most perfect trust, when the Ullás of Moghulns 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 effectively, that entreaties and promises and threats were tried in vain. The march of Túlúm Khwájeh was by Mún-Dábah, which is also called Rebákích-Ashkharini. 1 Uzun Hassan and Sultan Ahmed Tambol dispatched a body of light troops, who fell by surprise on Túlúm Khwájeh, took him prisoner, carried him off, and put him to death.

Uzun Hassan and Tambol now carried Jehangir Mires along with them, and laid siege to Andejn. When I set out with the army, I had left Ali Dowd Taghlí in command of Andejn, and Uzun Hassan in charge of Akhbi. Khwájeh Kazi had also returned back to Andejn. Among those who had deserted from Samarqand, were a number of good soldiers. Khwájeh 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, as well as from Khwájeh 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 Samarqand with the forces of Andejn, and, if I still continued master of Andejn, might once more (should God prosper me) regain possession of Samarqand. 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 amennities, 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, Beggah, cabaniers, and soldiers, desiring of my life, began each to shift for himself.

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

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1 Or, perhaps, rather, Rebatí, the district of Rebatí (the Sørn Súrwaníra). It lies in the east of Andejn. 2 Thát is, "my father's successors," or, perhaps, "my mother and grandmother."
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, and from my teacher and spiritual guide Khwajah Moulna Kazi, inviting me with so much solicitude to come to their assistance, that I had not the heart to delay. In the month of Rejeh, on a Saturday, I marched out of Samarkand for Anjehan. 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, All Dost Taghahi had surrendered the fortress of Anjehan to the enemy. The truth was, that the servant of Umm 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 All Taghahi, who stood at the Khakan Gate. 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.

After the surrender of Anjehan, the enemy having received information of my arrival at Khojend, seized Khwajah Moulna Kazi and murdered him, by hanging him in a shameful manner over the gate of the citadel. Khwajah Moulna Kazi's real name was Abdulla, but he was better known by the other appellation. By the father's side he was descended of Sheikh Burhan-es-din Kili, and by the mother's side from Sultan Ilk Maszi; and his family had for a long time maintained the situation of Mulkhs (prime religious guides), and of Sheikh-al-Islam (or chief judge in ecclesiastical law), in the country of Ferghana. Khwajah Kazi was the disciple of Khwajah Abid-ulha, by whom he was educated. I have no doubt that Khwajah 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 connected in his murder. They were all completely extinguished. Khwajah 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 Khwajah had not a particle of either.

After the Khwajah'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 Anjehan, I had lost Samarkand, and found that I had lost the one without preserving the other.

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-
ers, and since the day that I had known myself, I had never experienced such grief and suffering. While I was at Khoejend, some who envied Khafidh could not endure to see his influence in my court; and Muhammad Husein Mira and some others exerted themselves with such effect, that I was obliged to allow him to retire to Tashkend.

I had sent Kasim Beg to Tashkend to the Khan, to request him to march against Andezan. The Khan, who was my maternal uncle, accordingly, having collected an army, advanced by the Dale of Ahengerin, and I having set out from Khoejend, met him by the time he had encamped below Kumdeilik and Amak. Having reduced Kumdeilik and Amak, he advanced towards Akbas and encamped. The enemy too, on their part, having brought together what army they had, came to Akbas. At this time the fortress of Pap 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.

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 useful proposals of the enemy, and dispatched Khwajah Abul Makan with Taimul's elder brother, Beg Tilbah, who at that time was the Khan's chamberlain, on an embassy, with proposals for an accommodation. The rajah, in order to extricate themselves, presented such a mixture of truth and falsehood in their representations, and season'd their eloquence so well with gratifications and bribes to those who acted as negotiators, that the Khan was prevented, upon the appearance of the enemy, from breaking up and retreating the way he came. As the Begs, captains, and warriors, who were with me, had many of them their wives and families in Andezan: 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 Devlah Beg, Ali Mазd Kochin, Muhammad Bahar Beg, Sheikh Abdulla the chamberlain, and Miram Laphari. 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 Kasim Beg Kochin, Weel Laphari, Ibrahim Soro Mokaligh, Shiram Taghi, and Sultan Karageg. Of my other officers and courtiers there were Mir Shul Kochin, Syed Kasin, the Chamberlain, a Jelahir, Kasim Ajab, Muhammad Dost, Ali Dost Taghi, Muhammad Ali Mokarab, Khodinberd Toqchi (the Standard-bearer), a Mogmi, Yusuf Taghi, Sultan Kuli, Piri Weel, Sheikh Weel, Yar Ali, Belah Kasin, Master of the Horse, Hyder Rikabdar (the Equerry).

I was now reduced to a very distressed condition, and went a great deal. I returned to Khoejend, 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 Ramazan in

1 Jelahir, Ahengrin, Blacksmiths' Dale.
2 It has been already observed, that Kumdeilik and Amak lie close to the hills, on the road between Tashkend and Akbas.
3 Jelahir Agha.
4 Mir Akbar.
Khojend, and afterwards, having sent a person to Sultan Mahmud Khan to solicit assistance, proceeded against Samarkand. He dispatched his son, Sultan Muhammad Khan, and Ahmed Beg, with four or five thousand men, against Samarkand; and came himself to Uratipa, where I had an interview with him, and then advanced towards Samarkand by way of Yar-ali. Sultan Muhammad and Ahmed Beg had reached Yar-ali before me by another road. Leans by way of Burkhali to Sanguez, which is the chief township and seat of the Daregha of Yar-ali; but before my arrival, Sultan Muhammad and Ahmed Beg, having been informed of the approach of Sheibani Khan, and of his ravaging Shirals and that vicinity, had retreated back in haste. I too was consequently compelled to retreat, and returned to Khojend.

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 idle around me. I now repaired to Tashkend to the Khan, in order to gain some assistance in my views on Andijan. This journey also furnished me with a pretext for seeing Shah Begum and my other relations, whom I had not seen for seven or eight years. A few days after my arrival, Syed Muhammad Mirza Doghlat, Ayid 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 Kandahar on the left, in the course of the night, reached and applied scaling-ladders to the fortress of Nasik, which is ten farangs from Khojend and three from Kandahar, and carried the place by surprise. It was the season when the melons were ripe, and at Nasik there is a sort of melon termed Jowai Sheikh, 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 Mogul 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 inhabited 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.

This same year Khorram Shah accompanied by Baisanghur Mirza, marched with an army to Chaghauaian, and, with the most deceitful and treacherous intentions, sent an embassy to Sultan Masaud 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 Hissak. At this time very general discontent prevailed among the Begs, couriers, cavaliers, and soldiers of Sultan Masaud. The reason of their dissatisfaction was, that Sheikh Abdulla Bichik, who had left Sultan Baisanghur Mirza to join Sultan Masaud Mirza, and who was the Mirza’s father-in-law, had obtained great rank and confidence; and, though Hissak is but a narrow and confined country, Sultan Masaud Mirza had given him an allowance of a

1 Shah Begum was one of Yige Khans’s widows.
2 Forty miles from Khojend and twelve from Kandahar.
thousand tumans in money, besides the whole country of Khutlah. Khutlah was the
Jagir1 of the Begs and officers about Sultan Masud Mirza's person. Sheikh Abdullah
Bilalas, 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,
flled and joined Baisangaar Mirza. Khosro Shah and Baisangaar Mirza having
inflled Sultan Masud Mirza into a careless security by their deceitful professions, after
a sudden march from Chegahin, appeared before Hisar about the heat of the morn-
ing drum, invested and took it.

At this time Sultan Masud Mirza was not within the fortress, but at a palace in
the vicinity, which had been built by his father, called the Double Serai. Finding it
impossible to throw himself into the fort, he fled towards Khutlah, accompanied by
Sheikh Abdullah Bilalas; but having separated from him on the road, he proceeded by
the Pass of Ushik and took refuge with Sultan Husain Mirza.

As soon as Khosro Shah had taken Hisar, he placed Baisangaar Mirza in it, and
gave Khutlah 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 Behdilas,
with four thousand men, to occupy the environs of that place, he himself followed
soon afterwards, accompanied by Baisangaar Mirza, and commenced the siege. Behdilas
Husain Mirza commanded in Balkh, and had with him a considerable number of Sul-
tan Husain Mirza's Begs.

Khosro Shah at the same time sent his younger brother Wali with a large detach-
ment to lay siege to Shabergah,2 and to ravage and destroy the country around.
Wali was not able to approach Shabergah, but sent out his troops to plunder the Is-
and Ulus (the wandering tribes and herds) that occupied the desert of Zerdak, which
they accordingly did, carrying off above one hundred thousand sheep, and nearly three
thousand camels. Proceeding thence, he pillaged the district of Samshurik, 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 Tanka, in Della Valla's
time, (A.D. 1617,) was 10 sequins. (Voyages, vol. IV, p. 332.) Muntz tells me after reading the
sech of 84 or 85 rupees, which would make the tumas of that day worth 43 or 49 sterling. In Char-
din's time, the tumas was equal to 13 livres, and Tawmier makes it equal to 14 livres, 1 denier,
and a fraction. The livre, it will be remembered, is nearly the same as the English pound. Creyers (Trav-
els, p. 222) states the tumas is 48 and a half. It is hardly worth an English guinea, and from in-
complete coinage with the cull, is now worth little more than 11 shillings. As the decline has been
constant, it was probably in Baber's time, worth more than the highest of these sums.

The Dukumbas was a silver coin of the value of tenpence or eighteenpence English, two and a half shill-
inables being equal to a rupee in Akber's time.

The Tanka, or Tanka, was a small silver coin, which, in Muntz's time, was 10 went to a
pound. It was of the value of about Eightpence, and was formerly more. It was now reduced to about
a penny. It seems to have been the sixth part of a shekel.

The Dukumbas is an Indian copper coin, the twentieth part of a rupee.

[2] A Jagir is a territorial grant held under a prince, generally for a limited period, often, however, in
perpetuity.

1 Ushik is a famous pass over the Amu, above Koh-i-dain.

West of Balkh.
While Khozru Shah lay before Balkh, he one day sent Nazer Behadar, 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 Behadar'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.

This same year Sultan Hussain Mirza levied an army and advanced to the fort of Boss for the purpose of reducing to order Zulân Ûrghun and Shah Shujaa his son; who, having joined Badia-uz-Zamán Mirza, and given him a daughter of Zulânûn'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 surrendered the fort, and the stores found in the granaries enabled the army to return to Khorasan.

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 Kunduz, Hisâr, and Kundahâr, and had in every instance returned unsuccessful, his sons and Begs were spirited up to venture on sedition 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 Astarbâd, with instructions to advance upon him by rapid marches. He himself, meanwhile, remained encamped in the Anleng [or meadow] of Nishân; when Badia-uz-Zamán Mirza, and Shah Beg the son of Zulânûn, having collected a body of troops, came on him by surprise. By a most fortunate accident, Sultan Mansud Mirza, who had just lost Hisâr, came that very day to join Sultan Hussain Mirza; and, in the course of the same day, the army that had been detached against Astarbâd, 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 Badia-uz-Zamán Mirza and Shah Beg took to flight. Sultan Hussain Mirza received Sultan Mansud 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 Bâbi Cheghâh-nâr, the youngest brother of Khozru Shah, who some time before had entered into the service of Sultan Hussain Mirza, he did not continue in Khorasan, but went off, under some false pretext, without even taking leave of Sultan Hussain Mirza, and joined Khozru Shah.

Khozru Shah now sent for Baiusanghar Mirza from Hisâr. At this time Mirza

Sultan Hussain Mirza had advanced with his army to Zemin Dazer, but found himself forced to retreat into Khorasan. He previously, however, had siege to Boss, in which were some of Zulânûn's stores. The garrison, by holding out a few days, might have starved the besiegers, but the Governor, Abâd Habban Asgha, surrendered after a ferile resistance. Kiz Boss lies on the left bank of the Helmand, below Zemen Dazer, which lies higher up towards the hills, on the right bank of the Sulakand river.
Shah Mirza, the son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, who had rebelled against his father and taken shelter among the Hazaras, having done something which gave them offence, was obliged to leave them also, and now came to Khosrow Shah. Some evil-minded counsellors advised Khosrow Shah to put all the three princes to death, and to cause the Khutbeh* 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 Masud Mirza, a prince whom he himself had reared from infancy to manhood, and whose governor he had been, and blinded him by hewing his eyes. Some of the foster-brothers, chums, and playmates of Masud Mirza carried him off, with the intention of conducting him to Sultan Ali Mirza in Samarkand, and brought him to Kash. Here, discovering a plan that had been formed for attacking them, they fled, crossed the river Amu by the passage of Cheshar-Juli, 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 Khosrow Shah, pour out imprecations on him; for he who bears of such a deed and does not curse him, is himself worthy to be accursed.

After this abominable transaction, having declared Batosanghar Mirza King, he sent him off to Hissar; and, at the same time, sent Mirza Shah Mirza towards Bāmān, accompanied by Syed Kamal, who was to lend him his assistance.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 994.

Having failed in repeated expeditions against Samarkand and Andeljan, 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 Muhammad Hussain Korkan Deghleti, who held Urnippa, to confer with him, and induce him to lend me for one winter Bashaghur, which is one of the villages of Yarzilikh. It had formerly belonged to the reverend Khwajah, but, during the continuance, had become dependent on him; and my plan now was, to take up my residence there, and attempt whatever circumstances might suggest against Samarkand. Muhammad Hussain Deghleti gave his consent, and I left Khojend, on my way to Bashaghur.

This Ulugh Beg Mirza was not the illustrious sovereign of Samarkand, but the King of Kabul; and a brother of Babur's father.

* The prayer for the dead.

This year of the Hijra begins 20th August 1494.
When I reached Bamiyan, I was seized with a fever; notwithstanding which, I mounted, and, having left that place, proceeded with great speed, by the mountain-route, against Rehā'-e-Khwājeh, which is the seat of the Daragas, or governor of the Tūman of Shāhdar, 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 Beskhyer, without halting anywhere. In spite of my fever, I had ridden fourteen farsangs, though with great difficulty, and I suffered much from the exertion.

In a few days, I dispatched Ibrahim Suro, Wais Laghari, and Shiran Taghīā, 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 Yar-ālākh. At this time, Syed Yusuf Beg was in command of the district of Yar-ālākh. He had remained behind in Samarkand when I abandoned it, and had been well treated by Sultan Ali Mirza. Syed Yusuf Beg had sent his brother and younger son for the purpose of occupying and managing Yar-ālākh. Ahmed Yusuf, who at present has the government of Sialkot, 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 Uzbek, there is not a village in the whole district of Yar-ālākh which is not converted into a fortress. On the occasion in question, suspicions being entertained of Syed Yusuf Beg, his younger brother, and son, on account of their known attachment to me, they were all sent away to Khurasan.

The winter passed in such efforts and attempts as these. In the spring, Sultan Ali Mirza sent Khwājeh Yahāla to treat with me, while he himself marched with his army into the neighbourhood of Shiras and Kāhād. My soldiers, though above two hundred in number, did not amount to three hundred; and the enemy was in great force. I had coveted for a while about Andijan, 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 Beskhyer.

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 Muslims 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?—(Türkis comptes.)

There was no secure place for me to go to.
And no place of safety for me to stay in.

1 Or Zamin.
2 It lies west of Samarkand.
3 About 30 miles.
4 When Baber abandoned Samarkand to march for Andijan, the former place was occupied by Sultan Ali Mirza from Bukhara. Indeed that place was Baber’s ally, and had an army in the neighbourhood when Baber first entered the place.
5 Or Kāhād.
In this state of irresolution and uncertainty, I went to the Alikha, to the south of Urutippa, and spent some time in that quarter, perplexed and distracted with the hopeless state of my affairs.

One day, while I remained there, Khowjeh A NOI. Makhram, 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.

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 Taghthai, named Volyok. 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 Marghinan to me, and would do me such service and duty as would wipe away his past errors, and free him from his disgrace.

Instantly on hearing this news, without delay, I that very moment (it was then about sunset) set out past for Marghinan. From the place where I then was to Marghinan 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 Khojand, named Tuneek-ab; and, after having refreshed our horses, and fed and watered them, we again mounted at midnight. Left Tuneek-ab, 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 Marghinan. Weis Beg and some others, after considering matters, now represented to me, that Ali Dost Taghthai was one who had staked at no grime; 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 hasty in 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 sunnah2 (or morning prayer), we reached the gate of the castle of Marghinan. Ali Dost Taghthai stood over the gateway, without throwing the

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1 About 96 or 108 miles.
2 The Sunnah are voluntary directions, in which the prophet enjoined the true believers to fill up the long interval between the first prayers at sunset, or morning twilight, and the noon-day prayers. They are exclusive of the five stated times enjoined by the Divinity.
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.

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 Marghinán, therefore, I dispatched Kásim Beg, with a party of my Bashághir men, a few others who had recently entered my service, and some of Mir Dost Beg's people, in all rather above a hundred men, with instructions to proceed to the south of Andenján, to the people of the hill country, such as the Ashparis, the Tucháshirs, the Jagruks, and others in that quarter, and to attempt to prevail upon them, either by negotiation or force, to make their submission. I also sent Ibráhím Sara, Weis Laghári, and Seidi Kara, with about a hundred men, towards Akhál, with instructions to pass the river of Kohián, to use all means to gain possession of the forts, and to conciliate and win over the people of the hills.

A few days after, Uzun Hassan and Sultan Ahmed Tambol, having taken Jóbánír Mirza along with them, and collected all the soldiers and Moghuls that they had, and taken from Andenján and Akhái, every man able to bear arms, advanced with the intention of laying siege to Marghinán, and halted at a village named Sáplan, 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 Marghinán. Although I had detached Kásim Beg, Ibráhím Sara, Weis Laghári, 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, Kháil Chilíreb Déstar-pëch distinguished himself greatly, and fought with singular valor. The enemy could effect nothing. Two succeeding attempts were equally frustrated; and they were unable to reach the fortress.

Kásim Beg, who had proceeded to the hill country to the south of Andenján, completely brought over the Ashparis, the Tucháshirs, the Jagruks, and all the people of that country, both the peasants settled in the hills and plains, and the Aimaks. The enemy's soldiers, too, began to desert by ones and twos, and came and joined me.

Ibráhím Sara, Weis Laghári, and the other chiefs who had passed the river towards Akhái, possessed themselves of the fort of Píp, 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 Akhái, 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 garrisons of Akhái out of the place, and forced them to take refuge in the citadel. They then invited

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1. Two miles, or a mile and a half. 2. The Aimaks were the wandering tribes.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

Brâhim Sâru, Weis Laghari, Sidi Kâra, and the chiefs who were along with them, and gave them admitances into the fortified town of Akhâi.

Sultan Mahmud Khan had dispatched to my assistance Bendâ Ali, Haider, his own foster-brother, with Haji Ghâzi Mungât, who had fled about this time from Sheikh Khan, and come over to the Khan, together with the Bega of the Taman of Barin. They arrived at this very crisis, and joined the detachment.

Urum 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 Akhâi. 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. Kâroghâj Bakshâi having invited one of the sons of Moghât Beg to come to him, laid hold of his hand, and drew 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 Urum Hassan, Kâroghâj Bakshâi, Khalîfi Diwâni, and Kazi Ghâlam, were on board. Of these, Kazi Ghâlam 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 Kilkâh Kâroghâi. Of seventy or eighty experienced and chosen warriors, not more than six escaped.

On receiving information of these occurrences, the enemy, being unable to maintain themselves in the vicinity of Marghânâm, moved off in great disorder towards Andjean. They had left in Andjean Navz Beg, who had married Urum Hassan’s sister, and who, if not next to Urum 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 Calâd rested, he brought over the garrison of Andjean to my interest, and sent a person to invite me to the city. When the Calâd reached Andjean, 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, Urum Hassan retired towards the citadel of Akhâi to his family; Sultan Ahmad Tamid drew off to Ush to his own government, while Jehangir Mirza was seized by a party of his adherents and followers, who carried him off from Urum Hassan and fled with him to Tamid. They overtook Tamid before he had reached Ush, and accompanied him in his retreat.

As soon as I received advice that the garrison of Andjean had declared for me,
made no delay, but setting out at sunrise from Marghunán, reached Andejân when the
day was on the decline. I saw and conversed with Náṣir Beg and his sons, Dost Beg
and Mirám Beg, treated them with every mark of kindness, and gave them reason to
expect everything from my favours. And thus, by the grace of the Most High, in the
month of Zilkadch, and year eight hundred and four, I recovered my paternal king-
dom, of which I had been deprived nearly two years.

Sultan Ahmed Tambol, who had proceeded towards Ush, accompanied by Jebangir
Mirzá, 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. Je-
bangir Mirzá and Tambol, with a few partisans who still adhered to them, retired in
great dismay to Ushkend.

Uzn Hassan, on seeing himself shut out of Andejân, retreated to Akhal, and in-
formation 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 Akhal. 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 Akhal, which I employed in putting the affairs and government of
that city and of Kásim into a proper state of order and arrangement, I dismissed the
Meghul Begs who had come to my assistance in this enterprise, returned to An-
dejân, carrying with me Uzn Hassan, his family and dependents. Kásim Ayób, who
was of the inferior class of Begs, being raised to a higher rank, was left in the tempo-
rary charge of Akhal.

As I had agreed that Uzn Hassan should suffer no injury either in life or prop-
erty, I allowed him to depart by way of Karatigín on his road to Hissár. He pro-
cceeded towards Hissár 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 distur-
bances, had pillaged and plundered my adherents and Khvájeh Kazí's men. Several of
my Begs united in their representations, telling me, "This is the very hand 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 as 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 beef 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,
yet it had been issued with too much precipitation; and, when there was a rival like Jehangir 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 Amejan.

The Moghuls being filled with alarm, mutinied and marched away from Khurshid Urohlah, which they also call Miän Dassah, towards Uralkund, and sent a person to Tumbali 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 Hisar along with Khanzad Sultan, Mehti Sultan, and Muhammad Beghlat. 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 news of this defection was brought me by Sultan Kuli Chinar, whose father, Khoda-begi Beghlat, 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 Bega 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 Kassim Beg, with a few of the Bega 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 Kassim Beg marched out with his Bega and army, but before they had come to their ground, and while still on their march, Tumbali himself arrived and joined the Moghuls. Early next morning, the moment they had passed the river Allumish at the ford of Yass-kjelt, the two armies met face to face and had a desperate action; Kassim Beg himself meeting Sultan Mohammed Arghuth, 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. Kassim Beg, Ali Dost Taghahi, Ibrahim Sbaru, Waiz Laghari, and Sidi Kars, with three or four others of my Bega and officers, escaped. Most of the other Bega and officers fell into the hands of the enemy. Among these were Ali Dervish Beg, Miram Laghari, Tobah Beg, Taghah Beg, Muhammad Dost, Ali Dost, Mir Shah Koob, and Miram Diwan. In this battle two cavaliers had a gallant combat. On my side was Samad, one of Ibrahim Sbaru's younger brothers, and on the other side was Shah-sawar, one of the Moghuls of
Hissar. 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 sheared 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 unsavourably, 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 Andelâin, and was not at hand. Tambol, following up his success, brought Jehangir along with him, and, accompanied by all his forces, advanced within a farsang of Andelâin to a plain in face of the rising ground of Alah, where he encamped. He once or twice put his army in order of battle, and advanced from Chil-Dakhurian to the skirts of Alah. 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 Miram Laghari and Tokuhl, two of the Bega 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 Ibrahim Sârî, whose men were in the place. They held it on my account.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 965.

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 thoras, 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

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*This year begins on the 8th August 1489.*

The siege 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 Ibrahim above Delhi. I have been able to get no particulars account of it. Péth de la Croix describes it as being a large-mule, and probably several of these being joined, formed a defence like the Roman bastides, under cover of which the besiegers advanced to undermine the wall, or to mount their scaling-ladders. At the siege of Karsh, "les ennemis pour mieux faire jetter leurs grands boulets nommées Tours, en se couvrant la tête de leurs petits escus, ils se retirèrent dans des retranchemens qu'ils avaient faits précaution."—Hist. de Timur Bey, vol. I. p. 121.
had gone off in different directions, on business or service, were recalled: and, putting
my confidence in God, on the 18th of Midharrem, 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.

When we arrived near Ush, I was informed that the army, finding that they could
not maintain themselves in Ush, had retired towards Rubât-e-Sepheug Urchini, which
lies north of that city. That evening I halted at Lankend, and, the next morning, as
I was passing Ush, learned that the enemy had directed their march on Andejân. We
on our part approached Uskenill, and detached forward plundering parties to raze
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 enterprise failed and they
were compelled to retreat. My plundering parties advanced and committed devastations
in the suburbs of Uskennd, but came back without acquiring any considerable
booty.

In one of the forts of Ush, named Mâdu, which is distinguished for its superior
strength, Tamboel had left his younger brother Khall 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
couduit 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 loose stones were launched from the fort of Mâdu, in all the storms
that I have witnessed, I never saw thrown from any other castle. Abdul Kâddu Kûllar,
the elder brother of Kitten 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 head
over heel, from that prodigious height, right forward, without touching anywhere till
he lighted, tumbling and rolling, at the bottom of the glace. Yet he received no in-
jury, and immediately mounted his horse and returned back to the camp. At the cou-
duit which had the double wall, Yâr Ali Ballâl was severely wounded in the head with
a stone. The wound was afterwards cut open and dressed. Many of our people suf-

The above of this, both in the Turki and in Mr M'Nabola's copy, is written Behamd and uzheend vari-
bly. In my Persian copy it is Ahrakhard.

2 Everything relative to artillery and battering engines, or machines used in sieges, is very indistinctly
alluded to in these Memoirs. The Turki terms and Persian dty are known. 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 enormous stones. They
sprang more to the effects of a few discharges than to any regular fire.

3 The Khûres or glace in Asia, is generally immediately at the foot of the wall, and not separated
from it by the ditch.
fared from these stones. The morning after the attack, before breakfast time, 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. Khalli, 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.

After taking Mâdû, I proceeded to Unehitobah, one of the villages of Ush. On the other hand, Tambol, after retreating from Andejân, encamped at a place called Ak-khan, one of the dependencies of Ribât-e-Serchung Ureichini, so that there was only the distance of about one parasang 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 dig 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 Tughal 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.

This year Khosru Shah, having invited Baisanghar Mirza to join him, under pretence of proceeding to attack Balkh, carried him to Kunduz, from which place they set out on their march against Balkh. When they had reached Ubaj, Khosru 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 Baisanghar Mirza and his Begs, strangled him with a bow-string, and thus, on the tenth day of Muharram, 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.

Baisanghar Mirza was born in Hisâr in the year 882, and was the second son of Sultan Mahmu'd Mirza, being younger than Sultan Musâdul 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 Pashâ Begum.

He had large eyes, a round face, and was about the middle size; he had a Turkman visage, and was an extremely elegant young man.

He was a lover of justice, humane, of a pleasant disposition, and a perfectly accomplished prince. His tutor was Syed Muhammed, a Shah, whence Baisanghar himself
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 Nast thromb, and had considerable skill in painting. He was also a poet, and assumed the poetical name of Aīdūl. The poems were not so numerous as to be formed into a Diwân. The following verses are his:—(Persian.)

Like an unsubstantial shadow I fell here and there,
And if not supported by the face of a wall, drop flat on the ground.

In Samarkand the Odes (Ghazals) of Baiasanghar Mirza are so popular, that there is not a house in which a copy of them may not be found.

He fought two battles, one of them with Sultan Mahmūd Khan, when he first mounted the throne of Samarkand. Sultan Mahmūd Khan, at the instigation of Sultan Jumāl Birlas and some others, had advanced with an army for the purpose of conquering Samarkand, and marched by way of Ak-kūl as far as Ribāt-e-Soghul and Kandahār. Baiasanghar Mirza marched from Samarkand to meet him, engaged him at Kandahār, 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 Bokhāra, in which he was defeated.

His dominions consisted at first only of Bokhāra, which was given him by his father. His dominions increased on his father’s death. The Bokhārai Begs, on the advice of the Khan of Samarkand, also gave him his dominions as well as Samarkand for some time; but he lost the former after the insurrection of Tirkhāns. When I took Samarkand, he retired to Khosrou-Shah, and when Khosrou Shah took Hisār, he gave it to Baiasanghar.

He left no offspring. When he first went to Khosrou Shah, he married the daughter of his paternal uncle, Sultan Khāli 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.

After the death of Baiasanghar, Sultan Ahmed Karāwul, the father of Khan Beg, with his brothers and relations, and their families and dependants, came through the country of Karātīn, and joined me, after giving me notice of their intentions. Karātīn 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 Karāwul 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.

1 Baiasanghar quotes the first verse of a well-known ode.
3 Karātīn lies in the hills north of Hisār and Khudān, and south of Fergāna.
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 Tsembol, taking Jahangir with him, passed on my left and entered Khūbān, a village on my flank, about three farsangs off, towards Andejan.

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 Taghāi and his followers formed my right. On the left wing were stationed Ibrahim Šārū, Wāzīr Lāghārī, Siddī Kara, Muḥammad Aḥmad Melasheher, Kuchik Beg, the elder brother of Khwājeh Khūnāb, and a number of others connected with Sultan Ahmad Karāwīl and Kūh Beg, with their followers. Kūshir Beg was with me in the centre. Kamber Ali, who had the advanced guard, with several of my adherents and young nobility, had reached Sākāb, a village to the south-east of Khūbān, and about a kos from it, when the enemy marched out of the village of Khūbān 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 Khwājeh Khūnāb, smote so lustily, that the enemy, unable to maintain their ground, took to flight: and the flankers 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 Ḵūshir 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 Khūbān. 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 Shāh Sultan Būgām, came from Andejan for the purpose of begging Jahangir 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 Uzgend, but returned to Andejan.

After some days I held a council, in which it was determined that my wintering in Andejan 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 enterprise; that it was necessary to hunt 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 Rehāṭīk-Ureṣhā, which is named Suāmī, from being between two rivers.  

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1) Jāmān—Tarāq.  
2) A mile and a half or two miles.  
3) Es. The little Beg.  
4) Ḫosrāvān.  
5) The Herātans are properly small guards and pickets pushed on in advance, and along the flanks.  
6) The Tarāq is called the Šahtāra, the Persians Malāsh Damāq, names which have the same meaning. The former is probably the country name.
I decamped from Andejan, and moved into the neighbourhood of Arman and Noshah, 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 Hmanush, in the jungle, there are great plenty of mountain-goats, stags, 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 roosed and hunted the mountain-goat and deer, we hawked in the smaller jungle (or the jungle-fowl), and also shot them with forked arrows. 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, Khudabirdi 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 Andejan 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 Andejan I had given him Aders and Kamboldik; so that, of all my Bega, 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 Andejan.

While I remained in the winter cantonments, some of Tambol's people were going back and forward without interruption to and from the Khan at Tashkeend. Ahmed Beg, who was the Governor of Sultan Muhammad Salma, the son of Sultan Mahmid Khan, and who, of all his Bega, had been distinguished by the most conspicuous marks of his favour, was paternal uncle of the full blood to Tambol. Beg Tilbesh, who was the Khan's Chamberlain, was the elder brother of Tambol. By coming and going about the Khan, they wrangled upon him to send a body of men to Tambol's assistance. Beg Tilbesh, from his infancy, had been in Moghulistan, and had grown up in 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.
On the present occasion, before this reinforcement was sent, he left his wife and family in Toshkend, and went and joined his younger brother Tambol.

At this time an awkward incident occurred to Kasim Ajib, whom I had left in the temporary command of Akhbi. Having gone out with a few men in pursuit of a marauding party, he had followed them rather rashly, and crossed the river of Khujand at Bukhuri in the pursuit, when he fell in with a large body of Tambol’s men, and was taken prisoner.

When Tambol learned the disbanding of my army, and had conferred with his elder brother Beg Tilbeh, who had reached him with advices from the Khan, and given him certain assurances of the coming of reinforcements, he marched from Uzkan to the district termed Suuram between the two rivers. At this time certain intelligence from Kasim, that the Khan had sent off his Ate and young nobled Khanekeh, who was generally called Sultanim, accompanied about a kooz or five or six thousand men, who had passed by the route of Archik-kendo, and come and laid siege to Kasim. Without restraining myself by waiting for such of my troops as were at a distance, taking with me only such of my men as were ready at hand, without delay, in the depths of winter, placing my reliance in Almighty God, I marched from Andeqan by way of Band-sallar to attack Sultanim and Ahmed Beg. That night we halted nowhere, and next morning we arrived at Akhbi. The cold during the night was extremely intense, 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 Akhbi, but having placed Yakh Taghbi in charge of that place in the room of Kasim Ajib, I passed on for Kasim. When I arrived within one kos of Kasim, I received intelligence that Ahmed Beg and Sultanim, on being informed of my approach, had broken up in confusion, and retreated in great haste.

The moment that Tambol knew of my march, he had set out with all speed to the assistance of his elder brother, and made a stand. It was about the time between afternoons and evening prayers, when the blackness occasioned by the approach of Tambol’s army became visible in the direction of Noukand. Confounded and disconcerted 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 bands shall escape out of them.” Weh Lughari and some others, however, represented that the day was now far spent; that if we let them alone that day it was not 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 it to put themselves in our power, we suffered them to get away without the slightest injury. There is a saying,

(Persian)—He that does not aim what comes into his grasp.

Muss indulge his regret went to old age, and regrets.

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1 Man-a-khon.
2 The currents from Toshkend to Bukhara generally cross the Sür below Toshkend on the one.
3 Noukand seems to lie north of the Sür, between Uzkan and Kasim.
Regarding the interval granted them till morning was most precious, they rested nowhere all night, but rode on till they gained the fortress of Arkhiān. When morning came we went against the enemy, but they were not to be found. We pirouetted them, and as we did not judge it advisable to lay close siege to Arkhiān, encamped a kos from it in a village of Nemengan. We continued thirty or forty days in this station, while Tambol remained in the fortress of Arkhiān. 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.

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.

About the same time Syed Yusuf Maḥmūd 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 Andijan, there are two called Qighār and Maḥmūd. Syed Yusuf was the Khān or Head-man of Maḥmūd. He had lately become known to me, by sight, among my courtiers, had taken it into his head to shaun off the Kīlantār, and affected the airs of a Beg, though nobody had ever made him a Beg. He was a wonderfully shy, transmural, unsociable sort of a creature. From the period when I took Andijan 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 his, Ulūnas, and Aṃkādās. 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 Behshahrān, but Tambol had arrived and entered the fort. Of the Begs who accompanied me on this expedition Ali Dervīsh Beg, Koch Beg, and their brothers, advanced close up to the gates of Behshahrān 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.

I halted on an eminence at the distance of one kos from Behshahrān. Tambol, bringing Jahangir along with him, came and encamped, resting on the fort of Behshahrān. 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 Ghizarī Kermānī. Tāzī. A marginal note on the Turki manuscript says, that it is the town of Tāzmīn (or district). Layard explains it, the town of orowenam. I have restored it to old Nemongan, which is now the name of the town of Kārpānah, north of the Sāzī. My Persian Mr. Svetrāz, as much over the first letter of the word, may be read in either way.

2 The Khān, or rather Kīlantār, is a sort of Mayor of the towns of Persia.

3 These were the wandering tribes of the country.
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 adverse to it. But, as the two personages who have been named, were the Beys 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 Akhri side of the river of Khojand should belong to Jehangir Mirza; that on the Andijan side to me; that Uzheyd, too, should be given up to me, when they had withdrawn their wives and families from it; that after we had setled our territories, land Jehangir Mirza should unite and proceed in concert against Samarqand; and that, as soon as I had conquered and gained complete possession of Samarqand, I should resign Andijan to Jehangir Mirza. The day after these conditions were agreed on, it being towards the end of Rajab, Jehangir Mirza and Tambol came and paid me their respects. We ratified everything that had been arranged; Jehangir Mirza having taken leave, proceeded to Akhri, while I returned to Andijan. On my arrival there, I ordered Khalil, 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 Taghiba Beg, Muhammad Deen, Mr. Shah Koeein, Sidi Beg, Kasim Ajeb, Pir Weis and Miram Duiwan, and sent them to me.

After our return to Andijan, the manners and deportment of All Deen 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 Khalil; he then imprisoned and plundered Ibrahim Sarri and Weis Laghari without fault or pretext; and dismissed them, after stripping them of their governments. He next fell upon Kasim Beg, and got quit of him. He published a proclamation, that Khalil and Ibrahim Sarri were staunch friends of Khwajeh Kazi, and had intended to murder him in revenge for the Kazi's blood. His son Muhammad Deen began to assume the state of a sovereign. His style of intercourse, his entertainments, his levees, 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.

Akbar 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 Khojand, I now married her, in the month of Sha'ban. 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
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.

At this time there happened to be a lad belonging to the camp-bazar, named Baberi. His attachment to me was so extravagant as to render my mother more furious than ever. 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. In this situation I composed a few verses in Persian, of which the following is a couplet:

Never was love so wretched, so ensnared, as dishonoured as I,

And may I never be found so villainous, as 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 assume him with conversation or a disclosure of my passion? Even in 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 reencounter, 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 Muhammad Sulihk:

I am shamed where I see my love,
My companions look at 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:

The whole of this is very curious. Baber, following the ideas of his age and country, talks of love 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 invariable, from the state of society 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 predominance of the vice in question, in Muhammadan countries, results from the degraded situation of women in society. We must not look for refined moral excellence in men, while women is so scant, or occupy 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 refer.
The same year a quarrel broke out between Sultan Ali Mirza and Mohammed Mazid Terkhan, originating in the high state and overbearing influence attained by the Terkhauns. They had taken complete possession of the whole of Bokhara, and did not give any one a single dang from its revenues. Mohammed Mazid Terkhan 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 paisa 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 Mohammed Mazid Terkhan, 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 Asghur, Pir Ahmed, Kiwajeh Hassan, the younger brother of Usman Hassan, Kares Birlas, Sallik Muhammad, and several other Begs and Carnilius.

At this period, Sultan Mahmud Khan dispatched Khan Mirza, accompanied by Mohammed Hussain Dughlet, Ahmed Beg, and a number of his Moghuls, against Samarkand. Hafiz Beg Dulkad, with his son, Tahur Beg, were the governors of Khan Mirza. Hassan Naqeeb, Hindu Beg, and a great many caravans, from attachment to Hafiz Beg and Tahur Beg, deserted from Sultan Ali Mirza and joined Mirza Khan. Mohammed Mazid Terkhan sent messengers to invite Khan Mirza and the Moghul army, and himself, advancing to the territory of Shadwar, had a conference with Mirza Khan and the Moghul Begs. The Moghul Begs, however, agreed so ill with Mohammed Beg and the others, that they even formed the design of seizin 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 Bokhara and of Samarkand, which he had espoused when it was abandoned by Babur.
2 A small silver coin, the sixth part of a diham; at the present day, the value of about a penny.
3 A small copper coin.
4 Khan Mirza was Wle Mirza, the youngest son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza. On his father's death, his mother had him conveyed to Tashkent to her husband's court.
their ground at Vārsāllā. The Moghuls were unable to sustain the attack, and fled in confusion. Thus, towards the close of his life, Sultan Ali Mirza performed one truly fair achievement.

Muhammad Mazār Terkhan, and the rest of his party, seeing that they had nothing to expect from Sultan Ali Mirza, or the Mirza and his brother, dispatched Akbar Waliab, a Moghul, who had formerly been in my service, and who, at the siege of Andejaan, had gallantly exerted himself, and was afterwards raised to the rank of a Khanjeh Kazi, for the purpose of inviting me to his 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 Akbar to Jelangir 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 Zilkahe when I marched on the expedition. On the fourth day, I reached Kahan, and halted. About the time of afternoon prayers, I received intelligence that Khallī, Sultan Ahmad Tambul's younger brother, had surprised the fortress of Ush.

The affair happened in this way:—At the peace, the prisoners, the chief of whom was Khallī, the younger brother of Tambul, had been set at liberty, as has been mentioned. Tambul had sent Khallī, in order to remove his family and effects from Usbend. Having entered Usbend 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 suite had gone off different ways, such 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 calumnies of Kamber Ali and Ali Dost, two of my friends of the first eminence, were to be very evident, so that all confidence in them was at an end, as I have already given to understand. A further motive was, that as the party of the nobles of Samarkand, at the head of whom was Muhammad Mazār Terkhan, had sent to invite me, it would have been most absurd, on account of a small place like Andejaan, to lose time, and perhaps such a noble capital as Samarkand. From Kahan we advanced to Marghinān, which I had bestowed on Sultan Ahmad Beg, the father of Koch Beg. He was himself prevented by his situation and connection from accompanying me, and remained in Marghinān; 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 Meheen, a village belonging to that district. By a fortunate coincidence, Khair Beg, with his troops, Ali Dost, with his men, Syed Khair, and a very considerable number of good soldiers, that very night arrived in Meheen, as if they had come post by assignment, and all joined me. Leaving Meheen, and passing
by the route of the plain Jassir, we reached Uratipp, crossing the bridge of Chapam.
Kamber Ali, confiding in Tambul, had gone from his own government of Khoyend to Akbey, 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 Tambul advanced to seize his districts; verifying the Uurki proverb:

To trust a frier
Your head will be to me nowhide with sins.

While they were conducting him from one place to another, however, he effected his escape by the way, and, barricaded and barricaded, after encountering a multitude of hardships, came and joined me while I was at Uratippa.

At Uratippa I received intelligence that Shhehāni Khan had defeated Bāki Terkhām; at the fort of Dubaia, and was advancing against Bokhāra. From Uratippa, by the route of Lāghz-hurkāt, I reached Sengraz, the commandant 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 Bega of Samarkand, at the head of whom was Muhammad Mā'īl Khan, came to meet me, and tendered me their duty. I conversed with them about the taking of Samarkand. They assured me that Khwājeh Yahia 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 Khwājeh Yahia. The Khwājeh 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.

Marching from Yuret Khan, I advanced to the Dergāham. From the banks of the Derghāham I sent Khwājeh Muhammad Ali, my librarian, to Khwājeh Yahia. He brought me back instructions to advance, and that the city should be given up to me. Mounting just at nightfall, we left the Dergāham, and rode towards the city. But Sultan Māhūn Dūldāi, the father of Sultan Muhammad Dūldāi, 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 Derghāham.

While I remained encamped there, Bubānī Barn Mānkhālīgh, who had received many favours from me, but whom Ali Dost had plundered and driven from my service while we were at Yar-izzlek, returned, accompanied by Muhammad Yūsuf, the son of Syed Yūsuf Beg, and again entered into my service. The greater part of my Bega and most attached servants, whom Ali Dost Beg, from jealousy, had treated ill, beseeching some of them, plundering others, and ruining the rest by heavy contributions, all returned to me in this period, one after another. The power of Ali Dost was now
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

He had placed his entire reliance on Tumhul, and had harassed and persecuted me and all my friends. I had conceived a special 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 Tumhul, 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 Usbeke, where he did not succeed badly; but there, also, having been guilty of some piece of treachery to those whose salt he catt, he was obliged to flee, and came to the billy districts of Andijan, where he spirited up some disturbances; but falling at last into the hands of the Usbeke, they put out his eyes, and thus was verified the saying, "the salt has seared his eyes."

After they had taken leave, I dispatched Ghuri Hirlas with a party of horse towards Bokhara, in quest of intelligence. He brought me back information that Sheibani Khan had taken Bokhara, and was marching on Samarkand. Not thinking my stay in that neighbourhood advisable, I proceeded towards Kesh, in which place were the families of many of the Bega of Samarkand. A week or two after my arrival there, information was brought that Sultan Ali Mira had delivered up Samarkand to Sheibani Khan.

The circumstances of this event are as follows:—The mother of Sultan Ali Mira, named Zulmeh Begi Agba, was led by her stupidity and folly to send a messenger privately to Sheibani Khan, proposing that, if he would marry her, her son should surrender Samarkand into his hands, on condition that, when Sheibani recovered his own paternal dominions, he should restore Samarkand to Sultan Ali Mira. Abu Yusuf Arghun was let into the secret of this plan; nay, that traitor may be fairly regarded as the original projector of it.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 906.9

Sheibani Khan advancing as had been arranged with the princess, halted at the Bagh-e-Mehman. About noon, Sultan Ali Mira, without acquainting any of his Bega, officers, cavaliers, or servants, with his intention, and without holding any consultation, left the town by the Char-e-rahab gate, accompanied only by a few insignificant individuals of his personal attendants, and went to Sheibani Khan at the Bagh-e-Me-

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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 mehman-sardan, or treacherous to his host.
2. South of Samarkand, beyond the hills.
3. This year commenced on 1 July 1590.
Sheibānī 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. Khwājeh Yāhāb, 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 Sheibānī Khan, who received him without rising, and said some severe things to him. On his rising to go away, however, Sheibānī Khan behaved more courteously, and rose from his seat. Jān Ali, the son of Khwājeh Ali Bāi, who was in Rabūt-Khwājeh, as soon as he heard that the Mirza had gone out, likewise went and presented himself to Sheibānī 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 Sheibānī 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 Kubkēh. 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.

After the murder of Sultan Ali Mirza, the Khan sent Jān Ali after his prince; and as he entertained suspicions of Khwājeh Yāhāb, banished him, and sent him off for Kharasān, with his two sons, Khwājeh Muhammed Zakerla and Khwājeh Bākī. They were followed by a party of Uzbek, who martyred the Khwājeh and both his young sons, in the neighbourhood of Khwājeh Karbūz. Sheibānī Khan denied all participation in the Khwājeh's death, alleging that it was the act of Kambar Bī and Kepek Bī. This is only making the matter worse, according to the saying, "the excuse is worse than the fault." For when Begs presume to perpetrate such deeds without being authorised by their Khan or Khān, what confidence can be reposed in such a government?

No sooner had the Uzbek's taken Samarkand, than we moved away from Kesh towards Hisaar. Muhammed Maxud Tarkhān, and some of the other Beys of Samarkand, accompanied me, along with their wives, children, and families. On halting at the Valley of the district of Cheghānān, Muhammed Maxud Tarkhān, and the Samarkand nobles, separating from me, went and took service with Khosrow 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 Khosrow Shah had inflicted on my house and family, saw myself compelled to pass through the midst of his territories. Hence had
a fancy that I might go by way of the country of Karakul to join my younger maternal uncle Ilheeh Khan, but I did not. We resolved to go up by the Kamrud and to cross over the mountain of Sir-e-Tak. By the time we reached the confines of Nowendak, a servant of Khusrow Shah came to me, and, in his master's name, presented me with nine horses, and nine pieces of cloth. When I reached the gorge of Kamrud, Shir Ali Cheirrah deserted from me and joined Wall, the younger brother of Khusrow Shah. The next morning Kesh Beg separated from me and went to Hisar. Having entered the Valley of Kamrud, 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 fell, and were unable to proceed. After four or five days march, we reached the mountain pass of Sir-e-Tak. 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 kilometer in circumference, and is very beautiful.

Here I received information that Ibrahim Terkhan had thrown himself into the fortress of Shiraz, which he had put in a state of defence, and that Kamber Ali and Abol Kasem Kehbou, who had been in the fort of Khwâjeh Didar, when the Uzbek took Samarkand, not believing themselves able to hold out in the place, had repaired to Yar-Allâk, the fortresses of which district they had occupied and put in a state of defence, and established themselves there.

Leaving Kân on the right, we marched towards Kasbât. The Malek of Kân was renowned for his hospitality, generosity, politeness, and humanity. When Sultan Hussain Mirza came against Hisar, Sultan Mansud Mirza fled to his younger brother Huseinanglar Mirza at Samarkand, by this road. The Malek of Kân presented him with seventy or eighty horses as a poshaksh, and did him many other services of 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 niggardly when they had to do with me; and those who were so celebrated for their hospitality, quite forgot it when I was concerned. Khusrow Shah too, was one who possessed a high reputation for liberality and generosity, and the services which he rendered to Buda-er-zamân Mirza have already been mentioned. He certainly received Bâki

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5 In that case he would probably have passed the hills into the Kashgar territory, and then proceeded to the east of the Alta-uch mountains, which separated Kashgar and the country of the Moghuls from Tashkent, Kasmir, &c. The Persian copies read Karakul and Albor.

6 The valley of Kamrud leads up from the lower country of Hisar to Sir-e-Tak, which seems to be on the summit of the Kafiru-uch mountains. In getting across these mountains, Baber came on the country near the source of the Kukh, and on the skirt of Yar-Allâk.

7 The Moghuls and Turks have a superstitious reverence for the number nine, and prayers are generally made by nine or three nine times of such kind.

8 About a mile and a half.

9 Mr Masull's MS. has Kashkud, the Persian Kasid and Keshid.
Terkhān 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:—

Tārīkh.—0, 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.

Immediately on leaving Kān, it occurred to me that Keshtīd 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 Kohīk. I passed this river by a bridge towards its bend at Yāri, and dispatched Kāsim Beg and some other Begs for the purpose of surprising the fortress of Rabāt-Khāwājeh. Passing Yāri and the hill of Shankar-Khanah, we arrived in Yar-ālīk. The Begs who were sent against Rabāt-Khāwājeh, 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 enterprise. Kambār Ali, who was in Sangrāz, came and waited on me. Abūl Kāsim Kohbār and Ḍrābīm Terkhān sent some of their confidential servants to pay me their respects, and assure me of their attachment.

From the villages of Yar-ālīk we came to Afsandek. At that time Shēbānī Khan was in the vicinity of Khwājeh-Dhikr, accompanied by three or four thousand Uzbek, and about as many mercenary soldiers who had been collected from various quarters. He had bestowed the Daroughshāf of Samarqand on Khan Vaṣa Mirzā, who occupied the place with five or six hundred men. Khwājeh Sultan and Mehdi Sultan, with their adherents and followers, were encamped near Samarqand in the Kurīdh-Budīnān. My men, good and bad, amounted only to two hundred and forty. Having consulted with the whole of my Begs and officers, we finally were agreed in opinion, that as Shēbānī Khan had taken Samarqand 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 Samarqand 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 Uzbek. 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-ālīk after noon-time prayers, and rode rapidly the greater part of the night. By midnight we 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 Kohīk a little below Rabāt-Khāwājeh, and regained Yar-ālīk.

One day I happened to be in the castle of Afsandek with some of my inferior nobles.
and officers, such as Dost Nâír, Nâviân Gokultâsh, Khâzim Gokultâsh, Khân Kâli, Kermád, Sheikh Dervish, Khosrow Gokultâsh, and Miram Nâír, 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. Nâviân Gokultâsh said, "We shall take it within a fortnight;" and Almighty God verified his words, for we did take it within the fortnight.

About this time I had a remarkable dream. I thought that the revered Khwâjâh Bâber's Abd-ullâh had come to visit me. I went out to receive him, and the Khwâjâh 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. Mâlîh Bâsî 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 Khwâjâh 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 Türkî, "Sheikh Masûkî, Bârdî, Your religious instructor has counselled you." A few days after this I took Samarkand.

One or two days after seeing this dream, I went from the fort of Assendek to that of Waamand. 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 Waamand on the same enterprise, after mid-day prayers, and pushed on for Samarkand with the greatest expedition. Khwâjâh Abdal Makûram was along with me. At midnight we reached the bridge of the Moghâk at the Khwâsân (op 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, to mount by them and enter the fort; after which they were to proceed immediately against the party who were stationed at the Firozeh-gate, to take possession of it, and then to apprise 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 Firozeh-gate, where they found Fâzîl Terkân, who was not of the Terkân Begs, but a Terkân merchant of Türkistan, that had served under Shâhâr Khan in Türkistan, and had been promoted by him. They instantly fell upon Fâzîl Terkân 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 Khâzim Kebur did not himself come on this enterprise, but he sent his younger brother Ahmed Khâzim with thirty or forty of his followers.

1 Or rather perhaps, Sheikh Masûkî gives it.
2 Or Pal-o-Moghâk may be a village near Kûl-o-Moghâk. Moghâk literally means a ditch or hollow.
3 The Khwâsân or Khwân is already mentioned, is a park shaded by avenues of trees, under which the town's people went out to divert themselves.
4 Moghâr-o-Ashâkîn.
There was no person with me on the part of Ibrahim Terkhan; but, after I had entered the city, and while I was sitting in the Khanekhā (or convent), Ahmed Terkhan, 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 apprised 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, Jān Vafa, was in Khwaja Yahia's house, but contrived to make his escape, and rejoined Sheibani Khan.

On entering the gate, I had instantly proceeded towards the college and Khanekas, and, on reaching the latter, I took my seat under the grand Tāb (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.

Sheibani 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. Sheibani Khan, soon discovering that he could effect nothing, did not stop, but turned back and retired.

I now left the town, and encamped at the Bostan-serai. 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 Husain 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 Husain 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, Yarqar Muhammed Mirza, was an inexperienced lad of seventeen or eighteen years of age. A third distinction is, that Mir Ali, the master of horse, who was perfectly acquainted with the whole conduct and
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, and when Sultan Hussein 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 Shâbâni 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 Shâbâni 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 Bâber Behadur."*

After the conquest of Samarkand, Shâdâwâr, Soghd, and the people who were in the forts in the Tumush, 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 DarUGHâS,4 and put their towns in a state of defence on my account. At this time, Shâbâni Khan's wife and family, with his heavy baggage, as well as that of the other Uzbeks, arrived from Türkastân. Shâbâni Khan had remained till now in the vicinity of Khwarâj-Dulak and Ali-âbdâl; 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 Behkârâ. By the divine favour, before the end of three or four months, most of the fortified places of Soghd and Miânkâr5 had come under my allegiance. Bekkâ Türkshin, too, seized a favourable opportunity, and entered the fort of Karâli. Khozâr and Karâsh were both lost to the Uzbeks. Karakâl was also taken by Abul Hassan Mirza's men, who came from Merv. My affairs succeeded everywhere prosperously.

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* Bagh-e-Zâghân.
* Chief magistrates.
* Miânkâr, or Miânkâl, is the country on both sides of the Kehik, near Behkârâ.
* Khozâr and Karâsh 40 S. W. from Shehâr-Sob = Karakâl S. W. from Behkârâ.
After my departure from Andezin, 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 Udaya. I now sent and brought them to Samarkand. About this time I had a daughter by Auela Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the first wife whom I had married. She received the name of Fatimah-ul-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.

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 forth 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.

At the time when I took Samarkand this second time, Ali Shahr 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 Turki language, but before his reply could arrive, the commotions and troubles had begun.

Sheibani Khan, after taking Samarkand, had received Mulla Binâi into his service, since which time the Mulla had attended him. A few days after I took the place, the Mulla came to Samarkand. Khâim Beg having suspicions of him, ordered him to retire to Shaker-Seba; 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 nasheeds and ghazels. 3 He addressed me a ghazal adapted to a musical air, in the Nawa measure; and about the same time composed and sent me the following quatrain:

I neither possess press to eat,
Nor the persimmon of press * 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 ghazal, or ode. I composed and sent him a rubâi (or quatrain), in the Turki language:

Wasilâra may mean my mother, my father’s widows.

1 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.

2 A species of odes.

3 The meaning of these verses depends upon an untranslatable play of words in the original. The Persians and Hindustani are accustomed to divert themselves by riddling changes on their words. (Ghâzâl, mukh, reth, bet, &c. The perverted word the Persians call the sukkhâmāl of the proper term. The sukkhâmāl, or perversion of ghâzâl, grain; is mukhâl, which happens to signify a sort of reddish-coloured cotton, of which cloth is manufactured. The poet, therefore, by saying that he has not ghâzâl (grain), i.e. sukkhâmâl, mukhâl (cotton), gives to understand that he has neither food nor clothing.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

Your affairs shall all succour to your heart's content;
Presenta and a settled almoner shall be in your reward.
I comprehended your affection in the grain and its persimmon.
Your person shall lift the cloth, and the grain shall fill your house.

Mulla Rana composed and sent me a rubai, in which he assumed the rhyme of my quatrain for the rediff of his own, and gave it another rhyme:

\[ \text{My Milk, who shall be a common by sea and land,}\]
\[ \text{Shall be distinguished in the world for his genius;}\]
\[ \text{If my rediff was such for a single unmeaning word;}\]
\[ \text{What would it have been had I spoken with understanding?}\]

At this time Khwaja Ahsan-ul-Barka, summoned Feraldi, came from Sheer-er-Sheb. He said, "You should have kept the same rhyme?" and recited the following rubai:

\[ \text{This tyranny which the sphere exercises shall be implored into;}\]
\[ \text{This generous effort shall rejoin her mishaps;}\]
\[ \text{O sup-hearer! if thou hast not browned my cup,}\]
\[ \text{At this turn (or reign) shall be filled to the brim.}\]

This winter my affairs were in the most prosperous state, while those of Sheibani Khan were at a low ebb. At this very period, however, one or two rather unfortunate incidents occurred. The party from Mercy, that had taken possession of Karkh, proved unable to maintain it, so that it fell again into the hands of the Uzbek. Ahmed Terkhan, the younger brother of Ibrahim Terkhan, held the fortress of Dabdal. Shahbani 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 Samarqand, 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 Shahbani Khan in a pitched battle at Sir-e-pül, 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 Ayah Begehik and Kaukheh Mahmud, with about four or five hundred men. From Jehangir Mirza, Tamba'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 Sheibani Khan, not a man appeared; nor did I receive a single man from Badran-er-Zaman Mirza. Khoosru 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.

In the month of Shuwal I marched out of the city to meet Shahbani Khan, and fixed my head-quarters in the Begha-namen, where I halted five or six days for the purpose.

\[ \text{The above is the rhyme; the rest consists of a few syllables, like a running strain on the line. The rediff here is the Turkish word for a thousand, shall be, which served as the rhyme to Baber's verse. In the subsequent verses of Khwaja Ahsan-ul-Barka, the original rhyme is retained. It is to be observed, that the third line of a quatrain requires no rhyme.}\]

\[ \text{In most instances, the sequence of a word has no sense whatever.}\]

\[ \text{Shuwal 809 begins 8th April 1641.}\]
of collecting the troops, and getting ready all the necessaries of war. Setting out from the Bagh-e-nau, I proceeded, by successive marches, to Sir-e-pal, after passing which I halted and encamped, strongly fortifying our camp with a palisade and ditch. Sheibání Khan moved forward from the opposite direction to meet us, and encamped near the town of Khwajeh-Kârdzân. There was about a farang between his camp and mine.

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 Sheibání Khan attempted to surprise us, but we were so well defended by our ditch and chevaux-des-fres, 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.

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 Dughlat, the Mir’s son, 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 Dâbûl, only four farangs 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 heart lays his hand on his sword,
Will afterwards grieve that hand from its weapon.

The cause of my eagerness to engage was, that the stars called the Sahyûlkûs (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.

In the morning, having made the troops array themselves in their armour, and equipage 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 Ibrâhîm Sârû, Ibrâhîm Jâni, Abâl Kasîm Kohîrû, with several other Beys. On the left wing were stationed Ibrâhîm Terkhân, Muhammed Mazîd Terkhân, with the other Beys of Samarqand, Sultan Hussain Argûbûn, Kara Ibrâhîm Pâr Ahmed, and Khwajeh Hussain. In the centre, were Kasîm Beg, and some of my inferior nobility and attached adherents. In the advance, were Kamber Ali Silakh (the skinner), Bandeh Ali, Khwajeh Ali, Mir Shah Köchûn, Syed Kasîm the chamberlain, Khâdar the younger brother of Bandeh Ali, Kuch Beg; Hânder Kasîm the son of Kasîm Beg, with a number of my best armed men and most faithful partisans. We marched right forward to the enemy, and they, on their part,
appeAred ready drawn up to receive us. On their right wing were Mahmud Sultan, Juhi Beg Sultan, and Tamur 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, 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 Shabani 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 was left defenceless. The enemy now began to charge on 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 Urikks is on the Tulghoom (or turning the enemy's flank). They never engage without using the Tulghoom. Another of their practices is to advance and charge in front and rear, discharging their arrows at full gallop, peli-smelt, 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 Moghul were the most active in unhorsing and stripping the strugglers. Brahmin Turkhan, and a great number of excellent soldiers, were unhorsed, stripped, and put to death by them.

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 black.

footnote:
1 Travel.
2 That is, the summit.
Advancing up the north side of the river, Kohik, I re-crossed it in the vicinity of Kubekh. Between the time of afternoon and evening prayers, I reached the Sheikh-zade's gate, and entered the citadel.

Many Begs of the highest rank, many admirable soldiers, and many men of every description perished in this fight. Ibrâhim Terkhan, Ibrâhim Sara, 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 Kásim Köhsur, the eldest son of Haider Kásim Beg, Khoda-berdi, the standard-bearer, Khall, 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, Muhammad Masâd Terkhan fled towards Kunder and Hisâb, to Khosrou Shah. Kamber Ali the skinner, the Moghul, whom among all my Begs I had distinguished by the highest marks of favour, in spite 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 Karimdâd, Khodadâd the Turkoman, Khanakeh Gokultâsh, and Mülla Babâr Beshâgheri, fled towards Uratippa. Mülla Babâr was not at that time in my service, but was entertained as a guest. Others, again, acted like Shiriin Tâghâi, 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, unembarked, 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.

Next day I called together Khvâjeh Abul Makâram, Kásim Beg, and the rest of the Begs and officers, with such of my adherents and cavaliers as were best qualified to offer advice, and hold 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 Kásim Beg, with my most trusty and faithful adherents, formed a body of reserve. I had a public tent pitched for me on the Arching 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.

After two or three days Sheibäni Khan approached, and took a station at some distance from the city. The idle and worthless rabble, assembling from many districts and streets of Samarkand, came in large bodies to the gate of the College, shouting aloud, "Glory to the Prophet!" and clamorously marched out for battle. Sheibäni Khan, who, at the moment, had mounted, and was preparing to make an assault, did
not venture to approach the place. Some days passed in this manner. The ignorant
mob, who had never experienced the wound of arrow or saber, nor witnessed the
press of onlookers, nor the tumult of battle, plunged up courage from these incidents,
and ventured to advance at a very considerable distance from the works. When the old
and experienced veterans remonstrated with them on such imprudent and useless
advances, they were only answered with reproach and abuse.

One day Shibli 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 Gokultash, with some inferior nobility, and a few of my domestic troops,
such as Naim Gokultash, Kûl Nazer Taghâi, and Mâzâli, with some others, marshaled
out towards the Camel's neck. From the other side two or three Uzbek galloped up
to charge them, and unsaddled Kûl Nazer, sabre in hand. The whole of the Uzbek
dismounting, fought on foot, swept back the city-rabble, and drove them in through
the Iron gate. Kuch Beg and Mir Shah Kouchân remained behind, and took post close
by Khuwâjah Khâzer'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 Khuwâjah
Khâzer, in order to attack them. Upon this Kuch Beg, saluting forth on the Uzbek
who first came up, attacked them sabre in hand, and made a gallant and distinguished
figure, to the eyes of all the inhabitants, who stood looking on. The fugitives, occu-
pied solely with their flight, had ceased to shoot arrows, or to think of fighting for
their ground. I shut 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 pre-
vented the enemy from advancing up to Khuwâjah Khâzer's mosque, and they were
forced to retire from the field.

During the continuance of the siege, the rounds of the rampart were regularly
given, once every night, sometimes by Kâsin Beg, and sometimes by other Begs and
captains. From the French gate to the Sheikh-Zadeh 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.

One day Shibli Khan made an attack between the Iron gate and that of the
Sheikh-Zadeh. 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 Needle-makers
gate. That same day, from the top of the Sheikh-Zadeh's gateway, I struck a
pinch 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 apprehen-
sion 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

*Shibli-gâdir, a valiant man; khalâma means literally a flowing wall.
*Derwaš-e-Gokultāsh, or Derwaš-e-Darvâzārūn.
men could mount a-breast. He had placed in ambusc opposite to the city-wall, seven or eight hundred chosen men with three 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 ambusc 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 ambusc, advanced with extreme speed, and applied their scaling-ladders all at once between the two gates that have been mentioned, exactly opposite to Muzammed Mazlud Terkhân's house. The quarters of Kuch Beg, Muzammed Kâli Kochin, and of the party of warriors who had the duty of guarding this post, were then in Muzammed Mazlud Terkhân's house. Kara Birlâs was stationed at the Needle-makers' gate; the station of the Washing-green gate was allotted to Shâhân Taghâtî and his brothers with Kâtâk Khwâjeh Gokulâsh. 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, Muzammed Kâli Kochin, Shah Sulüf, 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. Kâtâk Khwâjeh Gokulâsh and Kâl Naser Mirza, who were in their stations at the Washingman'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.

On another occasion Kâshân Beg sallied out, with a small body of men, by the Needlemakers' gate, and having bent the Uzbek's back as far as Khwâjeh Kafshar, he dismounted several of them, and returned, bringing back their heads.

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 answered best. Many used the barks and ringlets of wood, which they soaked in water, and gave to their horses. For three or four months Shebâni Khan did not approach the fortress, but blocked 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 Firózeh gate, beating his large kettle drums, and raising the shout for an assault.
was then in the College, and was in considerable misery 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 discomfort 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 the 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 Hussain 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 Kemal-ed-din Hussain Gazargahi on an embassy to Sheikhan Khan.

Tambol having advanced from Amda Jan 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 Lakhedan and Charbagh-Turak, but separated and retired without any action, and without even confronting each other. Sultan Mahmud 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 warlike way, "What kind of a fellow is this Tambal, that he occasions you so much consternation and alarm? If your eyes are afraid, why, blind them up, and then let us engage him."

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 967.

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, and encamped from the city and deserted. Sheikhan Khan, who knew the distress of the inhabitants, came and encamped at the Rover's Cave. I also moved my head-quarters and came to Khe Payān (Low Street) to Malik Mohammed Mirza's house. At this crisis, Usman Hassan, the son of Khwājah Husain, who had been the chief ringleader in the rebellion of Jehangir Mirza, by which I had formerly been obliged to leave Samarkand, and who had afterwards been the prime mover of much rebellion and sedi-

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This year of the Hejara commenced July 17, 1501.
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, Wazir Sheikh and Wazir Bāberi 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, Shibāni 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-Zādeh's gate, accompanied by my mother the Khamm. Two other ladies escaped with us, the one of them Bochega Khallīf, the other Jangulik Gokallīsh; my eldest sister Khanzādeh Begum was intercepted, and fell into the hands of Shibāni Khan, as we left the place on this occasion. Having entangled ourselves among the great branches of the canals of the Soogh, during the darkness of the night, we lost our way, and after encountering many difficulties, we passed Khwājeh Dīdār 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 Kherdekh, we made for Ilān-aṭūl. On the road, I had a race with Kambar Ali and Kāsim 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 Ilān-aṭūl, where we alighted, and, having killed a horse, cut him up, and dressed ales of his flesh: we stayed a little time to rest our horses, then mounting again, before day-break we alighted at the village of Khallīb. From Khallīb we proceeded to Dīzak. At that time Tāher Dūldū, the son of Hāfez Muḥammad Beg Dūldū, was governor of Dīzak. Here we found fine fat flesh, bread of fine flour well baked, sweet molasses, 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:—

(Thāk.)—From famine and distress we have escaped to rejoicing;
We have gained flesh, life, and a fresh earth.
(Perṣian.)—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, came with increased relish, and afforded more exquisite delight. I have four or five times, in the course of my life, passed in a similar manner from distress to
case, 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 pleasure of plenty. Having rested and enjoyed ourselves two or three days in Dizak, we proceeded on to Uratippa.

Beshagher 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 Beshagher I unexpectedly fell in with an Atun (or governor), 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 acquainting her, we found that she had travelled all the way from Samarkand on foot. My mother's younger sister, Khand-Niẓār Khanum, 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 Audejan, and the news was communicated here. My mother, since the death of my maternal grandfather, had never seen her mother, nor her younger brother and sisters, Shah Begum, Sultan Mahmod Khan; Sultan Nigar Khanum, and Doulet Sultan Khanum, and had been separated from them thirteen or fourteen years. She now set out for Tashkend, for the purpose of seeing them. After consulting with Mohammed Hussein Mirza, it was arranged that I should take up my winter-quarters in the village of Dehlat, 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 Tashkend 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 oldest sister of the full-blood, Mihr-Niẓār Khanum, also arrived from Samarkand. My mother the Khanum fell sick, became desperately ill, and was reduced to the point of death. The terror of Khanjeh Khanjeh had left Samarkand, and now arrived at Ferek. I went to Ferek and paid the Khanjeh 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 Unatippa, but Mahmud Hussein 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 Dehlat.

Dehlat 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 Maukhra. The inhabitants, though Sarts, have large flocks of sheep, and herds of mares, like the Turks. The sheep belonging to Dehlat 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

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* The wife of Sultan Muhammad Hussein Khurram Dughlat, who held Uzirippa at this time.
* Khrim Nigar Khanum.
* Yunis Khan.
* That is, Yunes Khan's other wives.
* The widows of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, and daughter of Shah Begum.
* Shah Begum's youngest daughter.
* The widows of Sultan Almas Mirza of Samarkand.
* In Tajik, husbands or villagers, who speak the Persian tongue. They are the remnant of those who inhabited that country before the later Tartar invasions.
years old. One of this lady's relations had accompanied the army of Taimur Beg, when it invaded Hindostán. 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." Khwajah Assíullah, 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 Andiján. Kásim Beg strongly advised me that, as these men were going that way, I should send some article of my dress as a present to Jahangir Mirza. I accordingly sent him a cap of ermine. Kásim Beg then added, "What great harm would there be in sending some present to Tumshul?" Though I did not altogether approve of this, yet, induced by the pressing instinents of Kásim Beg, I sent Tumshul a large sword, which had been made in Samarkand for Nevián Gokulásh, 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.

A few days after, my grandmother Jem-Doulet Begum, who had remained behind in Samarkand when I left it, arrived with the family and heavy baggage, and a few lean and hungry followers.

This same winter Sháhibú Khan, having passed the river of Khujend on the ice, ravaged the territory of Sháhirkhan 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 Khujend, opposite to Heshthor. It was wonderfully cold, and the wind of Haderaiah 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 chilliness of the water quite penetrated me. Next morning I passed the river of Khujend on the ice, opposite to Khudaiah, and the day after arrived at Beshkent; but Sháhibú Khan had gone off, after plundering the environs of Sháhirkhan. At this time Ahlal Minán, the son of Mulla Halder, held Sháhirkhan. A son younger than Ahlal Minán, one Memún, a worthless and dissipated young man, had

* Nevián Gokulásh was at that time with Babur.
* She was Babur's maternal grandmother, and a widow of Yusuf Khan.
come to me while I was in Samarkand, and I had shown him every kindness; I do not know what had turn Neviân Gokultâah had done him at that time; however, the young estahabite treasured up a deadly enmity against him.

When I received certain accounts that the plundering party of the Usbeeks was retired, I dispatched a messenger with the intelligence to the Khan, and leaving Beshkent, tarried three or four days in the village of Ahengeran. Momin, the son of Mulla Hâder, on the plea of his previous acquaintances in Samarkand, invited Neviân Gokultâah, Ahmed Kusâm, and some others, to an entertainment; and, when I left Beshkent, this party stayed behind. The entertainment was given on the top of a precipice. I went on to the village of Sam-Seirik, which is one of the dependencies of Ahengeran, and there halted. Next morning, I was informed that Neviân Gokultâah had fallen over the precipice while intoxicated, and was killed. I dispatched Hak Nazir, the maternal uncle of Neviân Gokultâah, 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 Neviân, 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 Font Saud Novais (Neviân is dead). A few days afterwards, I set out from this place, and returned to Dehkot.

It was now spring, and intelligence was brought that Sheibânî Khan was advancing against Uralippe. As Dehkot was in the low country, I passed by Abdurden and Amâni, and came to the hill-country of Masikha. Abdurden is a village which lies at the foot of Masikha. Beneath Abdurden is a spring, and close by the spring is a tomb. From this spring, towards the upland, the country belongs to Masikha, 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 to be inscribed:

I have heard that the exalted Jacob
Inscribed on a stone beside a fountain,
"As many as have 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 Masikha, I had a visit from Mulla Hajari, the poet, who came from Hissâr. At this time I composed the following Matla:—

(Tablet)—Whatever skill the painter employs in portraying your features, you exceed his art:
They call you Semâ; but of a truth you are more admirable than the soul.

1 These words are the 2nd.
2 From the Sufi of Sadi—Legends.
3 These are the first lines of one of Baber’s poems. The same observation will apply to most of the other poems which he quotes. They are used for reference to those who are acquainted with the poems themselves.
Shahbānī Khan advanced into the neighbourhood of Uraippa, and retired after committing some devastations. While he was in the territory of Uraippa, without regarding the fewness of my men, or their bad equipment, leaving my household and luggage in Muskī, I marched rapidly over the hills, passing Abburden and Amānī, and came into the vicinity of Dehkit, about the time when the night mingled with the morning, resolved to lose no opportunity, and to be in the way of seizing every chance that might present itself. Shahbānī Khan, however, had retired hastily, so that I measured back my way over the hills, and returned to Muskī.

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 Tashkend to the Khan. Khāsim Beg was very averse to this journey. He had put to death three or four Moghuls at Karahālāk, 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 Hisāb, with his elder and younger brothers, their adherents and dependants; while I proceeded by the pass of Abburden, and advanced towards Tashkend, to join the Khan.

At this same time, Tambol, having collected an army, advanced to the Dale of Ahengarān. In the very heart of his army a conspiracy was formed against him by Muhammad Doghlet, known by the name of Muhammad Hisārī, 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. I passed the Il-e-korba in Shahrokhla, but, without tarrying there, I went to Tashkend to the Khan.

I had composed the following rubāʿi, 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 phonology 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 rubāʿi, 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 rubāʿi or quatrain in question —

(Türkī)—No one remembers him who is in adversity;
A banished man cannot inform 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 Türkī language, h and d̄, as well as āwān, kef, and eʃ, by a poetical licence, are frequently interchanged1 for each other, for the sake of the rhyme.

A short time afterwards, Tambol advanced against Uraippa. As soon as this in-

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1 That is, that the h is changed for d̄, and that āwān, kef, and eʃ, are used for each other. This refers to the rhyme in the original.
formation arrived, the Khan led out his army from Tashkent, and between Beshkent and Sim-eirek, having drawn it up in regular array, with right and left wings, he formed the khin (or circle). The Moghuls blew horns according to their custom. The Khan having alighted, they brought nine horsetail standards, 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 enemys. 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 Muhammad Khaniké 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 painting and making signs towards them. The Khan and all the men around took him. 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 established by Chincul 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 of the Chirás and Beghalb, which of them should occupy the extremity of the line. At this time, the chief of the tribe of Chirás was Kishkhi Mahmoud, a very brave young man. The chief of the tribe of Beghalb, which is noted among the Tumán, was Aythi Yakúb. 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, and that the other should occupy the flank when the army was in battle array.

Next morning, the army forming the large hunting circle, they hunted in the vicinity of Sim-eirek, and, advancing forward, at length halted at the Chehár-Bagh of Barak. The first ghačel that I ever composed was finished that day at this station. The ghačel was the following:

1 These standards are made of the khin, which is properly the tail of the mountain-cow, or, expressed more precisely, the triangular flag, or pennant. The mountain-cow 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 mountains current by holding the tail.

2 The son of Sultan Mahmud Khan.

3 Cirim, or, subdivisions of greater tribes.

4 These hunting-matches were often contested with great fervour. The hunting circle sometimes included every ruler. Accounts of them may be found in Petit de la Croix's Life of Genghis-can, and in the life of Taimour Beg.

5 The ghačel is a kind of ode.
I have found no faithful friend in the world but my soul; except my own heart I have no true confidant.

The ghazal consists of six couplets, and all the ghazals 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 Khujend. 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, Khâkâli Bâzâkâli 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. Ahmud Khâim Kalkibîr also asked leave and went to Urâlippe, but he never came back, and he too went and joined Tambol.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 908.

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.

While I remained at Tashkend 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 kinmen. After having paid my compliments to the Khan my uncle, I went in to wait on Shah Begum, bare-headed and bare-foot, with as much freedom as a person would do at home in his own house.

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 Khâkâli, and resolved to shape my course in that direction; as from my infancy I had always had a strong desire to visit Khâkâli, 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 1st July 1802.
2 The widow of Yuna Khan, and the mother of Sultan Mahmûd Khan.
3 Northern China.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

stake to my journey was removed, and all my difficulties were at an end. By means of Khwājeh Abul Makāram, I made some ideas be suggested, that when an enemy so formidable as Sheikhan Khan had started up, from whom Tūcks 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 Ulūsos, 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 blaze forth, it will consume the world.
Let not your foe apply his arrow to the bowstring.
When you can strike 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 pretences; and I had now fully made up my mind to visit Mughals and Tūcks, after which the reins were in my own hand. I, however, acquainted no person with my plans, 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. Khwājeh Abul Makāram started the subject to Shah Begrm 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 Begrm, with the younger Khan’s younger sisters, Sultan Nigar Khānum, Donjet Sultan Khānum, myself, Sultan Muhammed Khansekh, and Mirza Khan, all of us set out to meet my uncle.

Between Tshakend and Seirum there is a village named Yeghum, as well as some other small villages, where are the tombs of Ibrahim Afs and Ihsuk Afs. 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 knelt down and then embraced. He was a good deal startled and disconcerted.

1 The wandering Tartar tribes.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

At length he ordered Sultan Said 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 sat, and embraced Shah Begum and the other Khansmas, 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 Khūtā, ornamented with flowered needle-work; a chintz of Khūtā of the old fashion, with a waistcoat and a purse-pockets; from this purse-pocket were suspended three or four things like the trinkets which women wear at their necks, such as an Abārān, (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 Tashkend. My uncle the elder Khan came three or four farsangs out from Tashkend, 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 saluted; and when he came to the distance at which the korūsh is performed, he knelt nine times, 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 champing each other in their arms. The younger Khan, while retiring, again knelt nine times, and when he presented his pākshok (or tributary 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 Khūtā satin, embroidered with flowers after the same fashion, epaulettes and saddles of green shagreen, and Moghul horses dressed up and adorned in a singular style.

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 aşapše (or mace with six divisions), the rugged lance, the javelin, the battle-axe, or broad axe, if they hit, could only be relied on for a single blow. His trusty steel 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

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1 That is China satin, &c.
2 Twelve or sixteen miles.
3 The korūsh is a Moghul ceremony used in saluting the Supreme Prince, which has been introduced into India. Originally, the person who performed it knelt nine times, and touched the earth with his brow each time. The ceremony, as enjoined by Akbar, differs considerably 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 korūsh; i.e. the hand being placed in the hand of supplication, becomes an offering to the holy assembly."—Apres Adbur, vol. 1, 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.
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, Khwajeh Abdul Makkari, 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.

Having come to Takhtehud, they speedily marched against Sultan Ahmed Tambol. They advanced by way of From. On reaching the place of Ahengeru, the little Khan and myself were sent on in advance. After having crossed the hill-pass of Dayān, the two Khans met again in the neighbourhood of Zirkān and Karmān. In the vicinity of Karmān they one day had the timūr or master of the army, and found it amount to about thirty thousand horses. Reports reached us from the country in our front, that Tambol had also collected his forces and advanced to Akhāi. 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 Uzgend, and take him in rear. This being arranged, they sent with me Ayūb Begahik with his tumān (or tribe), Jān Hassan Bārūn with his Bārūn, as well as Mūhammed Hissāri Doghīr, Sultan Hissāri Doghīr, and Sultan Ahmed Mirza Doghīr, but the Tūmān of the Doghīrs did not accompany them; Kamber Ali Sārik-bāsh Mirza, the steward, was made the Dāreghār or Commander of the Army. Having separated from the Khans at Karmān, I crossed the river of Khojend at Sākān on rafts, and proceeding by the Rōhāt of Khikān, and having reduced Kaim, advanced upon Ush by a rapid march by the route of Rōhāt-e-Akh-balārk. 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 Iis and Ilares poured in from the east and south of Andejaun, from the hills and plains. The inhabitants of Uzgend, a fortress of great strength, which had formerly been the capital of Ferghāna, and lay on the frontier, declared for me, and sent a person to tender their allegiance. A few days after, the people of Marghīnān having attacked and driven out their Governor, joined my party. The whole population on the Andejaun side of the river of Khojend, with all the fortified places, except Andejaun itself, declared for me. All this time, although 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 Akhāi and Karmān, where he encamped and fortified his position with a trench guarded by a chevaux-de-frise. A number of skirmishes and affrays took place, but without any visible advantage on either side.

1 The Persans have Kandahār and Amān.
2 The reader of the Bost-un-Saḥ, says, that the two Khans left Takhtehud on the 13th Muharram, (21st July 1651) to reconquer Bābur and expel Ahmed Tambol.
3 This is the same as the From that has been mentioned. I know none which is the right name.
4 Sārik-bāsh, yellow-beard—Lydia.
5 Andarshād.
6 The Rōhāt is a large encamped Caravansarai, built for the reception of travellers and their cattle.
7 These, it will be recollected, were the wandering tribes.
Most of the clans and tribes, with the fortresses and country all around Andeján, had now submitted to me, and the men of Andeján 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 Andeján, to send in a man to confer with the Khwâjeh 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 lea of Andeján, opposite to Jild-Khizan, sent forward Kamber Ali Beg, and several other Bâks, 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 Bâks. It might be about the end of the third watch of the night, some of us were nodding, others fast asleep, when all at once saddle-drum 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 Mir Shah Koelsh, Bibâ Shîrâzî, and Dost Nâsir. Except at 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 bridle 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 gulphed 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, and 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 leas till they came over against the hillock of Khâilbâk and Shîbamir. On reaching the hillock, Muhammed Ali Mobasher met us. I said, "Those 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 Ayb Bogeol's division had gone out preying round Andeján on a pillaging party. On hearing the noise made by my detachment, they came secretly upon us, when a mistake occurred regarding the watchword.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

The watchword is of two kinds. One of these is the word of the tribe; for example, some take Dérbânch, others Tâhkât; others Lôhâ, 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 parties 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 countermarch Serâm, or if Serâm was given as the word, the answer was to be Tâshkend. When they fell in with us, Khwâjeh Mohammed Ali was on my advance; and when the Moghuls came on, calling out "Tâshkend! Tâshkend!" Khwâjeh Mohammed Ali, who was a Tajik, in his confusion blundered out, "Tâshkend! Tâshkend!" in reply. The Moghuls, taking him for an enemy, set up the war-cry, beat their horse-drams; 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.

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 Andezin. Sultan Muhammad Gulbeg, the younger brother of Tambol, was in the fortress of Andezin. Advancing by way of Tâtluk, I sent on a foraging party from Jâkân, on the south of Andezin, 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 Aish, on the Jâkân side, where we received information from our advanced guards that Sultan Muhammad Gulbeg, with all his force, had advanced out beyond the suburbs and gardens, and was now on the skirts of the heights of Aish. 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 met with the same number with himself. Without binding 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.

Having routed the enemy, we reached the outskirts of the suburbs at Khwâjeh Kittab, 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 Nasrî Beg, the father of Dost Beg, Kambar 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 slight; that

* The mulberry grove.  
* Or Khakan, or Jagan.
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.

It was about the hour of bed-time prayers when we passed the river Jâkân, and encamped close by the village of Rahâţ-e-Zourek. Although we had received intelligence of the breaking up of Tambol, and his retreat towards Andojân, 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 Rahâţ-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 jinâd, 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 fix 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 sidling 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—out of these was Dost Nâsir, another Mirza Kâli Gokultâsh, and Kermendul Khudâbâdî, 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 harbed arrow, 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-
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 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 Násir sword in hand. They followed us about a bowshot. Arigh-Jāhān-shah is a large and deep stream, which is not fordable everywhere; but God directed us right, so that we came exactly upon one of the fords of the river. Immediately on crossing the river, the horse of Dost Násir fell from weakness. We halted to remount him, and, passing among the hillocks that are between Khirahāk and Feraghānā, and going from one hillock to another, we proceeded by by-roads towards Ush. When we were leaving these hillocks, Mazīd Taghāi 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. Násir Beg, Muḥammad Ali Māhsūsh, Khwāji Muḥammad Ali, Khosrā Gokultāsh, and Nāmahn Chihārī, fell on that day. A great many cavaliers and soldiers also fell at the same time.

The Khans having followed close after Tambol, took post in the vicinity of Ande-jān. The elder Khan had his quarters on the edge of the Kūrāk (or Park) in the garden of my grandmother Jamāl-biāt Begum, which is known by the name of Kāsh-tāgermān. The younger Khan had his quarters near the Lāngār or convent of Bāb Tawakel. After two days I came from Ush, and waited on the elder Khan at Kāsh-tāgermān. 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 Sheibah 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 Ande-jān, 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 Akhī, 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 Ferghāna 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 Skinflint, 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-
ghinán, Uckend, and the country of the Ilfs and Ulhas, 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 Klíasa 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 marabout's. Melons, grapes, and stable furniture, were all, lying huddled about in the same tent in which he was sitting.

After getting up from the little Khan's, I came to my own camp, where he sent me his own Yakshi or Surgeon to examine my wound. The Moghuls term a surgeon Yakshi. 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 sestem. 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 into 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, Kánumer Ali, being apprehensive of evil consequences from the conversation which he had had with me, fled to Anduján.

After a few days, the Klíasa, having held a consultation, sent Ayáb Begbik, with his Támán, Jum Hassan Bárin, with the Támán of Bárin, and Sarik Bishy Almir, as commander of the detachment, with a thousand or two thousand men to attend me, and dispatched us towards Akhol. Sheikh Beyzàl, Tambol's younger brother, held Akhol, and Shahbáz Karák held Kasán. On this occasion, Shahbáz came out and took post in advance of the fortresses of Noukend. Having passed the river of Khojend unobserved, opposite to Ața, I hastened by a rapid march towards Noukend to surprise Shahbáz. Just before morning, when we were hard upon Noukend, my Begs...
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

represented to me that in all probability Shalbâz 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, Shalbâz, 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 regrets and repining avail? When it was morning, there was some fighting around the fort, but I made no serious attack.

From Noukand we proceeded towards the hills near Pesh-Khârán, for the purpose of plundering. Shalbâz Kârîk availing himself of the opportunity abandoned Noukand and threw himself into Kásân. On my return I took up my quarters in Noukand. During the interval that followed, my troops made various excursions in different directions. On one occasion they fell upon the villages of Akhâi; on another they plundered those of Kásân. Shalbâz, with the adopted son of Uzân Hassân, one Miram, came out to fight, and did engage; but they were defeated, and Miram fell in the action.

One of the strongest fortresses of Akhâi 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 Kâsîm with a detachment, who passed the river opposite to some villages above Akhâi, and marched on, entered the castle of Pâp.

A few days after this, an event worthy of notice occurred. At this time, Ibrahim Châlpûk Tâghî, Ahmed Kâsîm Kohbûr, and Kâsîm Jânghâ Arghân, with Sheikh Bayzâl, were in Akhâi. Tambol one night sent these officers with about two hundred chosen men to surprise Pâp. Syed Kâsîm 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 drawbridge, and introduced seventy or eighty of their men, before Syed Kâsîm 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.

All this time the Khâns 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 called out and skirmished with the besiegers.

Sheikh Bayzâl, who was in Akhâi, now made a show of being devoted to my in-
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 some 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 Bayezid 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 Akhla, that Sheikh Bayezid 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 Akhla, 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 Nasir 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.

Tambol had sent his elder brother Beg Tillak to Sheshk Khan, professing him his allegiance, and summoning him to his assistance. At this very time he received letters from Sheshk 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 Anduljan 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 Marghinan, 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 Anduljan, the men of Ush, Marghinan, 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 Marghinan and Kandahâr, and passed the river at Khojend. Tambol followed them as far as Marghinan. 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.

One morning Jehangir Mirza came and joined me, having fled from Tambol, whom he had left at Marghinan. I was in the bath when the Mirza arrived, but immediately received and embraced him. At this time Sheikh Bayezid was in great perturbation, quite unsettled what line of conduct to pursue. The Mirza and Ibrahim 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 Bayezid 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 town’s fall, 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 Akhla, I had dispatched many of them on different services; some to garrison forts, others to take
charge of districts, and others to collect the revenue, so that, at this crisis, I had not with me in Akbar many more than a hundred. However, having taken to horses with those that remained, I was busy posting them in the entrance of the different streets, and in preparing supplies of warlike stores for their use, when Sheikh Bayezid, Kamber Ali, and Muhammed Dost, came galloping from Taibab 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 Jehangir Mirza to the meeting. Muhammed Dost returned back, while Sheikh Bayezid and Kamber Ali remained with me. We were sitting in the southern portion of the Mausoleum, engaged in conversation, when Jehangir Mirza and Ibrahim Chapik, after consulting together, had come to a resolution to seize them. Jehangir 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 Bayezid and Kamber Ali were present while this passed. Jehangir Mirza, looking towards Ibrahim Chapik, 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 Bayezid. The men who were around closed in on every side, and, in an instant, dragged away and rilled these two noblemen. There was now an end of all treaty. We, therefore, delivered them both into custody, and mounted for battle.

I intrusted one side of the town to Jehangir 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. In the midst of the town there was an open 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. Khamil, 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 Khan, 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 Kishim Beg, came to me wounded, from Jehangir Mirza, with notice that Jehangir 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.
While still disconcerted by this accident, Syed Kāsim, who had held the fort of Pāp, 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 Pāp, there had still been some resources. I said to Ibrahim 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 Andijan. Hām Shīrāzī 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. Khwājah Mir Mīrān also spoke and comported himself in a manly manner, in this extremity. While we were entering the street, Syed Kāsim and Dost Nāzir, with Bābī Khān, maintained the action, and covered our retreat. I and Ibrahim Beg, and Mirza Kuli Gokulīsh, had rode on before them. We had no sooner come opposite the gate, than we saw Sheikh Bāsīya, with a quilted corselet 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 Jehangīr’s men, who, when forced to retreat, carried off Sheikh Bāsīya 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 draw to the head the arrow which was on my match, 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 Gokulīsh struck down one foot-soldier with his mace, and had passed another, when the fellow aimed an arrow at Ibrahim Beg, who startled him by exclaiming, Ha! Ha! and went forward; after which the man, being about as far off as the perch of a house is from the wall, let fly at me an arrow, which struck me under the arm. I had on a Kalmik 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 hanging 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 Bāsīya 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, Jehangīr 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 Jehangīr Mirza, to request him to join me if he were near, and that we might make another effort. But,
in truth, the business was over. Whether it was that Ibrahim Beg's horse was really weak, or whether the Beg was truthful from his wound, I cannot tell; but he said to me, "My horse is useless." Immediately, Sultana, a servant of Muhammad Ali Mohashev, 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, Kuchik Ali, who is now collector of Koel, displayed great bravery. He was then in the service of Sultan Muhammad Wali. He, on another occasion, performed good service at Ust. 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 Jehangir 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 body of the enemy's troops came swiftly after us. We had just passed the drawbridge when they reached the town side of it. Bent Ali Beg, the son of Kasim Beg, who was the maternal grandfather of Khaniak Beg, called aloud to Ibrahim Beg, "You are always boasting and bragging; stop and let us exchange a few sword-cuts." Ibrahim Beg, who was close by me, answered, "Came away, then! What hinder us?" The two sword-cuts 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.

Within a kos of Akhri there is place called Gimbid-eh-Chenor (on the Garden-dome). We had just passed it, when Ibrahim Beg called out to me for assistance. I looked round, and perceived him engaged with a horseless slave of Sheikh Bayedd. I instantly turned my bridle to go back. Jan Kuli Bhan 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 Akhri. 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 Niaz, Kambar Ali Kasim Beg, Jan Kuli Bhan Kuli, Mirza Kuli Goembrish, Shabnam Nasir, Abdul Kadhe Sidd Kama, and Khwajah Hussaini; I myself was the ninth. A sort of path leads up the river amidst broken glens, remote from the beaten road. By this unfractured and retired path we proceeded up the river, till, having 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 blue ness 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

1 Sheikhz, a sort of military collector.
2 Shahzi, rather more than a mile and a half.
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 dilers, even though the most numerous, can never contend with the pursuers, though the inferior number. As it is said,

(Perian Feroz)—The shout of Haf is sufficient for vanquished bands.

Ján Kuli said, "We must not go on in this way, or they will take us all. Let you and Míras Kuli Gokulísháh, therefore, select the two best horses of the party, 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 fell behind each other. The horse on which I was mounted began to lag. Ján Kuli dismounted and gave me his horse. I leaped from my own and mounted his, while he mounted mine. At this very instant Shádúm Ansár, with Abdal Kádús Sidi Kám, who had fallen behind, were dismounted by the enemy. Ján 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 also began to flag, and fell behind; and the horse which I rode likewise began to be worn out. Kámbor Ali dismounting, gave me his own horse. He mounted mine, and presently dropped behind. Khájmíh Hússání, who was lame, turned off towards the heights. I now remained alone with Míras Kuli Gokulísháh. Our horses were too weak to admit of being put to the gallop; we went on at a canter; but the horse of Míras Kuli began to move slower and slower. I said to him, "If deprived of you, whither can I go?" Came, then, and be it death or life, let us meet it together."—I kept on, turning from time to time, to see Míras Kuli. At last, Míras 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. Míras Kuli also fell behind, and I was left alone. Two of the enemy were in sight; the name of the one was Baha Sádúm, that of the other Bandík Ali; they gained upon me; my horse began to flag. There was a hill about a kiss 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? 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 cast 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 wary, and did not come nearer than a bowshot, but kept on tracking me.

About sunset, I got near the hill, when they suddenly called out to me, "Where

1 He seems to have wished them to take such a spare horse, as is usual in the forays of the Turks.
do you intend going, that you flee in this manner? Jehangir Mirza has been taken, and brought in; Nasir Mirza, too, has been seized." I was greatly alarmed at these words; because, if all of us 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 solemn oaths, 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.

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, when we reached the river of Karmun, which comes down from Ghiva. Baba Sooiani 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 Jehangir and Nasir Mirza were Baber's only two brothers.
2 Three o'clock in the morning.
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 hill which we may hide ourselves." Bandeh Ali was the Darrega of Karnan. He said, "Neither we nor our horses can long stand out, unless we get something to eat. I will go to Karnan, and will bring out whatever I can procure." We therefore passed on, and took the road for Karnan. We stopped about a km from Karnan, 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 leaves, but no grain for the horses. Each of us taking a leaf under his arm, we went off without loss of time, reached the hill 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.

It was now near mid-day, when we spied Ahmed Koshchi (the falconer), with four horsemen, coming from Ghiva towards Akhul. 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 Karnan, 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 Bákír Beg. He had been in Akhul along with me; and in the dispersion that followed our leaving the place, when every one was scattered here and there, Muhammed Bákír Beg had come in this direction, and was now wandering about and concealing himself. Bandeh Ali and Baba Seirham 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 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 riding. I recognised him to be Kádir Berdlí, the head-man of Ghiva. I said to them, "Let us call Kádir Berdlí." 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.
Evening prayers were over when a horseman was seen passing from Kurnún towards Ghiva. We called out, "Who goes there?" He answered us. This was, in truth, the same Muhammad Bâkir Beg, whom we had observed at noon. He had, in the course of the day, 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 me, 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 Kurnún, 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 Kurnún. It was winter, and excessively cold. They brought me an old mantle of year-old lambkins, 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 ate, and found wonderfully comfortable. I asked Bandeh Ali, "Have you sent anybody to Kâdir Berdi?" He answered, "Yes, I have." These unlucky perfidious slaves had in reality met Kâdir Berdi, and had dispatched him to Tambel at Akhün.

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 suburb. 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 Sezâmi 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 Daroghâ." 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 Daroghâ, says, that, at the gate of Akhün, he met a man on foot, who told him that the King was in Kurnún, at such a place that, without communicating this intelligence to any one, he had put the man into close custody, along with Waliy, the treasurer, who had fallen into his hands in the action; after which he hastened to your full speed; and that the Begeh are not informed of the circumstances." 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 Bajérîd Beg has got information where you are, and has sent me hither."
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 attentions." Yoosif 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抄ist adds, "The remaining transactions of this year, viz. 908, may God grant that they come to hand." In this wish I most heartily join.—London.)
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 Hijra, 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 Türki 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.

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 Bayzud, or whether he effected his escape from the painful custody in which he was held at Kārān, I have not been able to discover. The narrative of Abū-Fazl³ is here very imperfect. It would appear, how-

¹ From the end of A.D. 1502, to June 1504.
² Leaving a blank from the end of A.D. 1503, to June 1504.
³ In the account of Baber's reign in the 1st vol. of the Akbarnama. Ms.
ever, from the brief account of Ferishta, and of Khair Khan, 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. Suleimani Khan, whom Ahmed Tumhoz had invited to his assistance, arrived soon after with an army, more in number than the rain-drops, says Mr. Khawwand Shah, attacked the Moghul, and, defeated them in a bloody battle, made both the brothers prisoners, and compelled Baber to fly into Moghulistan. Immediately after the battle, Sheihani Khan dispatched a messenger to Tashkend, 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 Khwajah Abul Mokarram, and detain him in custody. Sheihani 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 Mr. Khawwand Shah, “in the way mentioned in the Account of the Family of Jaghatai 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, Sheihani Khan is represented as having used his victory with considerable leniency. 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 Yumja Khan, their father. We are told by Ferishta, that Sultan Mahmud 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 Sheihani Khan, he is said to have replied, “Yes; Sheihani has indeed poisoned me! He has taken away my kingdom, which your antidote cannot restore.” But these accounts are not very consistent with the narrative of Baber himself, who informs us that Sheihani Khan put Sultan Mahmud Khan to death in Khoojend, with his son Baba Khan, and many other princes of his family. It is not improbable that Sheihani Khan affected to set the Khan at liberty a few days after the battle, as is mentioned by Mr. Khawwand 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.

Khwajah Abul Mokarram was thrown into prison at Tashkend, but in two or three days affected 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 Sheihani Khan. The Khan, on seeing him, inquired, “What have you done

1 See his General History of Hindustan, Doro’s Translation, vol. II. p. 182.
2 In his valuable and amusing MS. History of the House of Tumhoz in India.
3 Tariikh-e-Setfa, vol. VII. folio MS. containing the History of Sultan Hussein Mirza.
5 See Dow’s History of Hindustan, as above.
with your heard? 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, sings his own. But the felicity of this allusion did not avail him, and he was put to death. Sheibni Khan following up the advantages which he had gained, took possession of Thalikend, Shahrâbâb, and all the dominions of Sultan Mahmûd Khan, as well probably as of the territories of his younger brother Ilâhâb Khan, so that his territories now extended along both sides of the Sirr or Jazartes, 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. Thalikend, with the dominions of the two Khans, he gave to his paternal uncle, Gujenjeh Khan, and the sultan, whose mother was the daughter of the celebrated Mirza Ulugh Beg Gurgân. The office of Darâghâ of Shahrâbâb, 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 Mughilshâhun, 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 Sâkh and Husbân, villages which lie in the district of Asfara, among the mountains that separate Fergâna from Hissâr and Karatigin, where he wandered for nearly a year as a fugitive, often reduced to the greatest difficulties. Finding his partisans 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 Khorasan, 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 Tâhnûr.

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 Fergâna, and came down west of Karatigin on the country of Cheghânân and Hissâr, territories at that time belonging to Khorouz Shah, to whom Baber always professes a deep-rooted hatred. The murder of Bâiesanghar Mirza, and the blinding of Sultan Masûd 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 Furusha 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
two different instances in which he was obliged to pass through the country of that chieftain. That he intrigued with the army of Khosroo 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 Mirza, Baber's paternal uncle, the King of Kâbul and Gharm, 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 Zâker, who soon rendered him odious to the chief men of the country. A conspiracy, headed by Muhammad Kâsim Beg and Yuni Ali, was formed against the minister, in consequence of which, the conspirators entering Kâbul with a formidable band of adherents, put Zâker to death while sitting in state at a grand festival, which was held for celebrating the Id. The kingdom for some time was a prey to disorder and tumult. Muhammad Mokîn Beg, the son of Zâlnûn Aргhîn 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 Girmâr, which he held for his father, and appeared suddenly before Kâbul, which opened its gates. Zâlnûn Beg, without professing to approve of the proceedings of Mokîn, sanctioned his retaining possession of his conquest. Abdal 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 Khosroo Shah.

It is necessary then to recollect that, at this period, when Baber resumes the history of his own adventures, Schehâni Khan had conquered Samarkand and Bokhârâ, Ferghâna and Uzârippe, Taâlhand and Shahrokhîn; Sultan Hussain Mirza governed Khorasan; Khosroo Shah still held Hisâr, Khutkin, Kandeyz, and Badakhshân; and Zâlnûn Beg, though he acknowledged Sultan Hussain Mirza, had the chief and almost independent power in Kandahâr and Zendû-Dëwer, the country of the Hazûras and Nukhurâs, the Girmâr, and great part of Sistân, and the country south of Kandahâr.

1. The feast on the conclusion of Rasmus; probably either the 9th April 1509, or 30th March 1502.
2. The Girmâr, as afterwards mentioned by Baber, is the country east of the Pass of Idrasâr-e-Cherâb-
3. See Schehâni Khan, Ferâshi, &c.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 919.

In the month of Moharram, I set out from the vicinity of Ferghana, intending to proceed to Khurasan, and halted at the summer-cots of Hâk, one of the summer pasturing districts belonging to the country of Hisâr. I there entered my twenty-third year, and began to apply the razor to my face. 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 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, in which I used to take up my quarters. Although I was on my way for Khurasan, yet, in the present state of things, I was not quite without hopes of still effecting something here among the territories and servants of Khozrov Shah. Somers 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.

At this very time, Mulla Baba Bashâgheri, whom I had sent on a mission to Khozrov Shah, came back. From Khozrov Shah he brought me no message that could cheer my mind; but he brought me favourable accounts of the disposition of the Tâs and Ulises (the wandering Turk and Moghul tribes of the country).

From Hâk, in three or four journeys, I reached Khwâjeh-Emâd, a place in the territory of Hisâr. In this station, Mohib Ali Kurchi waited on me as ambassador from Khozrov Shah. Twice did my course lie through the country of this Khozrov.

1 Moharram, 919, began on the 14th June 1524, the year when Ferdinand, the Catholic, drove the French out of Naples.

2 There is still a plain called Hâk in the north-west of Darband, which may be in the district here alluded to.

3 Among the Turk 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 Measure.

5 The filzhak is a sort of tent formed of flexible poles, covered with felt, and easily folded up.
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 Ilus and Ullues of these districts, I halted a day at each stage. Shirin Taghia, than whom I had not with me a man of more eminence, from a dislike to the plan of going to Khurmsan, began to think of leaving me. At the time when I had been defeated at Sir-e-pul, 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.

When I arrived at Kakhilān, Bāki Cheghānī, the younger brother of Khosro Shah, who held Cheghānī, with the towns of Sefa and Termez, sent the Qalī the of Kārahī, 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 Amū, at the ferry of Ubā, he himself came and paid his respects to me. At the desire of Bāki Cheghānī, I moved down towards Termez, where he brought his whole family and effects across the river and joined me, after which we proceeded towards Kehmerd and Bamiān (places at this time held by the son of Ahmad Kāsim, the sister's son of Khosro Shah), intending to place our families in the fortress of Ajer, one of the towns of Kehmerd, and, after having put it in a posture of defence, to follow whatever plan seemed best to promise success. When we reached Aibek, Yār Ali Befal, 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 Khosro Shah, deserted with several young cavaliers, and came and joined me, bringing assurances from the Moghuls in Khosro Shah's service that they were all attached to my interests. On reaching the valley of Zindān, Kamber Ali Beg, surname 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.

While we remained in the fort of Ajer, the marriage of Jehangir Mīrzā with the daughter of Sultan Mahmod Mīrzā by Khānādīkh Begum was consummated. They had been engaged during the lifetime of the Mīrzā, their fathers.

At this same period, Bāki Beg repeatedly, and with much earnestness, urged his sentiments, that to have two sovereigns in one country, and two generals in one army,

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1 Kakhilān stands on the Amū, somewhat higher up than Termez.
2 Cheghānī, or Saghānī, whence the whole country of Histār formerly took its name, lies north of Termez.
3 The Khānī is the preacher by whom the Khānī, or prayers for the prince, is repeated in the mosques.
4 The Tārīkh has Usaj—Layyīn, Usaj—Mr Metcalfe's copy, Astaj—and my Persian copy, Gīyah. But the passage, Hist. de Tissane Bay, vol. 1. p. 186, fixes Usaj as the true reading. All these differences stand very near the critical points.
5 Kehmerd, or Kehmerd, lies between Balkh and Kāshā, in the hill country. Ajer is about 12 miles west from Kehmerd.
6 This is Aibek, on the Kuhlān river.
7 The Derāsh Zindān lies about seven miles to the south of Aibek, on the road to Sarakhan.
was an unfailing source of confusion and ruin, and inevitably productive of rebellion, mutiny, and finally of dissolution; as the poet says,—:

(Persian.)—Ten devils may repose on one cloak,

But two sovereigns cannot be contained in the same climate.
The man of God, when he eats half a leaf,

Divides the other half among the poor and needy.

If a king subdues a whole kingdom, may a climate,

Still, as before, he covers yet another.

That there was every reason to expect that, in a few days, all the chiefs and servants of Khoorou Shah would come in and make their submission to the King; that among them there were many seditions and turbulent men, such as the sons of Ayub 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 Jehangir Mirza for Khurasan 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 Jehangir 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, those very exciters of sedition who had been pointed out, Yusef Ayub and Behdil Ayub, deserted from me, went over to Jehangir Mirza, and were so successful in their seditious schemes and machinations, that they alienated his mind from me, and carried him into Khurasan, exactly as Buki Beg had predicted.

At this time there came strange long-winded letters from Sultan Hussein Mirza to Balia-ez-Zemnâh, to me, to Khoorou Shah, and to Zulmn Beg. These letters are still by me. The purport of them was as follows:—When the three brothers, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, Sultan Mahmud Mirza, and Ulugh Beg Mirza, united their forces and advanced against me, I guarded the banks of the river Murghâb, 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. Balia-ez-Zemnâh Mirza, after having put the fortresses of Balkh, Shabergan, and Andekhâh, or, in a state of defence, and confided them to trusty officers, must himself proceed to Gurzewn, the Dereh-e-Zeng, and the rest of that hill-country. He also wants me to this effect:—Do you defend Khamir, Ajex, and the tract of hill-country in that neighbourhood. Khoorou Shah, after leaving trusty men in Gissân,
and Kûndez, 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 ofTermez, Kilif, and Kirki, and so many materials for constructing bridges; and that commands would have been issued for guarding carefully the upper passes of Togûzîlân, 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 Bâkî Cheghânîâli, of Ahmed Khân'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 Khoisrou Shah's service, announcing that the whole Moghul tribes, desirous of professing their allegiance to the King, were on their march from Taikhan, towards Ishkemish and Felûl; that it was necessary, therefore, that his Majesty should move with the utmost speed to join them; that many of Khoisrou Shah's followers were much distracted, and would embrace the King's service.

At this very period, information arrived that Sheïhâlî Khân had taken Amîjân, and was advancing against Hisâr and Kûndez. On hearing this news, Khoisrou Shah, unable to support himself in Kûndez, took the route of Kâbul with his whole force. No sooner had he left Kûndez, than Möllâ Muhammed Türkostânî, one of his old and confidential servants, occupied that fortress, and declared for Sheïhâlî Khân.

Just as I reached the Kezel-su (the Red River), by the route of Shemtim, three or four thousand heads of horses of the Moghul clans, who had been dependant on Khoisrou Shah, and who had been in Hisâr and Kûndez, came and joined me, with their whole families. Here, in order to gratify Bâkî Beg, I was obliged to discharge Kamber Ali, the Moghul, who has been so often mentioned. He was a thoughtless and rude talker; and Bâkî Beg could not put up with his manners. From this time forward, his son Abdal Shukîr continued in the service of Jehangîr Mirza.

When Khoisrou Shah learned that the Moghul tribes had joined me, he felt his own
helplessness; and, seeing no remedy left, sent his son-in-law, Yakub Ayub, 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 Baki Cheghaniân, 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 Khesron’s life should be spared, and his property left entirely to his own disposal. A treaty was accordingly concluded on these terms. After Yakub had taken leave, we marched down the Kezel-su, and encamped near its confluence with the river of Anderah.

Next morning (it was about the middle of the first Bahda) I passed the Anderah with a few attendants, and took my seat under the shade of a lofty palm-tree, in the territory of Doshi. From the opposite quarter Khesron 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 Jehangir 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 tributary offering, I desired him to be seated. He sat down and for one or two guris we conversed on various subjects and incidents. Besides being of an unruly and pernicious 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 counselling 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, Wall; when he would come, and by what ford he would cross the Amur, 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 ford.” 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 guris, 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

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1 The end of August, 1804.
2 Doshi lies above Ghazi, on the river Anderah, at its confluence with the Sirkhab.
3 A guri is twenty-four minutes.
came and joined me with their families and effects, so that, on the morrow, between midday 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 Mahmud Mirza, extending from Kahlughel, which is also termed Borjend-e-abhar (the Iron-gate), as far as the Hindo-Kush mountains, and one of whose tax-gatherers, named Hassan Birli, an aged man, had conducted me, in the earliest manner, from Ilak to Uzb, giving me orders how far I was to march, and where I was to encamp; that 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!

The evening of the same day in which I returned from the interview with Khozam Shah, Mirza Khan, 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 Khozam Shah, he was left 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 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 Shyri Taghad to conduct Khozam Shah by the route of Ghuri and Dahanak towards Khorasan, and then to proceed himself to Khoimerd and bring my family after me to Kâbul.

I now left my encampment and marched against Kâbul. I halted at Khwâjeh-zâd. That same day, as Khwâjeh-bâ Munkât, who headed a plundering party of Uzbek, had made an incursion, and was ravaging the territory of Dosh, I dispatched Syed Khââm, the chamberlain, and Ahmed Khââm Kohbar, with a party of horse, who fell upon the plunderers, 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 Khozam 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 Khozam Shah left behind; there were many others beside, but nothing of consequence.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

From Khwâjeh-zóid, by three or four marches, we reached Ghur-bend. On coming to our ground at Ush tér-Sheher, we got intelligence that Shirkeh Arghân, the Beg in whom Moklim reposed the greatest confidence, still ignorant of my approach, had advanced with his army, and taken post on the river Bârân, for the purpose of intercepting any who might attempt, by the route of Panjhir, to join Abdal Râzik Mirza, who had fled at that time from Kâbul, and was then among the Turkolâns Afghanistan in the territory of Lâghan. 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 Hupian. Till this time I had never seen the star Soheil (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 Cheghatcheshâni recited the following verses:

O Soheil, bow 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 Sunjed, 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 Karâlahgh, in the territory of Aikeeri-Yur, 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 Khosro Shah abandoned Kunduz, and set out for Kâbul, without troubling himself about his Ilus and Ulûses, (the wandering Tûrski and Moghal tribes,) the troops in his service, including the Ilus and Ulûses, formed five or six bodies. One of these bodies was composed of the men from the hill-country of Budakhâhshân, Sind Ali Dârân, with the Hazaras of the desert, having passed the straits of Panjhir, joined me at this stage, and entered into my service. Another of these bodies, under Yûsuf Ayîb

1 Ghur-bend, or the Pass of Ghur, which lies to the south of the high hills of Hindú-kush, is one of the chief passes from Balkh to Kâbul, across that great range.

2 Now Panjhir.

3 Abdal Râzik Mirza was the son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, one of Baber's amirs, the King of Kâbul and Ghazni. Ulugh Beg died in 907 of the Hijra, about three years before Baber's invasion. He was succeeded by his son Abdal Râzik Mirza; but that prince being very young, Shihâr Zaker, one of his nobles, usurped the supreme direction of affairs. The other Beys, disgusted with Shihâr's conduct, formed a conspiracy and put him to death. During the confusion that ensued, Muhammed Moklim, a son of Zulma Beg, surprised Kâbul in 908, and married a sister of Abdal Râzik Mirza. Affairs were still in confusion when Baber entered the country in 910.

4 Hupian, or Hupian, is a few miles north of Charikar, on the way to Purwám. Sojâl Dâsh lies west, or north-west of Ghur-head.

5 Soheil is a most conspicuous star in Afghanistan. It gives its name to the south, which is never called Jumkid, but Soheil. The range of Soheil marks one of their seasons.

6 Black-garden.

7 The Pass of Panjhir, or Penjhir, is in the Hindú-kush range, to the east of that of Kupshâk, by which Baber had come.
and Bahjul Ayâb, joined me in like manner at the same place. Other two of these bodies, the one from Khutân, under the command of Wâli, the brother of Khoâsorun; the other from Ilanâhuk, Nûkderî, and Kâkahal, with the Aimâkas that had settled in Kandez, advanced by the route of Anderkâb and Seirah, with an intention of passing by the straits of Penjhir. The Aimâkas reached Seirah first; and as Wâli was advancing in their rear, they took possession of the road, engaged and defeated him. Wâli himself, after his discomfiture, fled for refuge to the Uzbeks; but his head was struck off in the public market of Samarkand by the orders of Shaikhâli Khan: all the rest of his servants and officers, being discomfited, plundered, and destitute, came and joined me, along with the Aimâkas, at this same stage. Syed Yûsuf Beg Uglâkochi also came along with the Aimâkas to this place.

Marching thence, we halted in the anleng, or meadow, of Ak-Seirâb, which is situated close upon Karakâbah: Khoâsorun Shâh'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 Siddîq All 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 Yûsuf Beg and others were of opinion that, as the winter was at hand, we should proceed to Lamghân, and there rest as circumstances might require. Bâki Chegâhânâni 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 Kürâk (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 Taghâî to conduct Khoâsorun Shâh on the route to Khorassân, and directed him afterwards to bring on my household. By the time, however, that they reached Dêhânch, Shîrîm Taghâî found that he was not his own master, and Khoâsorun Shâh took the resolution of accompanying him to Kehmerd. Ahmed Kâsîm, the sister's son of Khoâsorun Shâh, was then in Kehmerd. Khoâsorun Shâh prevailed upon Ahmed Kâsîm to behave very ill to the families left in the place. Many of the Meçkhi retinues of Bâki Chegâhânâni were in Kehmerd along with these families. They privately, in concert with Shîrîm Taghâî, prepared to seize both Khoâsorun Shâh and Ahmed Kâsîm, 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 Khorassân. The effect of this firmness of the Meçkhul having been to rid themselves of these enemies, the guard which was with the families being now freed from any danger from Khoâsorun Shâh, left Ajer. By the time they reached Kehmerd, however, the Sîghûnî clan were up in arms, seized the passes on the road, and plundered a number of the families, and of the Bîs and Ulîsîs (or wandering clans), who had followed the fortunes of Bâki Beg. The son of Khal Bâyazîd Tîrî, 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.
came on by way of the pass of Kipchak, the same by which I had come, and joined me in the Kürük of Ama.

Leaving this station, the second march brought us to the Auleng (or pasture grounds) of Châlîk, 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 Tâki's garden and the tomb of Kûl Bayezid, the cup-bearer. Jehangir Mîrzâ, with the right wing, took his station at my great Char-bagh! Nâṣir Mîrzâ, with the left wing, took post in an auleng (or meadow) behind the tomb of Kûtîf Kedên. I repeatedly sent persons to confer with Mokîn; they sometimes brought back insinuators' excuses, sometimes conciliatory answers. But his real object, all the while, was to gain time; for, when I took Shirkeh prisoner, he had dispatched express to his father and elder brother, and he now attempted to create delays, in hopes of getting succour from them.

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. Jehangir Mîrzâ, with the right wing, marched forward towards the Kucheh Bagh. As there was a river in front of the main body, I proceeded by the tomb of Kûtîf Kedên, and stationed myself on an eminence in front of a rising ground. The advanced body spread themselves out above Kûtîf Kedên's bridge; at that time, however, there was no bridge there. Our troops galloped insultingly close up to the Carrier's 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 Kûli Chehâk, 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 rallied 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 Mokîn, through some of the Begs, offered to submit, and agreed to surrender Kâbul; on which he was introduced by the mediation of Bââki Beg Cheghânî, 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 Khwârezm 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 Jehangir Mîrzâ, and

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 bend or pass. There is still a bridge on the way.

3. Dorsâna 'Chehâk.
Nasir Mirza, with some of the principal Bega, and my most trusty servants, to guard
the family of Mokim, as well as Mokim himself and his dependents, while they left
Kabul with their goods and property; and I appointed Tibah* as his place of resid-
ence. Next morning the Mirzas and Bega who had gone to the gates, observing an
uprize and mobbing of people, dispatched a man to inform me of the circumstances;
adding, "Until you come, we shall not be able to put a stop to the commotion." I
mounted, and having repaired to the spot, arrayed the tumult, but not until I had or-
dered three or four of the rioters to be shot with arrows, and one or two to be cut to
pieces. Mokim and his train then set out, and reached Tibah in quiet and safety.

In the latter end of the month of the latter Rabia, 7 by the blessing of Almighty God,
I gained possession of Kabul and Ghazni, with the country and provinces depend-
on them, without battle or contest.

The country of Kabul is situate in the fourth climate, in the midst of the inhabited
part of the world. On the east it has the Langghanat, Peshawar, Hazamghar, and
some of the countries of Hind. On the west it has the mountain districts, in which are
situated Kurnob and Ghah. This mountainous tract is at present occupied and inhab-
ited by the Hazara and Nukulri tribes. On the north are the countries of Kander
and Anandah, from which it is separated by the mountain of Hindo-Kush. On the
south are Fergana and Naghara, and Bami and Afghanistân. It is a narrow country,
but stretching to a considerable extent. Its length is in the direction of east and west.
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 Shahi-Kabul, from
the circumstance of a King of Kabul's having built a palace on its summit. This hill
begins at the defile of Deversen, and reaches all the way to that of Deh-Yakub. It
may be about a farsang in circumference. The skirts of this hill are entirely covered
with gardens. In the time of my paternal uncle Ulugh Beg Mirza, Weel Atehes con-

* Tibah is about three miles south of Akbar. and is to the left of the road from that place to Kabul.
* About the beginning of October 1524.
* This word is sometimes written Nejat, sometimes Nagur, but generally Nagur.
* Baber confines the term Afghanistan to the countries inhabited by the Afghan tribes. There were
chiefly the hill tracts to the south of the road from Kabul to Peshawar. Kabul, Ghazni, the low country
of Langghanat, 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. 10, describes Kabul "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." Balmear, in his work (p. 60), "the sum 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 hot a slender testimony of the dignity of its master." — "Kabul
stands near the foot of two contiguous 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 three
hills, and is terminated at the bottom of the westernmost by an ordinary redbolt." P. 83, 84.
* There is a hill south of Kabul, on which Kabul (Gain, 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 Kabul Nudshah; and is the great holiday resort of the people of the city.
* Nearly four miles.
duced 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 Kelkenah, in a retired, hidden situation. Much delinquency has gone on at that place. The verse of Khwâjeh Háfez may be parodied and applied to it—

O for the happy time, when free and untarni'd,
We lived in Kilkenni with not very good farms.

Southward from the town, and to the east of Shah-Kâbul, there is a lake nearly a furlong in circumference. Three springs of water issue from Shah-Kâbul, and flow towards the city; two of them are in the vicinity of Kelkenah. One of these runs by the tomb of Khwâjeh Shehns, and the other by the Kedengah (place of the footstep) of Khwâjeh Khwâjeh. These two places are the favourite resorts of the people of Kâbul. The third fountain is opposite to Khwâjeh Abd-al-Sâmâ and bears the name of Khwâjeh Rouhenâ. There is a small ridge which runs out from the hill of Shah-Kâbul, and is called Akâbein; 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 wâlengs (or meadows) called Siah-sang, Sang-Karghan, and Chêlakh, which stretch below it. These wâlengs present a very beautiful prospect when the plains are green. In the spring, the north wind blows incessantly; they call it hâba-pervâh (the pleasant breeze). In the north part of the citadel there are houses with windows, which enjoy a delightful atmosphere. Müllâ Muhammed Tâleb Mahmâl composed the following distich in praise of the citadel of Kâbul, under the character of Hadîn-e-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 Khorásân, in the same manner as the Arabs term all except Arabia, Ajem. On the road between Hindustân and Khorásân, there are two great marâhs; the one Kâbul, the other Kandahâr. Caravans, from Ferghânâ, Tûrkestan, Samarqand, Balkh, Bokhâra, Hisâr, and Badakhshân, all resort to Kâbul; while those from Khorásân repair to Kandahâr. This country lies between Hindustân and Khorásân. It is an excellent and profitable market for commodities. Were the merchants to carry their goods as far as Khitâ or Rûm, 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

1 Kelkenah, or Gulgamah, for it may be either, cannot now be discovered.
2 This lake is now called Khurâsh. It is about three miles round.
3 This spot on which a Mullahman saints lived, or on which he is supposed to have stood while he performed any celebrated act, becomes his fâdêngah, the place of his footsteps, and is visited and circumambulated by the priests Mahomedan with great veneration.
4 The hill called Akâbein seems to be that now called Alikhan Artân, which connects with Bâber Balshân. The Bâla Hisâr, or citadel, is on the same ridge, further east, and south-east of the town.
5 May it not mean the bâna of Persim, from the town of that name which lies north from Kâbul?
6 Khitâ is Northern China, and its dependent provinces. Rûm is Turkestan, particularly the provinces about Tchitsam.
thousand pieces of cloth are brought by caravans. The commodities of Hindustán 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.

The productions of Khurasán, Rúm, Irák, and Chin, may all be found in Kábul, which is the very emporium of Hindustán. Its warm and cold districts are close by each other. From Kábul 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 Kábul, 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 Kábul are grapes, pomegranates, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, quinces, jujubes, damascena, almonds, and walnuts; all of which are found in great abundance.

I caused the sour-cherry-tree to be brought here and planted; it produced excellent fruit, and continues thriving. The fruit it possesses peculiar to a warm climate, are the orange, citron, the amalék, and sugar-cane, which are brought from the Lamgháníšt. I caused the sugar-cane to be brought, and planted it here. They bring the Jelghásak from Níjrow. They have numbers of bee-hives, but honey is brought only from the hill-country on the west. The rawāš of Kábul is of excellent quality; its quinces and damask plums are excellent, as well as its bidrēngs. 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 Khán-Saíd is celebrated for its potency, though I describe it only from what I have heard:

The drinker knows the flavour of the wine; how should the user know it?

Kábul is not fertile in grain; a return of four or five to one is reckoned favourable. The millets too are not good, but those raised from seed brought from Khurasán 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 peastī (or lamb-skin-cloak). Though the snow falls very deep in the winter, yet the cold is never excessively intense. Samarqand and Tábír are celebrated for their fine climate, but the cold there is extreme beyond measure.

In the neighbourhood of Kábul there are four fine aulengs or meadows. On the north-east is the auleng of Sung-Korghán, at the distance of about two kós. It is a fine plain, and the grass agrees well with horses; there are few mosquitos in it. To the north-west lies the auleng of Chālāk, about one kós from Kábul. It is extensive, but in the summer the mosquitos greatly annoy the horses. On the west is the aul-

[Auberg or Uling is a plant or meadow.]

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Three or four hundred per cent.  — Chin is all China.
Auberg.  — A berry like the karinda.
The Jelghásak is the seed of a kind of pine, the cones of which are as big as a man's two fists.
The rawāš is described as a root resembling 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, rawāš.
The bikhár is a large green fruit, in shape somewhat like a citron. The name is also applied to a large sort of cucumber.
leng of Deveren, which consists properly of two plains, the one the anlung of Tibah, the other that of Kush-Nahler, which would make the anlungs of Kâbul five in number. Each of these two anlungs 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 anlung equal to these. The anlung of Shih-Seng lies on the east of Kâbul. Between this last anlung and the Currier's gate stands the tomb of Kutluk Kedem. This anlung being much infested with mosquitoes in the hot weather, is not in such high estimation as the others. Adjoining to this last valley is that of Kamri. By this computation it appears that there are six anlungs about Kâbul, but we hear only of the four anlungs.

The country of Kâbul is very strong, and of difficult access, whether to foreigners or enemies. Between Balkh, Kundez, and Badkhshân on the one side, and Kâbul on the other, is interposed the mountain of Hindh-kush, the passes over which are seven in number. Three of these are by Penjhir,¹ the uppermost of which is Khewâk; lower down is that of Tûl; 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 Persân. Between Persân and the high mountain there are seven minor passes, which they call Heft-cherih (the Seven Younglings). As you come from the Anderâb side, two roads unite below the main pass, and lead down by Persân by way of the Seven Younglings. This is a very long road. There are besides three roads in Ghürjend. That which is nearest to Persân is the pass of Yangi-yali (the new road), which descends by Wâliân and Khinjûn. Another route is that of Kipchak, which leads by the junction of the rivers of Sârshâh 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 Bamian and Sikhân; but in the winter season, they travel by way of Anderâb. 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 Anderâb. 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 In this enumeration Bajber begins from the east.
² There is a pass over the Hindh-kush range, at the head of the valley of Penjhir, which is called the Kurnâsh Pass.
³ This is the Track of Mr. Elginston's map; Bazârak must be the straight road from Sârshâh to Charaghmân. The Persân route is that by Persân to Charaghmân, which passes between Sârshâh and the head of the valley of Sârshâh anlung. Yangi-yali is that by Dâshâkh direct upon Khinjûn. The Kipchak route runs up the valley of Ghûrjend, and then over the mountains to the junction of the two streams at Kîle-Beza. The Shibertu Pass is by Shibertu. There seems to have been a direct road from that to Mâshâr in dry weather; but in wet, people went round by Bamian, Seighân, and the pass of Pamûdû-shilker.
⁴ Or Seighân.
it is practicable. The Kafr robbers also issue from the mountains and narrow paths, and infest this passage.

The road from Khurasan leads by way of Kandahar. It is a straight level road, and does not go through any hill-passes.

From Hindustan there are four roads which lead up to Kabul. One of those is by way of the Lamghanat, and comes by the hill of Kheller, in which there is one short hill-pass. Another road leads by Bangash; a third by Naghur, and the fourth by Ferman. In all of these roads there are passes of more or less difficulty. Those who come by them cross the river Sinds at three different places. Those who go by the Nilah passage, take the road of Lamghanat. In the winter season, however, they cross the river Sinds, the river of Sewed, and the river of Kabul, above the confluent of this last river with the Sinds. In most of the expeditions which I made into Hindustan, I forded these rivers in this way; but the last time, when I invaded that country, defeated Sultan Ibrahim and conquered Hindustan, I crossed at the Nilah passage in boats. Except at the place that has been mentioned, the river Sinds can nowhere be passed unless in boats. Those again who cross at Dinkot take the Bangash road; while those who cross at Chouparch take the road of Ferman, if proceeding to Ghazni, and the road of the desult or plains if they are going to Kandahar.

In the country of Kabul there are many and various tribes. Its valleys and plains are inhabited by Turks, Aimaks, and Arabs. In the city and the greater part of the villages, the population consists of Tajiks. Many other of the villages and districts are occupied by Pashto, Parachis, Tajiks, Berchis, and Afghans. In the hill-country to the west, reside the Hazara and Nukderis. Among the Hazara and Nukderi tribes, there are some who speak the Moghul language. In the hill-country to the north-east lies Kaferistan, such as Kaffer and Geberk. To the south is Afghanistan. There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Kabul: Arabic, Persian, Turk, Moghul, Hindi, Afghani, Pashto, Parachis, Geberk, Berchis, and Lamghani. It is dubious whether so many distinct races and different languages, could be found in any other country.

The country of Kabul is divided into fourteen Tammas. In Samarkand, Bokhara, and these quarters, the smaller districts into which a country is divided, are called Tammas: in Andijan, Kizlugur, and the neighbouring countries, they get the name of

1. The Lamghana road is the great road from Kabul to Peshawar. The Bangash is explained by its name.
2. Naghur, now unknown, seems to have been on the upper course of the Kurram. Ferman was probably Urghun, where the Fermandi, a Persian race, still reside.
3. Nilah stands somewhat lower down the Sind than Attock. The present Nilah is about 16 miles below Attock. I may remark, that I have not been able to discover any Indian authority previous to the time of Abdur Rehman, for the Sind being called Nilah, though it would help to explain an ancient geographical difficulty.
4. Dinkot is probably at or near the present Khushkhalghur, unless its being afterwards mentioned as a northern boundary of Bann should render it probably that it was Katabghur.
5. The road from Chouparch to Ferman was probably the direct road through Kangarum to Urgun. The road of the desult or plains, was, no doubt that through Damamz, the flat part of which Baber always calls Desht. Chouparch was probably situated near Kagalwala on the Kurram.
6. Kaffer or Kafir, is a place of note in Kaferistan. Geberk also lies in the Kafer country.
Urchin, and in Hindustan they call them Pergami. Although Bajaur, Swāl, Pershwar, and Hashwāhar, originally belonged to Kābul; 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.

On the east lies the Lamghamāt, which comprehends five Tummas and two Balikhs. The largest of the Tummas of Lamghām is Nanganahr, which, in many histories, is written Neketbr. The residence of the darogha, or commandant of this district, is Adirāpur. Nanganahr lies to the east of Kābul, thirteen farangs of very difficult road. In three or four places there are some very short cutulas or steep hill-passes, and in two or three places there are narrow or straits. The Khircheli and other robber Afghān tribes infest this road with their depredations. There was no population along this road till I settled Karah below the Kuruk-sāi, which rendered the road safe. The Garmal (or region of warm temperature) is divided from the Serdall (or region of cold temperature) only by the steep pass of Badam-chashmeh. Snow falls on the Kābul side of this pass, but not on the Kuruk-sāi and Lamghamāt 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. Nanganahr has nine streams. Its rice and wheat are excellent. Oranges, citrons, and pomegranates, are very abundant, and of good quality. Opposite to the fort of Adirāpur, to the south, on a rising ground, I formed a dughbāgh (or great garden). In the year nine hundred and fourteen, it is called Baghe Vafa (the Garden of Fidelity). It overlooks the river, which flows between the fort and the palace. In the year in which I defeated Bahār Khan and conquered Lahore and Dīhalpur, I brought plantains and planted them here. They grew and thrived. The year before I had also planted the sugar-cane in it, which thrives remarkably well. I sent some of them to Badakshān and Behkāra. 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 of this garden is situated on this eminence. On the south-west part of this garden is a reservoir of water ten gōs square, which is wholly planted round with orange trees; there are likewise pomegranates. All around the piece of water the ground is quite

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1 This place is now always called Hashwar.
2 A singular proof of the imperfect state in which the geography of those countries long remained, is that Petia do is Croix places Lamghām in Kashmir.—Hist. de Toomer.-Bic. Vol. II. p. 18.
3 Nanganahr lies along the Kābul river on the south. It is the Nanganahr of Mr. Elphinstone's map.
4 Upwards of 60 miles.
5 The dry water channel.—Legden. Perhaps the Sakr river.
6 * A. A. 1819.
7 The Pass of Badam-chashmeh lies south of the Kābul river, between Little Kābul and Barikāsh.
8 Hence it seems to derive its name, which is Afghān ummum ulān streamer.
9 The fort of Adirāpur is to the south of the Kābul river.
10 A. D. 1829.
11 It is usual for the Persians to divide their gardens into four plots by two roads which cross each other.
12 The original has only ten by ten, but the gos is probably the measure understood, which would make it a square of about twenty feet or upwards.
covered with snow; 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-Sefa (the White Mountain) of Nangenhur, which separates Bangush from Nangenhur. 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-Sefa (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 Adimphur is the Sûrkh-rûd (the Red River). The fort is situated on an eminence, which, towards the river, is forty or fifty yards 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 Nangenhur 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, there is one road by which, after passing Kuruk-sai, you proceed through the steep pass of Dobri, and reach the Lamghanât by way of Bâlân. There is another road by which, crossing Kuruk-sai lower down than Kurabkât, and passing the river Bûran2 at Uluk-Nûr,3 and thence proceeding by the hill-pass of Badji, you come down upon Lamghân. If one travel by the road of Nijrou he passes on by Bedray, and, proceeding by Karahandîr, falls into the hill-pass of Badji. Though Nangenhur be spoken of as one of the five Tumâns of Lamghân,4 yet there are only three Tumâns which properly bear the name of Lamghân.

The first of these three is the Tumân of Ali Sheng,5 which, on the north, consists of rugged snowy hills that join the mountain of Hindâ-kul. That mountainous country is entirely in Kafersitan. The part of Kafersitan nearest to Ali Sheng is Mûl; and the river of Ali Sheng comes down from Mûl.6 The tomb of the holy Lâm, the

1 The Koh-e-Sefa is a remarkable position in the geography of Afghanistan. It is seen from Peshawur.

2 The Sûrkh-rûd rises in Seftal Koh, and runs into the Kâbul river between Jagdelkâ and Gânnâmâ. A hundred feet or upwards.

3 A friend in whose observations on Babar’s geography of Afghanistan I have been much indebted. remarks, “The change of names here is astonishing. I have many names in Lamghân, one in particular, by the way of Nijrou here referred to, and yet I cannot discover one place of those here mentioned, unless the name of Badi be allowed any importance; to Bâlpsh (by changing the diacritical points), Bâlpsh is a steep koteel, half a day’s journey to the north of Undorow on the Chemul river, and about 15 miles west of Tajpûr; where the streams of Allugir and Ali Sheng join.”

4 Leyden has here. 5 In this route they proceed by the north side of the Kâbul or Bânir river.

6 Leydor has the river of Yûden. 7 Uluk-Nûr.—The Great Light.—Lajpûr.

6 Leyden follows Barry. Mr. Elphinstone’s Turkish copy has Barsa.

7 Lamghân is now always called Laghanât.

8 The two streams which form the gills of Ali Sheng and Allugir, coming from the north, unite above Mandakar, and fall into the Kâbul river below that place.

9 Now called Kâhil Achkât.
father of Noosh, is in the Tomûn of Alîsheng. In some histories, the holy Lâm is denominated Lamèk and Lamekân. The people of that country have a general practice of changing the letter Kaf into Ghanî, and it seems very probable that the name Langanthé originated from that circumstance.

The second Tomûn is Alîngår. The part of Kâferistân that is nearest to Alîngår, Alîngår is Ghanî, and the river of Alîngår comes down from Ghanî. These two rivers, after passing through Alîsheng and Alîngår, unite with each other, and afterwards fall into the river Bûrân, below the third Tomûn, which is called Mendrûr.

Of the two Balûks which have been mentioned, one is Derch-Nur (the Valley of Derch-Nur, 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 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-tree. 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 châb-âmâra, which the Turks generally name hâtâsh. This fruit is very abundant in the Derch-Nur, but is found nowhere else. It has also grapes, all of which they grow upon trees. The wine of Derch-Nur is famous over all the Langanthé. It is of two kinds, which they term arch-tâsh (the stone-saw), and susku-tâsh (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 glen, in this mountain, there are some asps to be met with. Asps are found lower down towards Hindustân, but none higher up than this hill. The inhabitants used formerly to keep hogs, but in my time they have renounced the practice.

Kûner and Nargil form another Tomûn, which lies out of the way, and at some distance from Langanthé. It is situated in the midst of Kâferistân, which forms its boundary. Although it is equal in extent to the other Tomûns, yet, from this circumstance, it yields less revenue, and the inhabitants pay less. The river of Chêghânéral, after passing through Kâferistân from the north-east, and dividing this country, unites with the river Bûrân, in the Balûk of Kamêr, and then passes onward to the

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1. i.e. Lamech, the father of Noah.
2. The Bûrân and Kâher rivers unite above this junction.
3. The Derch-Nur lies on the Chêghânéral, or Kamêr river. It runs from the peak of Kûner to Kûner.
4. It is very singular that the Asûk should now be called in Langanthé, or rather Lâmâh, Karamân, which is evidently mentioned here as a name in the Lâmâhán texts.
5. On this passage Captain John Briggs, of the Madras Establishment, who is well read in oriental languages, remarks: "Bear in mind that the vipers are not serpents, but allowed to creep and spiral. Stinging vipers are, however, very common in Pûrâ. The poison is kept about three feet only in height, by leaping, and it is found to be a much more productive pest, though it sooner exhausts the soil."
6. This is the river which rises at Shâhshahr, near Persia, and which is called by Mr. Elphinston the Kamêr, or Kamêr river.
Nörgil lies on the west, and Künor on the east of this river. Amir Syed Ali Hamadání departed this life in a spot one farsák higher up than Künor. His disciples carried him hence to Künor. A mausoleum is erected on the place where he died. In the year 990, when I came and took Cheghânæréi, I circumambulated his tomb; the orange, citron, and harsej, abound there. They get a strong and heavy wine from Kaferīstān. The inhabitants relate a strange circumstance, which appears to be impossible, but which is, however, constantly told. The lower part of this Tumán is called Mītēh-Kendi, below which the country belongs to the Dereh-Nūr and Aser. Higher up than this Mītēh-Kendi, in the whole of this hill-country, comprehending Künor, Nörgil, Bajour, Sewāl, 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 had 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, Sewāl, and the whole of the hill-country, agree in their accounts. Halder Ali Bajourn, 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." 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.

Another Bālik is Cheghânæréi, which contains one village only, and is of limited extent, lying in the very jaws or entrance of Kaferīstān. As its inhabitants, though Muslims, are mingled with the Kafer, they live according to the customs of that race. The large river, known by the name of the river of Cheghânæréi, comes from the north-east of Cheghânæréi, behind Bajour. Another smaller stream, coming from the west, after flowing down through the midst of Pich, a district of Kaferīstān, falls into it. The wine of Cheghânæréi is strong and yellowish; but bears no sort of comparison with that of the Dereh-Nūr. In Cheghânæréi there are neither grapes nor vineyards; but they bring the wines down the river from Kaferīstān and Kaferīstān-Pich. When I took Cheghânæréi, the Kafer of Pich came to their assistance. So prevalent is the use of wine among them, that every Kafer has a khāy, or leathern bottle of wine about his neck; they drink wine instead of water.

Kānah, though not a distinct district, but under Nangināh, yet gets the name of a Bālik.

Another Tumán is Nījrow, which lies north-east from Kābul, in the hill-country. Behind it, in the hill-country, all the inhabitants are Kafer, and the country is Ka-
feristan. 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 theyatten a number of fowls. The inhabitants are wine-drinkers, never pray, fear neither God nor man, and are heathenish in their manners. In the hills of this district they have the pine, the jilm橛, the oak, and the mastick tree in abundance. The fir, pine, and oak trees grow beneath Nitrov, 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 is a very singular appearance. In the mountain districts of Nitrov, the flying-fox is found. It is an animal larger than a squirrel, with a kind of leathern web stretching between the front and hind feet, like a bat's wing. They frequently brought them to me. It is said that they can fly as low as from a higher tree to a lower one. I myself have never seen them fly, but I 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, which is also termed the Bâkésnâ, 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 Kikk-i-durri. It is probable that this bird is that which in Hindustân passes for the Kikk-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. In Nitrov 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.

Penjâh is another Tumân. It lies upon the road, and is in the immediate vicinity of Kaferistan. The thoroughfare and inroads of the robbers of Kaferistan are through Penjâh. In consequence of their vicinity to the Kafer, the inhabitants of this district are happy to pay them a fixed contribution. Since I last invaded Hindustân, and subdued it, the Kafer have descended into Penjâh; and returned, after laying a great number of people, and committing extensive ravages.

(There is another Tumân, named Ghûrbend.) 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 Hazaras have got possession of the

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1. The Bâkésnâ, as has already been remarked, is a kind of pine, which has some larger than siccraes, containing seeds resembling pine-chute nits.
2. The bill-chiko.
3. A similar story is told of some fields near Whelly. — "These wild game, which, in the winter fly in great flocks to the lakes and rivers unfrozen in the northern parts, in the great amount of every one, fall suddenly down upon the ground, where they are in their flight over certain neighbouring fields thereof. a reason I shou'd not have made, if I had not received it from several credible men." — See Note to Morison, p. xvi.
4. Are we enabled to infer from this, that the musk-rat was not so common in Hindustân in the time of Baber as it has since become? Baber was not a careless observer.
5. Penjâh, now always called Panjâtir, lies on the upper part of the Panjâtir river, above Faram, nearly south of Kâbul.
6. Ghûrbend lies north-west of Kâbul; its river runs into the Harrân.
tops of its valleys. It contains a few villages, but yields little revenue. It is said, that on the mountains of Ghurband there are mines of silver and of lapis-lazuli. On the skirts of the hills there are some districts; in the upper part are Mitch, Kacheh, and Persvan; 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 Khwajeh-Khan. 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 Baran, lie two detached spots of level ground; the one called the Girah-e-Tuzian, the other the Dehshat-e-Shelkh. In the warm season they are covered with the chelah-tulch grass in a very beautiful manner, and the Aimaks and Turks 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 takh-e-ul-bat (the rose-scented tulip). This species is found only in the Dehshat-e-Shelkh (the Shelkh's plain), in a small spot of ground, and nowhere else. In the skirts of the same hills, below Persvan, is produced the takh-e-ul-bat (or hundred-leaved tulip), which is likewise found only in one narrow spot of ground as we emerge from the straits of Ghurband. 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 Khwajegh-rezvan. 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 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 from Kâbul. This hill and that of Bâman are both excessively lofty. The Hirmand, the Sind, the Doghubeck of Kunduz, 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 Istergbach, which were term-

The Arb's engagement, and the Shelkh's plate. * This is the double poppy.

* Khwajegh moving sand.

* In this high snow mountain, Khwajegh evidently means the Kohl Baba, which, by an inaccuracy in the point of the compass not noticed with him, he places S.W. of Kâbul, instead of N.W. The Hirmand and river of Kâbul both rise there. The river of Balkh rises in the N.W. of the same mountain. The river of Balkh is the river of Balkh, which descends by Kunduz, two or three degrees.

Two or three miles.

The Hirmand, Hulmand, or Helbend, which runs to the west of the mountains not far from Kâbul, after passing Garish, falls into the lake of Simali; the sind, I suppose, is the Kâbul or the Ghurband river, which falls into the Sind. The other two fall into the Amu, or Jelun, which discharges itself into the sea of Aras.

These districts lie on the river of Kunduz, north-west of Kâbul. It falls into the Bâsh. Istergbach is now termed Singhab by the Afghans. Pдержива is called Paghman.
ed by Ulugh Beg Mirza, Khurasân and Samarcand. 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, it is beyond all comparison superior to them in respect to climate. The mountain of Pemghân always keeps its snow. Few quarters possess a district that can rival Isâ'âli. 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 iceing it; and it is particularly pure. In this district is a garden, called Bagh-e-Kheêlân (or the Great Garden), which Ulugh Beg Mirza^e 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 Khoâjeh-Mâh-yârân (Khâwjâh 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;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 Kabul. In front of this fountain, towards the plain, there are many spots, covered with the flowery Argâwân^ tree, and besides these Argâwân 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. I directed this fountain to be built round with stone, and formed a cistern of lime and mortar ten feet 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 Argâwân flowers begin to blow, I do not know that any place in the world is to be compared to it. The yellow Argâwân is here very abundant, and the yellow Argâwân'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, Jâz Khoâlb (a charming stream).

^e The four districts, now dependent on Kâbûl, are Pemghân, or Paghámûn, Káhidâm, Hotchâd, and Logôr.

^ The Ulugh Beg Mirza was the paternal uncle of Bâbûr.

^ The name Argâwân is generally applied to the amanûm; but in Afghanistan it is given to a beautiful flowering shrub, which grows nearly the size of a tree.

^ Three Friends. A note on the margin of Mr. Elphinstone's Turki copy informs us, that these three friends were Khâwjâh Mûsud-e-Emîn, Khâwjâh Khâwând Said, and Khâwjâh Rag-rovâin.

^ Twenty-five feet square.

^ The numerical letters of these words give 923.
Lehuger is another Tumân, the largest town of which is Cherked. Moulána Yakub, on whom be mercy, was of Cherked; the Mulla-zadeh Mulla Osman is also from Cherked. Sejwani is also one of the towns of Lehuger, whence are Khwajéh Ahmed and Khwajéh Yunis. Cherked has numerous gardens, but there are none in any of the other villages of Lehuger. The men are Aushah-Shaib, a term well known in Kabul; it is probable, that the phrase Ausha-Shaur (or Afghanlike) has been converted into Aushah-Shaib.

There is also the country of Ghazni, which is often denominated a Tumân. Ghazni was the capital of Sulaktegin, of Sultan Mahmid, and of the dynasty sprung from them. Many call it Ghaznei. This was also the capital of Shabab-ed-din Ghuri, who, in the Tabaks-e-Nasari, and many of the histories of Hind, is called Mozeddin. It is situated in the third climate. It is also named Zahlud, and it is to this country that the term Zahludstan relates; many include Kandahár in Zahludstan. It lies to the west of Kabul, at the distance of fourteen farsangs. A person setting out from Ghazni at early dawn, may reach Kabul between noonday and afternoon prayers. Adinapar is only thirteen farsangs distant; but, from the badness of the road, it is never travelled in one day. Ghazni is a country of small extent. Its river may be large enough to drive four or five miles. The city of Ghazni, and four or five other districts, are supplied from this river, while as many more are fertilised by subterraneous water-courses. The grapes of Ghazni are superior to those of Kabul, and its melons more abundant. Its apples too are excellent, and are carried into Hindostán. 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 Kabul. The mulder is chiefly cultivated here, and is carried over all Hindostán. It is the most profitable crop in this district. The inhabitants of the open country are Hazaras and Afgháns. Ghazni is a cheap place compared with Kabul. The inhabitants are Moslems of the sect of Háiñah, and orthodox in their faith. Many of them fast for three months in the year, and their wives and children live in a correct and sequestered manner. Mulla 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 Nasir Mirza. The tomb of Sultan Mahmid is in one of the sub-tehs of Ghazni, which, from that circumstance, is termed Rozen. The best grapes in Ghazni are from Rozen. The tombs of his descendants, Sultan Mousaid and Sultan Isrâhim, are in Ghazni. There are many holy tombs at that city. In the year

1 Lehuger, or Lough, is situated S.E. from Kabul about seventeen miles.
2 This country is famous in history as the seat of government of Sultan Mahmid Ghaznei, and of the Ghaznavi dynasty.
3 Ghazni is rather north than west of Kabul.
4 Fifty-six miles.
5 Fifty-two miles.
6 The river of Ghazni runs north to Lehuger, and joins the Kabul river.
7 Some very pious Musulmans fast all the months of Rech, Shaban, and Ramzán. The Musulmans fast only by day. The night is often given to feasting.
8 The garden. The tombs of the more eminent Musulmans are generally in gardens, and surrounded by elegant porticos.
in which I took Kábul, after ravaging Kohistán, the plain of Bání, and Afghanistan with great slaughter, I proceeded by Duki, and having come up to Ghazni, along the banks of Ab-i-thiab, 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 boat 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 Hindustán and Khorsání, could have chosen such a wretched country for the seat of their government, in preference to Khorsán. In the time of the Sultan, there were three or four mounds for collecting water. 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 ger, and its length may be about three hundred ger. The water is here collected, and drawn off according as it is wanted for cultivation. Alí-eddín Jahánábád Gháni, when he subdued this country, broke down the mound, burned and destroyed many of the tombs of the royal family of the Sultan, razed and burned the city of Ghazni, and plundered and massacred the inhabitants. In short, there was no act of devastation and destruction from which he refrained. Ever since that time, the mound had remained in a state of ruin. In the year in which I conquered Hindustán, I sent by Khwájeh Kílan 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 Sákhen, which lies to the east of Ghazni at the distance of three or four farsangs from that city. This also has long been in a state of ruin, and is not repairable. Another mound is that of Sirché, 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-i-thiab, 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 bottom of various valleys, or of low marshes, so as to collect all the water into one body, whence it is afterwards distributed for the supply of the country below. Those artificial lakes in India are sometimes several miles in circumference, and are perhaps the most useful works of the country.
3 Eighty, or a hundred feet.
4 Six hundred feet.
5 Jahánábád, the conqueror of the world. He is said to have got this title from his heroic massacre of Ghazni.
6 A.H. 832.—A.D. 1230. Twelve or sixteen miles.
7 Sirché lies S.E. from Ghazni.
hurricane, with snow and rain. I have seen in another history, that, when the Rai of Hind besieged Subaktegin in Ghazni, Subaktegin 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. I made strict inquiry in Ghazni for this well, but nobody could give me the slightest information about it. In these countries, Ghazni and Khwārizm are celebrated for their cold, in the same manner as Sultanah and Tabriz are in the Irāk and Azerbājān.

Zürnet. Another Tūmān is that of Zürnet, which lies on the south of Kābul, and southeast of Ghazni. It is distant twelve or thirteen farsangs from Kābul, and seven or eight from Ghazni. It contains seven or eight districts or villages, and the residence of the Darakhš 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 Nāṣir Mirza, occasioned the Mirza no small trouble. The inhabitants of Zürnet are Anghān-shāhī (Afghans in their manners). They apply to agriculture, and the raising of corn, but not to orchards or gardening. On the south of this Tūmān, there is a mountain which is termed the Hill of Turkestān; on the skirts of which, on a rising ground, is a fountain, near which is the tomb of Sheikh Muhammed-Muselmān.

Fermul. Another Tūmān is that of Fermul, which is of small extent, and little importance; but its apples are tolerable, and they are carried even to Mūltān and Hindustān. The Sheikh-zadehs (descendants of Sheikhs), who were treated with such distinguished favour in Hindustān during the time of the Afghan, were all of Fermul, and descended of Sheikh Muhammed Muselmān.

Bangush is another Tūmān. It is entirely surrounded by hills inhabited by Afghan robbers, such as the Khugilīs, the Khirāchis, the Bārī, and theLimdān, who, lying out of the way, do not willingly pay taxes. Being occupied by many affairs of superior importance, such as the conquest of Kandahār, Balkh, Badakshān, and Hindustān, I never found leisure to apply myself to the settlement of Bangush. But if Almighty God prosper my wishes, my first moments of leisure shall be devoted to the settlement of that district, and of its pimpering neighbours.

Ahahs. One of the Balūks of Kābul is Ahahs, which lies two or three farsangs to the east of Nijrow, from which you advance in a straight level direction towards Ahahs. On reaching a place named Kūrah, you proceed by a small khetā, or hill-pass, towards Ahahs. In this quarter, the space between the warm climate (Germul) and the cold (Serdāl) is merely the extant of this hill-pass of Kūrah. By this hill-pass, at the beginning of the spring, the birds take their flight from the one to the other. The
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 cot 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; one side of it is fixed down to the ground by a stone, the other end, as far as half its length, three or four gez, 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. 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.

Bedrow¹ is another Balûk, which lies close by Alah-sâi. Here there are no fruits, besides and the cultivators are all Kâfers. They raise corn.

As in Khorasân and Samarkand the possessors of the Wolds are the Türks and Turakhs. As in this country, the inhabitants of the Waste are Hazâras and Afghanis. The most powerful of the Hazâras in this territory, are the Sultan Masûndi Hazâras, and the most powerful of the Afghanis are the Mehmend Afghanis.

The amount of the revenue of Kâbul, whether arising from settled lands, or raised from the inhabitants of the waste, is eight lak of shahrokhis.²

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 Badakhshân, which are all covered with the Archeb, or mountain pine, well watered with springs, and abounding with soft and smooth heights; the vegetation on those 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 Ab-bukch, which is excellent for horses. In the country of Anderâb, they also call this grass Bukch-sâi, 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 Bukch, knots or patches. The yâllâk, or summer residences of Hisâr, Khâtân, Samarkand, Ferghânâ, and Moghulâtân, are all the same kind of yâllâk and pastures as these; and though the summer retreats of Ferghânâ and Moghulâtân 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 Lâughmât, Bâjor, and Sowâd, are of another kind, having many forests of pine, fir, oak, olive, and

¹ Ten or twelve feet.
² Six or eight feet.
³ That is, by repeating the Muslim confession of faith; and cutting their neck. It is usual to say only Bismillâh (in the name of God.)
⁴ Bedrow is perhaps the upper part of Tugow, now called Bâlaqchât. It is evidently higher up, by its having no fruits, and belonging to the Kâfers.
⁵ The pope being equal to two shahrokhis and a half; the shahrokhis may be taken at tenpence, thus making the revenue only 133,333, 6s. 8d. — See Hauss Jâberg, vol. II. p. 189.
nastick, 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 Hindustan, such as the parrot, the shuruk, the peacock, the lokh, the ay, the nil-gan, and the kotki-pai (short-foot), and besides these, many other kinds of birds and animals, exceeding in number what I have heard of even in Hindustan.

The mountainous country which lies to the west is composed of the hills that form the valley of Zindan, the vale of Stif, with Gurzewan and Gharjestan, 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 gorges, 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 Ghur, Karbh, and Hazara, 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.

This hill-country, however, bears no resemblance to the hill-countries of Khwajah Ismā'īl, Desht, Duki, and Afghanistan, 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 mess; as the proverb says, "A narrow place is large to the narrow-minded." There are perhaps scarcely in the whole world such diemnd-looking hill-countries as these.

In Kābul, 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
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, 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.

The different districts of Kâbul lie amid mountains which extend like so many mountains, 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 archrival of all, 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 and wild ass are also found near the Surkhâb, and little Kâhlul, 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 as 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 Hindúkush, 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 Hindúkush, 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 karkus (or begu 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 springs, which they make for that purpose, as well as the heron, the begu heron, and the khwâsil. This last-mentioned fowl is rare. The mode of taking these fowls is as follows: They spin a thin sliding spring, 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 has been wound; the cord remaining

1 The bhat (Pterocarpus, bhatas) is a kind of oak, and bearsorns, but has prickly leaves, from which circumstance it is probably here confounded with the bully.
2 Alma sirkh.
3 Gorsh-khar.
4 This is the Surkhâb which rises in Shol-ash, and joins the Kâhlul river.
wound up and hallow. 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 Bārān 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 Bārān catch great numbers of herons. The kultip-saj, are of the heron's feathers. These plumes, or kilki-saj, are one of the commodities carried into Irāk and Khorsān from Kābul. There is a body of slave fowlers, 1 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 Timur Beg 2 first caused them to be brought from the neighbourhood of Multān. 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 Bārān, 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.

In the same season the migration of the fish takes place in the river Bārān; they first of all take great quantities of them by the net, and by erecting gratings. 3 In the autumn season, when the plant named kūlān khorāghi (or wild-asso'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-shābāk, 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-bahār, Perwān, and Laidilī.

There is another singular way in which they catch fish in Lamghamāt during the

1 Plumes worn on the cap, or turban, on great occasions.
2 Timurian.
3 These rivers all run into the Bārān.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

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 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.

Some days after the taking of Kâbul, Moklim 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. After his departure I partitioned out the country of Kâbul among those Bega only who had lately taken service with me. Ghazni and its dependencies, I gave to Jahan-gir Mirza; the Tumân of Nangul, Munderpur, the Dereh-Nâr, the Dereh-Kamer, Nurul, and Cheghânserai, I gave to Naïr Mirza. Those Bega 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 Bega and soldiers who were strangers and guests, in the first place, and in a superior manner to the Baberians, and those who were of Amâjân. In spite of this, it has been a great misfortune to me that I have always been charg
with favouring none but my own Baberians and the Andejians. There is a proverb,

"What is it enemies will not say?
What is it dreams will not display."
(Psalms.) The gates of a city you may shut;
You cannot shut the mouth of an enemy.

As many I Is and Uluses had come to me from Hissār, Samarkand, and Kander, it appeared advisable, as Kābul 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 I Is 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 Kābul, Ghazni, and their dependencies. As I was at that time very imperfectly acquainted with the revenues and resources of Kābul, 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.

I had imposed a large contribution of horses and sheep on the Sultan Masafī Hazūrs and sent collectors to receive it. In a few days I heard from them that the Hazūrs3 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 Gerdār.4 On these accounts I took the field for the purpose of falling on them by surprise; and having advanced by way of Mehdān, we cleared the pass of Nirhī5 by night, and, by the time of morning prayers, fell upon the Hazūrs in the territory of Chāthī, and beat them to our heart’s content. Returning thence by way of Sang-e-Surakh, Jehангīr Mīrzā took leave to go to Ghazni, while I returned to Kābul. When I reached Kābul, Yār Ḥusain, the son of Deris Khān, came from Behrā to offer me his services.

A few days afterwards, having mastered 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 Doshārī,7 others preferred Bangāsh; while others proposed to advance against Hindustān. It was at last determined in council to make an irruption into Hindustān.

In the month of Shābān, when the sun was in Aquarius, I set out from Kābul towards Hindustān; and proceeding by way of Bādān-Cheshmah and Jīgalīk,8 in six marches reached Adhūnpūr. I had never before seen the German (or countries of

1 See, but obel.
2 A Khwārā is generally one hundred man of Tāhir. — Leyden. Aml-Fazl says, that it is equal to 45 Kadhār, or 40 Hindustāni mans. — Vol. II. p. 186. It is about 700 pounds avoirdupois.
3 It is not clear where the Sultan Masafī Hazūrs lay; but it must have been west or south-west of Kābul, among the hills.
4 Gerdār lies upwards of 46 miles S.E. from Kābul.
5 Nirīk lies west of Kābul. Sang-Surakh is a common name.
6 On Behrā, on the Behrā or Hindūspā,.
7 This is the straight road to Peshawar and Atthār, from Kābul.
warmed temperature), nor the country of Hindustān. 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 Hās and Ulmeses (the wandering tribes) of a different kind: I was struck with astonishment, and indeed there was room for wonder.

Nāsir Mirza, who, a little before, had come to his government, now waited upon me at Adīmpūr. As the Almās of that neighbourhood, with their followers, had moved down with all their families into Lānghamū, 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 Kūsh-Gūmbazar, lower down than Jāl-Shāhi. Nāsir Mirza having made some provision for his dependants and followers from the country under his government, stayed behind by permission at Kūsh-Gūmbazar, promising to follow in two or three days.

Marching from Kūsh-Gūmbazar, when we halted at Germ-cheshmeh, they brought me one Pekhi, a head man of the Gagānis, 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 Kheibaz, and encamped at Jām. I had heard of the fame of Gūrkh-Katri, which is one of the holy places of the Jogs of the Hindus, who come from great distances to cut off their hair and shave their heads at this Gūrkh-Katri. As soon as I reached Jām, I immediately rode out to visit Bekrām. I saw its stupendous tree, and surveyed the country. Our guides was Mālik Bu-sadd Kamarī. Although we asked particularly for Gūrkh-Katri, he did not show us where it was; but just as we had returned, and were close upon the camp, he said to Khwājeh Muhammad Amin that Gūrkh-Katri was close upon Bokrām, but that he did not mention it, for fear of being obliged to go among its narrow caverns and dangerous recesses. The Khwājeh explaining against him as a pernicious 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.

At this station I held a consultation about passing the river Sind, which I should direct my course. Bābak Cheghānī 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 Kābul men, who confirmed what he had stated. I had never even heard

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* Mr. Forster, in traversing the same road, in an opposite direction, was sensible of a similar change.
* About two miles to the eastward of Ghalamnār, crossed a small ferrable river, running to the northward. The air, hitherto hot, had assumed at this place a sudden coolness; not affected by any change of weather, but, agreeably to the observation of travellers, parallel to the climate of this part of the country. The brightness of our stay would not permit an inquiry into the cause of this rapid transition; but could any of my associates, though used to the road, give a reasonable account of it?— *Forster's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 106, second edition. The cause is to be found in the sudden rise of the ground, and the position of the neighboring mountains.
* The Bird's Dench.  The royal or chief stream.
* Probably so called from the term of Muhammad Pah, afterwards mentioned.
* Now Jāmūd, printed Thunooz in Forster by an error of the press.
* Gūrkh-Katri is near the site of the grand Caravanseri at Peshawer.
* Bekrām is now called Peshawer.  See the Ayvoon Aklari, vol. I. p. 181.
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 Hindustan, and therefore, marching off from Jam, and crossing the Barch, advanced up to Muhammed Pekh and Abani, and encamped not far from them.

At this time the Gaggiâni Afghans were in Peshâwer, and, from dread of my army, they had all drawn off to the skirts of the mountains. At this encampment, Khosru Gaggiâni, one of the chief men of the Gaggiânis, 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.

Marching from this station about midnight, and passing Muhammed Pekh at sunrise, we fell upon and plundered Kohat about luncheon-time, 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 Sindh, on the banks of which they staid all night, and next day same and rejoined me. The army, however, found none of the riches which Bâki Chegâni 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 Naghû and Fermûl. 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 Dilâzâkh, the Yâshât-Zal, and Gaggiâni, to act under his orders, pledging himself that he would carry my power beyond the Sindh. I granted him the authority which he required, and he took leave of me at Kohat.

Taking our departure from Kohat, we marched up 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-scout, and made a loud clamour. Malek Bu-sâd Kamarî, who was well acquainted with the whole of Afghanistan, 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 neck of ground between the mountain and the hill. I ordered

1 The river of Peshâwer.
2 The valley of Kohat lies south-east from Jam. It is about twelve miles in diameter.
3 Eleven o'clock.
4 Or Naghû.
5 The road from Kohat to Bangash is west by south.
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 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 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 on coming to Kábul. 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 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 Bánú. 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 kesh or two to our right; and the road by which we were conducted was not a horse-road. As the herdsmen and shepherds sometimes drove their flocks of sheep and mares down this descent and by the defile, it was for that reason termed Gofand-där, or the Sheep-road, dár signifying a road in the Afghan language. Our chief guide was Malek Bu-sird Kánni; and the soldiers in general attributed the taking of this left-hand road to some design in him.

Immediately on descending from the hills of Bangash and Nagha, Bánú appeared in sight. It has the appearance of a flat and level champagne. On the north are the hills of Bangash and Nagha. The Bangash river runs through the Bánú territory, and by means of it chiefly is the country cultivated. On the south are Chouparkh and the river Sind; on the east is Dihók, and on the west is Desht, which is also called Bā-

1 It is as old as the time of the heroes of the Shálmání, or at least of Virázán.
2 This barbarous custom has always prevailed among the Tartar conquerors of Asia.
3 Sanger is now in constant use in Kábul and Pénís for an entrenchment or field-work.
4 These last marches must have been southerly.
5 It has still the same signification in the Fáhrún.
6 The Salt-range of Mr Elphinstone's map.
7 The Kéurn or Mr Elphinstone's map.
sār and Tāk. Of the Afghan tribes, the Kerānī, the Kīrī, the Sār, the Iskāhī, and Niāzi, cultivate the ground in this country. On ascending into the Bām 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 Jehangir Mirza. The sanger against which he went was that of the Kīrī 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 Bām country. After the taking of this sanger, one of the chiefs of the Kīrīs, named Shāhī 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 Kīft, it had been resolved that, after plundering the Afghans about Bungah and Bām, we should return back to Kābul by way of Naghch or Ferānul. After ravaging Bām, 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 Ferānul, we should plunder the Desht, and return back by that road.

On the morrow, we marched thence, and halted on the banks of the same river, at a village of the Iskāhīs. The Iskāhīs having had notice of our approach, had betaken themselves to the Chomprāch mountains. I next marched from the village of the Iskāhīs, and encamped on the skirts of the Chomprāch mountains, while the skirmishers, ascending the mountain, stormed a sanger of the Iskāhīs, and brought back sheep, cattle, and cloth, in great quantity. The same night, the Iskāhī Afghans attempted a surprise; 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 bow-shot 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 trusted 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 Jehangir Mirza, with Bākī Cheghānī, Shīrīm Taghālī, Syed Hussain Akber, and several other Bāgs; on the left wing were Mīrzā Khan, Abdūl Rızāk Mīrzā, Kāsim Beg, and some other Bāgs; in the centre there were none of the superior Bāgs, all of them were Bāgs of my own household; in the van were Syed Kāsim, the chamberlain, Bābū Ughul Ahārī, and

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All through his operations in Bām, Bāber was west for south, and the other points of the compass accordingly. Hence we have on the east Chomprāch and the Sīnāl, on the north Bāghā, on the south Desht or Dāmar. This seems to be the Tāk of Mr Elphinstone's map; and Bāshū is there laid down west of it. Tāk is said here to have been the capital of Bāmāg.

This route was more to the south, and more武林 than the other.

The Iskāhīs are one of the principal tribes of Afghān.

The Chomprāch mountains seem to be the ridge between Lārgī and the Sīnāl.

Israel.
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, and halted between Desht and Bārum, 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 gæz or a gæz 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 gæz or a gæz 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.

Marching from this dry river in the morning, the light cavalry moving forward without anything to enumber them, about afternoon prayers reached the villages of Desht. 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 Tpekch, and other horses which they had for sale. Mīdī Moghul dismounted Khwâjeh Khezer Lohâni, who was one of the most noted and eminent of the Afghan merchants, cut off his head, and brought it to the camp. Shâhīm Tâghâni had gone out in the rear of the pillagers. He met an Afghan on foot, who struck him a blow with his sword that cut off his fore-finger.

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 Gomâl. From Desht there are two roads that lead to the west. One of them is the road of Sangsrâkh, which reaches Ferinâl by way of Bûrak. The other is along the banks of the Gomâl, which also conducts to Ferinâl, but without passing Bûrak. The road along the Gomâl is generally preferred. During the few days that I had been in the Desht, it had rained incessantly; and the Gomâl 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 Gomâl road to cross the river several times; which would be attended with extreme difficulty if the flood-

1 That is, as explained, the south.
2 Bubâr has now crossed the Kurum and Gomâl, and is advancing south to the Desht or Dâmmân. Between Dâmmân and Bārum, and also between Dâmmân and Iâshâh, which Bubâr considers as part of Bārum, there is a halt without water by whichever way you go.
3 Dâmmân.
4 Lohâni is the general name for most of the tribes of Dâmmân, the greatest merchants of Afghanistan. The word is frequently written Nohâni in all the copies.
5 The first of these roads is probably the direct one by Kangirâm to Ughân, the residence of the Ferinâl. The one by the Gomâl takes the Pus of Ghûderi.
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-
ppear best. It was the Idaflî, and I was engaged in performing the ceremonial ablutions
required on account of that festival, while Jehangir Mirza and the Begs were con-
versing on the subject. Some of them suggested that the mountain on the west of
the Desht, which they call the Mehker Sulaimân mountain, 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 meet-
ing with their approbation, they directed the march of the army towards the edge of
the mountain. 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 Gumal. 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 Ida were recited on
the banks of the Gumal. In this year the Nouser fell remarkably near the Idaflî,
there being only a few days between them. On the subject of this approximation I
composed the following gazelle:

(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 eyelids, experience only sorrow.

(The concluding lines only are given.)

O Baber, draw 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 find, were thou a hundred festivals of Nouser, and a hun-
dred Birlams.

Leaving the banks of the Gumal, we directed our course towards the south, and
marched along the skirts of the mountain. We had advanced a less 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 became all its other sides being steep and a direct precipice, he had
no road by which to escape. Sultan Ali Chumâk 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 Kahan en-
gaged an Afghan in combat, and while they grappled, both of them fell tumbling from
a height of ten or twelve gun; 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 Idaflî, or Greater Bairâm, is the feast on the conclusion of the feast of the Ramâzes. It commences as soon as the new moon of Shawal is seen.
2 The mountains of the Prophet Solomon, called also the Tukhâk Sulaimân, or Solomon's Throne.
3 The army would seem to have marched by Peni.
4 The Nouser is the feast of the old Persian new-year.
5 Twenty or twenty-four feet.
butants came rolling from the top midway down; but I 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.

After leaving Desht, we marched for three stages in a southerly direction, keeping close to the skirts of the mountain of Mehter Suleimán; and at the close of the fourth halted at Belah, a small district lying on the banks of the Sind, and which is dependent on Multán. 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, 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 Kuli Ahmed Aurik, another the chief of my tent-pitchers; and house servants of Jehangir Mirza’s followers, one was Kofta Turkman. 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 insolent way. Among these who had passed over to the island, one was Kuli Bayazid the eunuch, 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 bow-shot 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, 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 Kuli Bayazid by marks of favour, in consequence of the service 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, 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 Amul-Fad says on the caravan of Turkhan. 2 Avall. 3 Michur Firdous. 4 Bekhwell—a taster or butler. 5 Yedak often signifies a lot horse. 6 Bekhwell.
places clothes, and such-like articles. After leaving the Dehst, 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.

For three marches I proceeded along the Sind, and separated from it right against the tomb of Pir Kānu, 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 Hindustān. It lies on the skirts of a hill which is connected with the mountain of Mehtar Shāhān.

Taking my departure from this tomb, I reached the top of a hill-pass, where we halted. Marching from thence I gained Rūdū, a place dependent on the country of Dūkī. While moving from that station, Fāzīl Gokullāsh, the Dārāgīn of Sīri, a servant of Shah Beg, 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.

Leaving this station, the second march brought us to Chotilī, one of the villages of Dūkī, 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 Pir Kānu, 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 Chotilī, I was even forced to leave my pavilion-tent behind for want of carriage. While there, such a rain fell during the night, that the water reached above the knees 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.

A march or two after, Jumuīr Mīrzā 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,

"Bakī Cheghāniānī 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 Pir Kānu was probably near the Dars Glāhī Khan, which lies nearly in lat. 29° 30'. The Dargah of Sakhi Sīwar is still a place of pilgrimage in that neighbourhood. The vicinity of Sīri, or Sīwash, is a proof that Bakī must have gone so far down the Sind.
2 The pass of Dīwār lies above Sakhi Sīwar.
3 Or it may be, "a stream belonging to the country," &c., as Leyden has it.
4 Or Sīri.
5 Shah Beg, Sālim Beg’s son, when expelled from Ghurī and Kābul, had occupied the country below Sālimān. He finally conquered Sīri.
6 Dūkī is now known. A place of that name appears, however, in the Firdūs’s map, as well as in Kennedy’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 Dūkī from lying among the hills. Dūkī signifying hill in the language of the country, and may thus be used as opposed to the Dehst, or plains.
7 Khargāh.
Who are his inferior associates in this plot?" He replied, "Balki 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 Husain Abber, Sultan Ali Chehra, and other Beys and retainers of Khamru Shah, are concerned in the business." In truth, Jehangir 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 Jehangir Mirza, to attack and plunder the Anghums 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 partisans, and some of note, were reduced to march on foot. Shah Mahommed Ogliakhi, 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 Ghuznl.

Three marches afterwards, Jehangir Mirza having plundered a party of Afghans, brought in a few sheep.

In one or two marches more, we reached Ab-isâdeh, 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 further 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 rising from the inundations occasioned by the rains of spring, in the valley of Kattch-waz, the dale of Zurmâr, the river of Ghuznl, with the meadows of Kava-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 satisfied. When I came within one kos of Ab-isâdeh, a singular phenomenon presented itself. From time to time, between this water and the heavens, something of a red appearance was seen, like the reddish crescent, which againby 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 Anghums, a different pronunciation of the same word.
2 The Kattch-waz. This lake lies in north latitude 33° 33', south-east from Ghamp.
3 The Harâl, 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-kâr. The description would lead us to imagine it was a flock of flamingoes.
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 fice, and brought them back. As far as they 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 levelling of the plain, did not seem to acquire any great depth. On reaching the banks of the river of the plain of Kuttah-waz, which falls into Ah-istâdah, 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 Kulkh-Nâni, and, passing the water-mound of Sirdah, we reached Ghazni. Jalâlan 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.

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-Yâkûh. 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-Yâkûh, opposite to Kamari, and by means of this vessel all the army was passed over. In this way, after surmounting the hill pass of Sejâwând,4 we proceeded directly forward, and passing the Kamari river in boats, reached Kâbûl, in the month of Zîl-hajjah.

A few days before our arrival, Syed Yâsuf Beg had been carried off by a dhole, and departed to enjoy the Murray of God.

Nâisr Mirza, as was formerly mentioned, after providing his people with some necessaries from his government, had obtained leave to stay behind in Kâsh-Gumabez, 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. Faizî, 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, be 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 pilage, 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 Faizî.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

Whether it was from this circumstance, or whether some disaffection influenced Nasir Mirza, he did not follow me, but stayed behind. Another circumstance, which had some influence on his conduct, was that I had bestowed Abangir on Yusuf, and Abalbeg on Behbol, the two sons of Ayub, than whom more wicked, more sedulous, 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 Nasir Mirza to join me; but as Nasir Mirza did not come, they also stayed behind, and were the favourite bottle companions and friends of Nasir Mirza all that winter.

During the course of this winter he made one excursion against the Turkolani Afghans, and ravaged their country. All the Aimaks, Ilas, and Uluas, from the upper country, who had descended into Nauganbahr and Langhanat, he attacked and drove up, and then encamped on the banks of the Barun. While Nasir Mirza was on that river, and in its neighbourhood, the tidings arrived of the defeat and slaughter of the Usbecks, by the inhabitants of Badakhshan, and of the general rising of that country, which took place in the following manner.

Sheiban Khan, having intrusted Kumbuz to Kamber-bi, proceeded himself to Khwirism. Kamber-bi, for the purpose of securing the submission of the inhabitants of Badakhshan, had sent into that country Mahmud, the son of Muhammad Makhdum; but Mokhrizk Shah, whose ancestors had been Beys of the Kings of Badakhshan, having rebelled, cut off the heads of Mahmud, the son of Makhdum, and of several more of the Usbecks, and seizing on the fort of Zafer, formerly known by the name of Shafii-iwark, fortified himself in it. He was the person who gave this fortress the name of Zafer. Besides this, Muhammad Korchi, who was one of the Korchis of Khosrow Shah, and at this time had the command of Khamelingan, likewise rebelled, and having slain the Safet (or Jusciery) of Sheiban Khan, with a number of Usbecks in Rusta, fortified himself in Khamelingan. An inhabitant of Raghi, too, whose forefathers had been nobles in the court of the kings of Badakhshan, at the same time rose in Raghi. Jemihur Turkana, who was one of the retainers of Wali, the brother of Khosrow Shah, and who, during a late confusion, had separated from his lord, having gathered some fugitive soldiers, besides stragglers and Aimaks, drew off and revolted. Nasir Mirza, on receiving this intelligence, inspired with the ambition of acquiring Badakhshan, at the instigation of certain senseless and short-sighted flattering, passed over into that quarter by the route of Shiherti and Abdereh, accompanied by some bodies of these Ilas and Uluas, who, on being expelled from the other side of the hills, had come hither and were moving about with their whole families and property.

Khosrow Shah, after lying from Ajer with Ahmed Kasim, had proceeded with him to Khorsan; and having met with Badia-se-zamun Mirza and Zalma Beg by the way, they all went together to Heri, and paid their court to Sultan Husein 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 scars of which were still rank-

1 The office of Korchi meant to have corresponded to that of army-secretary. 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.
ling in his heart, now all went in such a state of distress and humiliation, to present themselves before him. For had I not deprived Khoorou Shah of his army and retainers, and reduced him to his present helpless condition, and had not I taken Kâbul from Mokim, Zâhrun’s son, they never would have thought of going to wait upon the Mirza. Badla-az-zamân was only as long in the hands of the other two, and never attempted to swerve from their advice. Sultan Hussein Mirza received them all in a gracious manner, without reminding them of their offences, and made them a variety of presents. After some time Khoorou 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 enterprise, 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 returned to 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 Uzbekes?” 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 Nasir Mirza had passed over to the same quarter. He had a conference with Nasir Mirza in the territory of Dehâneh.1 The chiefs of Badakhshan had invited Nasir Mirza alone, and did not wish for Khoorou Shah’s return; but all the efforts that Nasir Mirza made to prevail on him to separate from him, and proceed to the hill-country, had no influence on Khoorou Shah, who saw the Mirza’s motives. Khoorou Shah’s plan was to employ Nasir 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 Ishkâmish,2 and having clothed them in armour, and drawn them out ready for action, they separated from each other, and Nasir Mirza proceeded towards Badakhshan; while Khoorou Shah, having collected a naked and disorderly rabble, to the amount of a thousand men, good and bad, went to lay siege to Kunduz, and took post at Khwâjeh Chârtâkh, one or two farsangs distant from that city.

After Muhammed Sheibâni Khan had taken Sultan Ahmad Tumbol in Andejin, he had advanced against Hissâr; upon which Khoorou 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 fortresses, but made every exertion for its defence. Sheibâni Khan left Khamzâ Sultan and Meledi Sultan to conduct the blockade of Hissâr, and himself proceeded against Kunduz: he conferred the government of Kunduz on his younger brother Mahmûd Sultan, and himself

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1 Dehâneh, or Dehâlah, south from Balkh.
2 South-east from Kunduz.
without delay marched for Khwârim against Chirn Sûfî. He had not yet reached Samarkand, when his brother Mahmûd Sultan died in Kunduz, on which he gave the command in Kunduz to Kamber-bi of Marv. When Khosro Shah arrived, Kamber-bi was in Kunduz; and instantly dispatched messengers to Khanzâh Sultan and the other Sultans who had been left behind, to call them in to his aid. Khanzâh Sultan having himself advanced as far as Serâh, on the banks of the river Aruz, sent on his army to Kunduz, under the command of his sons and Begs, who marched on to battle the instant they arrived. Khosro Shah could not stand his ground, and his great body was not sufficiently alert for flight; so that Khanzâh Sultan’s men unhorsed him, and brought him in as a prisoner. They also slew Ahmad Kâsin, his sister’s son, Shirim Chehrâb, and a number of his best troops. They then carried Khosro Shah to Kunduz, where they struck off his head, which they sent to Shâhâb Khan at Khwârim. Khosro Shah had no sooner entered the Kunduz 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 Khwârim 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.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 911.

In the month of Muharram, my mother, Kutluk-Nûgâr Khânûn, was seized with the pustulous eruption, termed Khasbâh, and blood was let without effect. A Khurasân physician, named Syed Taibi, attended her; he gave her water-melons, according to the practice of Khurasân; 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, we conveyed her remains to this garden; and on Sunday, I and Kâsin 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 Kâshâ Khan, and of my grandmother Iman Doulet Begum, also arrived. The distribution of food on the fortieth day after the Khamân’s decease was near at hand, when the mother of the Khan, Shah Begum, my maternal grandmother, Mîhr Nûgâr Khânûn, the widow of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, with Muhammad Hussain

1 Probably the Sallân mentioned in the history of Tamerlane.
2 The Muhammadan year 911; begun on 4th June 1805.
3 Khasbâh with a word, signifies a spotted fever; also the same. With a or e, a slow fever. The different copies which I have consulted have e.
4 It will be observed, from several instances in these Memoirs, that the Mussulmans are most scrupulously cautious not to erect a burial-place in any ground gained by violence or wrong.
Guirm Doghlat, arrived from Khurasan. 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 enterprises which had been interrupted, and by the advice of Hākī Cheghāni, led my army against Kandahār. We had marched as far as the anlung (or meadow) of Kush-Nadir, where we had halted, when I was seized with a fever. It came most unseasonably. Whate’er efforts they made to keep me awake, my eyes constantly fell back into sleep. After four or five days, I got somewhat better.

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 house of the village of Penghan fell down, and seventy or eighty respectable householders were buried under the ruins. Between Penghan and Bektoh, 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 Interghach, to the plain, being a distance of about six or seven farangs, 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. Nūr-ullāh, the Jatist, 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 too little command of himself, that they knocked against each other. Jahangir 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 Bāgs and soldiers had orders to repair the rents and breaches in the walls and fortifications of the fortress. By great diligence and exertion, in twenty days or a month, all the parts of the walls that had been damaged or thrown down were repaired and rebuilt.

My expedition against Kandahār 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 Shīrāz, we had not yet finally decided between marching against Kandahār, and sending out de-
tachments to scour the hills and plains. I called Jehangir Mirza and the Bega to a
council of war; when Jehangir Mirza and Bākī Chegāhnīnī warmly-supporting the
proposition for proceeding against Kišt, it was settled that we should move and at-
tack it. On reaching Tāri, I gained information that Shīr All Chehreh and Kuchek
Bākī Divānegh, with some others, had formed the plan of deserting. I instantly had
them seized; and as Shīr All Chehreh had been notoriously guilty of various sedi-
tious 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.

When we reached Kišt, 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 Khwājeh Kišt, 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 Kišt, 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 Kišt was taken.
Kuchek Bākī Divānegh, who had been seized while attempting to desert with Shīr
All, here atoned for that act of treachery, being killed with a stone under the ramp-
art, while attempting to escape. 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 exhaus-
ted, the garrison demanded quarter, and surrendered. Zulmān Arghūn had bestowed
Kišt on Mokim, and two of Mokim’s partisans, Forāk Arghūn and Karā Būlī, held it
at this time on his part. They came out with their bows, quivers, and scimitars
hanging round their necks, and I forgave them. It was not my wish to treat this
family harshly; for had anything worse been practised among us at a time when such
an enemy as the Uzbek 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 enterprise had been under-
taken at the instance of Jehangir Mirza and Bākī Beg, I gave up Kišt to the charge
of the Mirza, but he would not accept of it; neither would Bākī 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.

Proceeding southward from Kišt, we plundered the Afghans of Sawa-Sang, Al-
tāgh, and that neighbourhood, and then returned to Kābul. The night that I arrived
in Kābul, I proceeded to the fortress, leaving my tents and horses at the Chaṛbāgh.
That same night a Khelchelī thief came and stole from the Chaṛbāgh a bay horse of
mine, expatiated as it was, and one of my own sable.

From the time that Bākī Chegāhnīnī had joined me on the battle of the Amu, no man
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. Kišt, east of Kandahār, in the vale of Torka, and now called Kīsh-e-Ghiljī.
2. Al-tāgh is the Hills Tagh of Mr Eldinmote’s map, south-east of Kišt. Sawa-Sang may be
Torqant (black stone).
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 hisanimosity to such a length, that when he broke up from Termiz, 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 Kheinur, he then gave them fifty sheep! Although he had himself acknowledged me as his King, he used to have the nagaret beaten before his tent. He liked nobody, and could see no one prosper. The revenue of Kábul arises from a Temmáh (or stamp-tax). This Temmáh I bestowed on him; and made him at the same time Darogha of Kábul and Panjahr; gave him the property-tax levied from the Hazáras, 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 charitableness, and asked leave to go away. I gave in to his dissimulation, and in a tone of apology, refused him the permission he solicited.

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 teasing, 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 Mulla Bábá a list of eleven grievances; the justness of which he was forced to acknowledge one after another. He submitted, and having obtained leave, proceeded towards Hindustán 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 Báki Gagía, he passed by Niláb. At this time Yár-Hussain Deria Khan was in Kecheh-Kai. This man had converted into a Sanait the Firmin 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 Dílásh and Yusefzai, and partly men of the Jat and Gujer tribes, his sole occupation now was ranging the country, and robbing on the high-ways. Having got notice of Báki's approach, he occupied the road, and took prisoner Báki himself, and every person that was along with him. He put Báki to death, and took his lady. Though I gave Báki his discharge, and did him no harm, yet he was caught in his own evil, and taken in his own toils.

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† All animals, goods, clothes, &c. brought into the country, are stamped or marked, and a tax collected.

* The Jats compose the greater part of the agricultural population over the west of Indie, down to the mouth of the Indus.
This winter we remained encamped in the Chārbāgh, during one or two of the first falls of snow. Down to the time of my arrival in Kābul, the Turkomān Hazzāras had been guilty of numerous insults and depredations; I therefore determined to make an expedition against them, and having gone into the city, and taken up my residence in the palace of Ulugh Beg Mirza, called Bostān-Serā, I set out from thence in the month of Shahrīn, with the intention of making a foray on the Turkomān Hazzāras. A detachment was pushed on, which made a sudden attack on a small party of Hazzāras at Jangellik, in the month of the valley of Khesh, and dispersed them. A few Hazzāras had lain in ambush in a cave near the valley of Khesh. Sheikh Dervish Gokulāsh had been in many an action along with me, held the office of Korchegi, 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 Hazzār from within shot him with an arrow under the nipple, and he died the same day. The great body of the Turkomān Hazzāras 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 kūk 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 feet 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 Shutterlik, belonging to the Hazzāras 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 the next morning, we began to approach the place where the Hazzāras 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 Hazzāras 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 Hazzāras 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 Hazzāras 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 cham-

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1 Shahrīn commenced on the 25th December 1553.
2 A horsebow-bearer, or perhaps servant-hairdresser.
3 An 'hundred feet.
4 The Shutterlik is a species of camel which has very little hair, and is used for carrying burdens.
nel as along the banks of the river, and maintained the fight by discharges of arrows. Muhammad 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 Yheef 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, Kasim 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 Hazaras, 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 Kasim 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 Dervish Gokhila. To Kepek Kuli Bahadur, for his good conduct, I gave Muhammad Ali Mobasher Beg's office. Sultan Kuli Chimik 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 Hazaras, 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 Turkomans Hazaras; when, on my return from Khorasan, I led a foray against them, and brought off numbers of their horses and sheep. The wives and little children of the Hazaras 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 Hazaras.

This winter the snow lay very deep. At this place, off the road; it reached up to the horses' crampers; the picket 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 Hazaras, within the valley of Khash. Marching thence we halted at Jenglik, Yarek Tughli and some others having lagged a little behind. I directed them to proceed and take the Hazaras who had shot Sheikh Dervish. These wretches, intoxicated 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 Hazaras, and passed a greater number under the edge of the sword.

Cheghdawel.
On finishing this inroad against the Hazarás, we moved down the river Bárán, into the vicinity of Ai-toghi, for the purpose of collecting the revenue of Nijrow. While I remained at Ai-toghi, Jehangir Mirza waited upon me from Ghazni.

At this time, on the 13th of Ramzas, I was attacked with so severe a lumbar pain 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 Bichghau is the chief, and is the principal district in the valley. The headman, Hussain Ghaiib Agha, and his younger brother, were noted for their rebellious and contumacious spirit. I dispatched a division against him, under the command of Jehangir Mirza, whom I made Kâsim Beg accompany. The detachment went, attacked, and took by storm, a rough stone fort, or strong tower, which had been thrown up, and inflicted on part of them the punishment they deserved. In consequence of the pain I suffered from my lumbar pain, they made a sort of litter, in which I was conveyed from the banks of the Bárán to the city, where I was lodged in the Bastân-Serā, 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.

On getting better I moved into the Chârbâgh, Jehangir Mirza came thither to pay his respects to me. Yusef and Behal, the sons of Ayub, from the time they had joined the Mirza, had been instigating him to sedition and treasonable practices. I did not on this occasion find Jehangir 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 Hazarás towards Bamiyan. 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. Afterwards learned that he assigned the following cause for his flight. At the time when Jehangir Mirza came from Ghazni, and Kâsim Beg and the rest of the Begs went out to meet him, the Mirza had thrown off, a falcon at a Bûlinah, 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 unmanning than even this. In a word, having acted at Ghazni in the manner that has been mentioned, they passed through the midst of the Hazarás, and repaired to the Aimâk. At that time the Aimâk had left Naâr Mirza, but were in a state of hostilities with the Uzbekis, and lived in Yai, Asterab, and the summer habitations in that quarter.

1 Bamiyan, or Bâh-Bamian, lies north-west from Ghazni, among the hills.
2 The Aimâk inhabits the hill-country west of the Hazarás, towards Herat. This, however, appears to have been only one wandering tribe of them.
At this very juncture Sultan Hussain Mirza having come to a determined resolution to check the progress of Muhammed Sheibani Khan, summoned all his sons to attend him. He also sent Syed Afzul, the son of Syed Sultan Ali Khub-bin (the dreamer), to summons me. It appeared to me expedient to march towards Khwārizm 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 Andras from every quarter, with the intention of attacking so formidable an enemy as Sheibani Khan, 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 Jehangir Mirza having shown his hostility, it became necessary either to remove his animosity, or to repel his aggressions.

This year Sheibani Khan besieged Hussain Sufi in Khwārizm, 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 Khwārizm displayed many deeds of consummate bravery, and distinguished themselves by their gallant exertions; they discharged their arrows with such force that often they pierced through both shield and mail, and frequently right through the double entrails. For ten months was the siege protracted; when, there being no hope of succour from any quarter, some mean and destitute wretches among the inhabitants, having lost heart, entered into an understanding with the Uzbek, and introduced them into the fortress. Hussain Sufi, 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 Sufi, who never hesitated for a moment, in the midst of danger and distress, gallantly to expose his life at the call of duty.

Sheibani Khan having committed Khwārizm to the care of Kuchak-bi, himself repaired to Samarkand.

In the latter part of this year, in the month of Zillajeh, Sultan Hussain Mirza, when he had collected an army for the purpose of acting against Sheibani Khan, and had advanced as far as Baha Ilahi, was called to the mercy of God.

He was born in the year 542 at Heri, in the time of Shab-rokh Mirza. Sultan Hussain was the son of Mansur, the son of Bakhra, the son of Omar-Sheikh, the son of Amir Taimur. Mansur Mirza and Bakhra Mirza never mounted the throne. His mother was Firdaus Begum, a grand-daughter of Taimur Beg. Sultan Hussain Mirza was also the grandson of Miranahab. 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, Bakhra Mirza, Sultan Hussain Mirza, Aka Begum, and another sister, whom Ahmed Khan married. Bakhra Mirza, though elder than Sultan Hussain Mirza, served under him, but did not attend in the Diwan. Except when in the Diwan, they were accustomed to sit on the same cushion. The younger brother bestowed on him

1 It will be remarked, that several of Sheibani's subjects are called Bi, as Kinner-bi, Kuchak-bi, &c. This title of bi is still given among the Uzbeks to the heads of families or clans.

2 The Ist of Zillajeh corresponds to the 25th April, 1569.
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 Mirzâ Lahâk. 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 Rubâis (quatrain):—

(Persian.) For a while I pinned myself on my virtuous life;
I yielded myself to my adherence to the rules of poetry:
When Love came, what became of Virtue and Devotion?
Thanks to God that I have proved myself.

There is a coincidence between these lines and a quatrain of the Mulla (Jami's). Latterly he went on the pilgrimage of Mecca. Bedelkub Begum was the Mirza's younger sister. She was given in marriage to Ahmed Khan, the Khan of Haji Térkhân. She had two sons by him, who came to Heri, and were long in the Mirza's service.

He had strait narrow eyes, his body was robust and firm; 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 woolled clothes. He usually wore a cap of black lamb's skin, or a kilpak. Now and then, on festival days, he put on a small turban tied in three folds, broad and showy, and having placed a plume nodding over it, went in this style to prayers.

On first mounting the throne, he took it into his head that he would cause the names of the twelve Imams to be recited in the Khâtbeh. Many used their endeaours 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 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 Kári. 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 Khurâsan, not a day passed in which he did not drink after midday prayers, but he never drink wine in the morning. His sons, the whole of the soldiery, and the towns'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 Haji Térkhân, chief of the Kárika.—Zepou. The reading in the text is that of the other manuscripts. Haji Térkhân is the proper name of Astrakhan.

2 This was a proof that he was then a Shi'a. The Khâtbeh is the prayer for the prince.

3 The word perfum may be explained in speaking of Moslem prayers, as a great part of them consists in ceremonial readings and prayers. Hence the disease in his joints made it difficult for Sultan Hámân Mirza to observe the injunctions of the law.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

He often engaged sword in hand in fight, may, frequently distinguished his prowess hand to hand several times in the course of the same fight. No person of the race of Timur Beg ever equalled Sultan Hussain Mirza in the use of the semyar. He had a turn for poetry, and composed a Diván. He wrote in the Turki. His poetical name was Hussaini. Many of his verses are far from being bad, but the whole of the Mirza’s Diván 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.

One of his exploits was on the banks of the river of Kūr-kān,1 when he plunged into the stream, passed it, and completely routed a party of Uzbeks. Another was, when Sultan Abū’l-Muzaffar Mirza nominated Muhammed Ali Bakhshī 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 Mahmūd Mirza at Astarābād, and defeated him. He had also another fight at Astarābād, when he beat Hussain Turkomân Sadrillīk. Another of his battles was after mounting the throne, when he engaged and routed Yādgār Muhammed Mirza in Khābūrān. Another of his exploits was when, passing the bridge of the Murghāb,2 he proceeded by forced marches, and surprised and took prisoner Yādgār Muhammed Mirza, who was lying in a state of intoxication in the Bagh-Tāghān (or Raven Garden),3 after a debauch, and by this success gained the undisturbed possession of Khurāsān. Another of them was at Chekman, in the vicinity of Andekhān and Shaboqghān,4 where he encountered and defeated Sultan Mahmūd Mirza. Another of them was, when Abābeker Mirza came from Irāk, accompanied by the Turkomans of the Black-sheep,5 defeated Ulugh Beg Mirza in Takāneh and Klinār, and took Kābul, which he abandoned in consequence of the confusions in Irāk, passed by way of Kīābāb, traversed the territory of Khābūrān,6 and Multān, and entered Sīvī,7 from whence he proceeded and occupied Kermān; but being unable to retain it, he again entered the country of Khurāsān, when Sultan Hussain Mirza came upon him by surprise, and took him prisoner. On another occasion, at the bridge of Chirāgh, he defeated Badšāh-az-zemān Mirza, one of his own sons. At another time he raised an army, with which he besieged Kandah, but was forced to abandon the siege; on another occasion he besieged Hisār, but not succeeding, he raised the siege. Another of his enterprizes was when he marched against Zāhlūn Beg’s country; the Darugha of Būst surrendered the place,8 but he could effect nothing farther, and was obliged even to abandon Būst and retreat. Sultan Hussain Mirza, though a great and warlike prince,
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-Nishab his son Budia-ez-zamn Mirza, who had advanced, accompanied by Shah Shujâ Beg, the son of Zâlûn Beg. On this occasion a singular coincidence occurred. Sultan Husain Mirza, having divided his army, had sent the main body towards Astarâbad. On the very day of the battle, the army that had been dispatched against Astarâbad returned and joined him; and the very same day, Sultan Mustâfed Mirza, from whom Hisâr had been wrested by Baiesangher Mirza, made his appearance from another quarter, and also joined Sultan Husain Mirza.

His dominions were that of Khorsâmân, which on the east has Balkh, on the west Bostam and Dâmghân, on the north Khwarizm, and on the south Khurâsân and Sistan. 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.

He had fourteen sons and eleven daughters who lived. The eldest of his sons was Badia-ez-zamn Mirza, whose mother was the daughter of Senjir Mirza of Merv.

Another was Shah Gherib 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 Ghûrî, and composed a diwan. He wrote verses both in Parsi and Türkî. The following is his:

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 Husain Mirza gave Shah Gherib the government of Heri for some time. He departed in his father's lifetime, leaving no son nor daughter.

Another was Mura'âf Hussein Mirza, who was the favourite son of Sultan Husain 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. Khâtûn Beg, who had been a concubine of Sultan Abusâf Mirza's, was the mother of the two last-mentioned Mirzaas. She had likewise a daughter by the Mirza, named Ak Begum.

Another of his sons was Abul Husain Mirza. Another was Kepck Mirza, as he was generally called, but his name was Muhammad Mokhâs Mirza. The mother of these two was Latifch Sultan Aghâsheb.

Another was Abu Tebruz 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, Muhammad Husain Mirza. He there renounced the profession of arms, and betook himself to that of a dervish. I never heard of him afterwards. He had one son, Sofûb

1 The Fair Princess — Leyla.

* Kepck Mirza, from being round-shouldered — Leyla.
Mirza, who was in my service when I defeated Khamzeh Sultan, Mehadi Sultan, and the other Sultans, and took Hisär. 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 Asterābd, where Najm Sānī inflicted on him comign punishment for his misdemeanors.

Another son was Muḥammad Ḥussain Mirza. He and Shāh ʻImād1 were once imprisoned in the same place in Irāk, at which time he became one of Shāh ʻImād’s disciples, and from that period was a rank heretic. Although his father, his elder brother, and his younger brothers, were all orthodox Sūnnis, he continued a blind and confirmed Rāfī (heretic) till his death in Asterābd. 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-blitten?
From the sable of whose warm heart art thou thus bathed in perspiration?

Another was Feridūn Ḥussain Mirza. He was a powerful archer, and an excellent marksman. They say that his ghudcheh (or double-stringed bow) required forty men’s weight to make the cars meet. He was himself a man of bravery, but not fortunate in battle. He was best wherever he engaged. At Rehā ’al-Dīn, Feridūn Ḥussain Mirza, and his younger brother Ebn Ḥussain Mirza, engaged Taimūr Sultan and Ulıbud Sultan, and were defeated. On that occasion, Feridūn Ḥussain Mirza distinguished himself by his strenuous exertions. At Dūmhán, Feridūn Ḥussain Mirza and Muḥammad Zalim Mirza2 fell into the hands of Sheibāk Khan. He killed neither of them, but set them at liberty. Afterwards, when Shāh Muḥammad ʻAlwānah fortified Kilāth for a siege, he repaired thither; and when the Uzbeks took Kilāth, was made prisoner, and put to death. These three last-mentioned princes were all by Mingu-bī Aghācheh, an Uzbek concubine of the Mirza’s.

Another was Haider, whose mother was Pasandeh Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan ʻAlwān Mirza. In his father’s lifetime he for some time enjoyed the government of Meshhīd and Balkh. At the siege of Hisār, Sultan Ḥussain Mirza betrothed this son to the daughter of Sultan ʻAlwān Mirza by Khvānasādah Begum, concluded a peace, and raised the siege of Hisār. By her he had one daughter, called Shād Begum, who lived to grow up. She latterly came to Kābul, and was given to Aḥmad Sultan. Haider Mirza also departed this life before his father.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Mirza, to whom Kandahār was given by his father, Sultan Ḥussain 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

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1 Shāh ʻImād was the founder of the Safi dynasty in Persia. He was a Šī‘a Shi‘a, and a man of great learning and piety.
2 That is, he became a Šī‘a.
3 If the Tahiris saw this, there would be about 300 poons.
4 A son of Tahir-er-Saamīn Mirza.
5 This is the Kīlaṭ in Khwāna, famous as the birth-place of Nadīr Shāh.
erected a magnificent pavilion for the occasion. Though he bestowed Kandahar on this prince, yet everything that was done, be it black or be it white, was done by Shah Beg Argili; the Mirza had neither power nor influence in the matter; for which reason he would not continue at Kandahar, but returned to Khorasan, where he died in his father's lifetime.

Another was Farukh Husein Mirza, who did not reach any great age, and did not survive his younger brother Ibrahim Husein Mirza.

Another was Ibrahim Husein 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.

Another was Eln Husein Mirza, who, with Muhammad Kāsim Mirza, will be mentioned in the sequel. The mother of these five Mirzas was Papa Aghachah, who was a concubine.

His eldest daughter was Sultanum Begum, who had no brother or sister of the full blood. Her mother, Joli Begum, was the daughter of one of the Bega of the Arak. Sultanum 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 Miangri Baikra Mirza, by whom she had one son and one daughter. This daughter was given to Jam Kuli Sultan, the younger brother of Dildar Sultan, one of the Shahin Sultans. Sultan Muhammad Mirza, on whom I have conferred the government of Kandahar, is the son of this marriage. Sultanin Begum set out along with her grandson for Hindostān, but expired at Nilab on the journey. Her attendants returned back with her remains, while her grandson continued his route and joined me.

Again, by Pairendeh Sultan Begum, Sultan Husein Mirza had four daughters. The eldest of them was Ak Begum, who was married to Muhammad Kāsim Arlat, the grandson of Begah Begum, Baber Mirza's younger sister. By him she had one daughter, named Karakuz Begum, (the black-eyed princess), who was married to Nādir Mirza. The second of the daughters was Kechek Begum. Sultan Mua'īd Mirza was extremely attached to her, but whatever efforts he made, Pairendeh Sultan Begum, having an aversion to him, would not consent to the match. She was afterwards married to Mūlā Khwājeh, who was of the family of Syed Aṭa. The third sister, Begah Begum, and the fourth, Agha Begum, were given to Baber Mirza, and Sultan Mūrid Mirza, the sons of his younger sister Rablat Sultan Begum.

By Mangleh-bi Aghachah he had two daughters; the elder was given to Syed Abdulla Mirza, who was descended of the Syeds of Andkhād, and the grandson, by a daughter, of Baikra Mirza. She had one son named Syed Berkeh. When I took Sūdurehān, he came and entered my service. He afterwards went to Urga, and aspired to the sovereignty. The Kezeliushahs slew him in Andkhād. The name of

1 Chāde-bih.
2 Probably Baber Mirza, the grandson of Shahrok Mirza, who was for several years King of Khurasan, and whose transactions in Khurasan, Persia, and Khazariah, make a great figure in the history of the time. This able prince died in 1437.
3 This is evidently a different Baber Mirza from the one last mentioned.
4 In Khawarij.
5 The Kezeliushahs, or red hounors, are the Persians, so called from a red cap worn by their soldiers.
the other daughter was Fatimah Sultan. She was married to Yadgar Muhammad Mirza, who was of the line of Taimur Beg.

By Papa Aghacheh he had three daughters. The eldest was Sultan Nizad Begum. Sultan Hussain Mirza gave her in marriage to Sekander Mirza, the younger son of his elder brother. The second daughter was Begum Sultan, who was bestowed on Sultan Mas'ud 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 Apak Begum, one of Sultan Hussain Mirza’s ladies. She came to Kabul from Heri, and Apak married her to Syed Mirza. After the Uzbeks had put to death Mas'ud 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 Andekhül, well known under the name of Syed Mirza.

He had one other daughter, called Aisha Sultan, by a concubine. Her mother was Zobeidah Aghacheh, the grand-daughter of Hussain Sheikh Taimur, of the race of the Shahans Shultans. This daughter was given in marriage to Kasim Sultan. By him she had one son, Kásím Hussain, who came to Hindostán, entered into my service, and was in the holy war against Rama Sanka. I gave him the government of Badhán. After Kásim Sultan, she married Burna Sultan, one of his relations, by whom she had another son named Abdallah Sultan, who is at present in my service, and although young, acquires himself very respectfully.

The first wife whom he married was Begah Sultan Begum, the daughter of Senjer Mirza of Merv. By her he had Badia-ex-zamân Mirza. She was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted Sultan Hussain Mirza beyond endurance, till the Mirza, driven to extremities by her inauderable 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, make a hell on earth! *

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!

Another of his wives was Jull Begum, the daughter of one of the chiefs of the Asaks, by whom he had Sultanum Begum.

Another was Shcher-biit Begum, the daughter of Sultan Abusaid Mirza, whom he married after he ascended the throne. At the battle of Chekman, when all the Mirza’s ladies descended from their litters and mounted on harsack, this princess, relying on her younger brother, did not leave her litter nor take to horse. This was reported to the Mirza, who thereupon divorced her, and married her youngest sister, Pakuleh Sultan Begum. After the Uzbeks took Khurman, Pakuleh Sultan Begum went to Irák, where she died in distress.

Another was Khadijeh Begum, who had been a concubine of Sultan Abusaid Mirza, and bore him one daughter, who was named Ak Begum (the Fair Lady). After the defeat of Sultan Abusaid Mirza in Irák, this lady came to Heri, where

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* The battle of Chekman was fought between Sultan Hussain Mirza, and Sultan Mahmud Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Abusaid Mirza, and the brother of Shcher-biit Begum.
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 Gherib Mirza and Mozaffar Hussain Mirza.

Another of his wives was Apak Begum, by whom he had neither son nor daughter. Papa Aghâchêh, who was so much attached to her, was her foster sister; having no children herself, she brought up the sons of Papa Aghâchêh 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 Chandurî, I learned that, at Kâbul, she had departed to the mercy of God.

Of Sultan Hussain Mirza's concubines, one was Latif Sultan, by whom he had Abul Hassan Mirza, and Kepêk Mirza.

Another of them was Menghê-bî Aghâchêh, who was an Uzbek, and one of Shekerbânu Begum's people. She was the mother of Abu Terân Mirza, of Muhammed Hassain Mirza, and of Ferîdîn Mirza. She had also two daughters.

Another of them was Papa Aghâchêh, the foster-sister of Apak 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.

Another was Begi Sultan Aghâchêh, by whom he had neither son nor daughter. 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 Islam like Heri; yet it is remarkable, that of his fourteen sons,\(^2\) only three were legitimate. The consequences of vice and delinquency manifested their baleful influence on himself, his sons, his tribes, and horde (its and ulises). 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 Amirs, one of them was Muhammed Berendik Birlâ, who was descended of Jâkâ Birlâ; his genealogy runs thus:—Muhammed Berendik,\(^4\) the son of Jehân-shah, the son of Jâkâ Birlâ. He was first a Beg in the service of Bâber Mirza, and was afterwards in high favour with Sultan Ahâmad Mirza,\(^5\) who gave Kâbul to him and Jehangir Birlâ, and appointed him governor to his son Ulugh Beg Mirza.\(^6\) After the death of Sultan Ahâmad Mirza, Ulugh Beg Mirza formed designs to rid himself of the two Birlâs; but they, having discovered his plans, plac'd him under custody, moved away with their is and ulises, and marched for Kandah. On reach-

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1: This young prince was the son of Bâdî-ur-ramân Mirza, the eldest son of Sultan Hussain Mirza.
3: This prince was in Bâber's service in India.
4: In the empire of the Tarkhân the following son,—Muhammed Ferîdîn bôl: Muhammed Kali Khan bôn Mirza Ali bôl Børnâl Birlâ.—Lopez.
5: The grandfather of Bâber.
6: Afterwards King of Kâbul.
ing the top of Hindú-kush, they sent back the Mirza in the handsomest manner to Kábul; while they themselves proceeded on to Khurasán to Sultan Hussen Mirza, who gave them the most favourable reception. Muhammad Berendák Beg was a very prudent and wise man, and incomparably the first in distinction at the court of Hori. 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." Another of his Amirs was Mozaffar Birzás, who attended him in all his wars. I know not in what manner he contrived to ingratitude 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 he 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 Amirs 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 preserved the more on it, and behaved furtively. 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.

Another of them was Ali Shír Beg Nawí, who was not so much his Amir as his friend. In their youth they had been schoolfellows, and were extremely intimate. I know not for what offence he was driven from Hori by Sultan Abulád Mirza; but he went to Samarkand, where he remained for several years, and was protected and patronised by Ahmad Haji Beg. Ali Shír Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners; and this elegance and politeness 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 Shír Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Türkí language, no man has written so much and so well. He composed six mesnevis in verse, five in imitation of the Khámsah (of Nizámí), and one in imitation of the Mantık-ut-teir (the Speech of the Birds). This last he called Líshá-ut-teir (the Tongue of the Birds). He also composed four diváns of ghurás (or odes), entitled, The Singularities of Infancy, The Wonders of Youth, The Marvels of Manhood, and The Benefits of Age. 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 Khámsah, or Five Poems of Nizámí, are: the Mekháré-ud-dín, in Magnanimity of Soul; the Khánsamah, the Lives of Khusráu and Sháh Isá; the Láli-Majhlá, the Loves of Láli and Majnú; the Sáámá-í-náma, the Alexandriát; and the Khídrbárrám, Azíbí’s Intricacies to Alexander. Some copies have the Hufí-írá, or Seven Statutes, instead of the Khídrbárrám. Nizámí, who was one of the most eminent poets of Persia, died about A.D. 1199.

2 The Mantık-ut-teir was written by the celebrated Sháh Firdúsí, whose name, better known in Europe as the author of a Persian Alphabet.

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Mouhàna Abdal-rahman Jâmì, 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-Anzân (the Measure of Measures), on Prosody, in which he is very incorrect; for, in describing the measures of twenty-four cubais (quatrain), 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 diwan in Persian, and in his Persian compositions he assumed the poetical name of Fâmi. 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 Kâli Mohammed, the celebrated Sheikhi, and Hussain Aðdi, 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 Bezâzâd and Shah Munzafer 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 affected 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 signs; 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 Hassân 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 complaints was highly applicable to his situation:—

(Târîh.)—I perish of a mortal disease, though I know not what it is;
In this disease, what remedy can physicians administer?

Another of Sultan Hassân's Begs was Wâli Beg, who was of the race of Hâji Seif-Wâli Beg-od-dìn Beg. He was one of the Mirza's principal Begs, but did not long survive that Prince's accession to the throne.

Another of them was Sheikhs Hassan Tâmir, who had been in high favour with Baber Mirza, by whom he was elevated to the rank of Beg.

Another of them was Novân Beg. His father was of the Syeds of Termâr, 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. When

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1 The Persian diwan is a series of poems, in which each letter of the alphabet in turn furnishes the rhyme.
2 Every Persian poet has a real or poetical name, which he introduces into the last couplet of each ode.
3 One of Sultan Abusaîd's sons, and king of Samarkand.
he went to Sultan Hussein Mirza, he was received by him with marked favour and promoted. He was a profligate, jolly, drinking, debauched libertine. Hassan Yākub, from having been in his father’s service, was frequently called Hassan Nevān.

Another was Jehangir Bīrlā, who was for some time joint governor of Kāhul with Muhammad Burendīk. He afterwards went to the court of Sultan Hussein 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 Badisa-xe-zemān Mirza. He never forgot that Prince’s attachment to him, and always spoke of him in terms of praise.

Another was Mirza Ahmad Ali Fārsī.

Another was Abdal Khālīk Beg, whose grandfather, Firoz-Shāh Beg, having received high marks of favour from Shalrokhi Mirza, this nobleman was from him called Abdal Khālīk Firoz-Shāhī. He held the government of Khwārazm for some time.

Another of them was Ibrāhīm Dulākī, who was profoundly skilful in the revenue accounts, and in the course of public business. He was a second Muhammed Burendīk.

Another was Zālūn Arghūn, a brave man. He distinguished himself above all the other young warriors, in the presence of Sultan Aba Said Mirza, by his use of the scimitar, 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 Hussein Mirza, who conferred on him the government of Ghūr 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 Hazāras 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 Zemīn-Dāwīr. His son Shah Shuja Arghūn, though a boy, accompanied his father in his expeditions, and sword in hand displayed great valour. Sultan Hussein Mirza, to gratify the father’s feelings, gave Kandahār 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 Khoster Shah, and separated him from his adherents and retainers, I likewise took Kāhul from Mokhm, the youngest son of Zālūn Arghūn; in consequence of which, Zālūn and Khoster Shah, being both reduced to great difficulties, repaired to Sultan Hussein Mirza’s court. After the demise of Sultan Hussein Mirza, Zālūn rose to very high rank, and the countries on the Dasnakht (skirts of the mountains) of Herī, such as Ushā and Chakhcherūn, were given to him. He was Badisa-xe-zemān’s prime adviser, as Muhammed Burendīk Bīrlā was Mizraḥī Mirza’s. Though a man of courage, he was ignorant, and somewhat crazed.

—The country of Zemīn-Dāwīr lies west of Kandahār, on the right bank of the Helmund, reaching from Sīrādus, under the Hazāra hills, to the Helmund.

—Ushā lies about one degree east of Herī; Chakhcherūn lies four degrees east by south among the Hazāra hills.
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 Hari, several Shaikhs and Mullahs came and told him that they had had an intercourse with the spheres, and that the title of Hezberger-ulla (the Lion of God) had been conferred on him, that he was destined to defeat the Uzbek, and make them all prisoners. He, implicitly believing all this flattery, tied a kesheef round his neck, and returned thanks to God. When Sheibah Khan fell upon the Mirzae in the territory of Badghis, prevented their junction and discomfited them, Zulfiqer was in Kara Rebat with a hundred or a hundred and fifty men, and relying on this prediction, boldly kept his ground and made hard against Sheibah Khan. No sooner had Sheibah's numerous troops come up, than this small body was surrounded and taken on the spot. Zulfiqer 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. He played without art, just as his fancy suggested. He was the slave of avarice and meanness.

Another of the nobles was Derwisch Ali Beg, who was the younger brother of the Berke, full blood of Ali Shir Beg, and for some time held the government of Balkh, which he managed creditably. He was, however, a middle-brained, wrong-headed, dull man. Sultan Hussain Mirza, when he first advanced against Kunduz and Hisar, 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 Kunduz, he came 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 Shir Beg.

Another of them was Meghan Beg, who for some time possessed the government of Meghana Heri, and afterwards got that of Astarabad. From Astarabad he fled to Irak to Yakub Beg. He was of a low turn, and eternally gambling with dice.

Another was Syed Bester, who was a man of great strength, and of very great abilities. He was highly skilful 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 Mirzae's immediate service, was his boon companion, and his comrade in his drinking-bouts.

Another was Sultan Jomaid Birhus, who latterly went into the service of Sultan Ahmad Mirza. This is the Sultan Jomaid Birhus whose father is at present associated with him in the government of Jomuir.

Another was Sheikh Ahmad Khan Der-mian (in the midst). I do not know whether it was from having brought the Mirzae's horse in the middle of a fight, or from warding off the blow of an enemy by interposing between him and the Mirzae, that he gained this appellation.

Another was Behshad Beg, who at first served in the band of young soldiers. As Behshad Beg.
he did good service in the Mirza's expeditions, in reward of it, his name was inscribed on the Teughan and Sikka.¹

A. Another was Sheikhman Beg. As he bore the poetical name of Shekilli, he was generally called Sheikhman Shekilli. 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 arrows of the night, the whirlpool of my sighs bears the firmament from its place;
The dragon of the inundation of my tears tears down the four quarters of the habitable world."

It is well known that, on one occasion, having repeated these verses to Maulana Abdul Rahman Jamî, the Mulla said, "Are you repeating poetry, or terrify ing folks?"

He composed a Divan, and was likewise the author of various Meemans.

Another was Muhammad 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 alasted 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 Mir invites and calls in to him five or six scabbled, liilind 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 Bega only serves to enflame their want of liberality. The food and distributions of victuals made by Muhammad 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, loud-tongued man. When I took Samarkand in the year 1017, Muhammad Wali Beg, and Bâ'âd; Ali Khiobadar (the librarian), were with me. At that time he had been struck with a palsy, and had no remain 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.

Another of Sultan Hussain Mirza's nobles was Bûda Ali, the Isâek-Agha (or Master of Ceremonies). He was at first in the service of Ali Shâh Beg, but afterwards, on account of his bravery, he was taken into the Mirza's service, and appointed Isâek-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.

Another was Bedrêdîn, who first served with Mirak Adbulrahiman, the Sudder (or Justiciary) of Sultan Averâd Mirza. He was a very active and humble man; it is said that he could leap over seven horses at once. He and Bûda Ali were intimate friends.

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 out of the highest rank.
² His name was Mir Ahmed Shekilli. The Arzâr Shekilli is dedicated to him.
Hummed Mirza took Haul, there was no man in higher estimation in his service than Ali Jelalur. Hassan Ali Jelalur was Grand Falconer to Sultan Hussein Mirza. He was a poet, and assumed the poetical name of Tafslil. He wrote many beautiful Kusheela, and was the most eminent of his age in that species of composition. When I took Sunan-kund, in the year 917, he joined me, and was in my service five or six a.d. 1511 years. He addressed to me some very fine Kusheela; he was an extravagant, shameless man, and kept catarinantes; he was everlastingly playing at dice, or at dices.

Another was Khwaja Abulka Marwari, who was at first Soldier, 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 Kanun (or Dulcimer). The mode of shaking on this instrument is his invention. He excelled in writing the various hands, and in particular wrote the Tahlik character in a very beautiful and superior manner. He was well versed in the epistolary style of composition. He was a very pleasant companion, and was also a poet. He assumed the poetical name of Bani, but his poetry fell far below his other merits, though he was an excellent critic in poetry. He was prodigal and debauched. From excess of sensual indulgence, he was attacked with leeds 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.

Another was Muhammad Syed Urwa. His father was Feroz Arghun, who, when Sultan Ahmad Mirza seized the throne, was a Beg of the first rank, and his prime advisor. At that time many brave young men signalized their courage. One of the most eminent of them was this Muhammad Syed Urwa. 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 Andhakand.

Mir Ali, the Mir Akhur (or Master of the Horse), was another. This was the man who sent a present to Sultan Hussein Mirza, and brought him to fall upon Valiger Mohamed Muhammad Mirza, with all his guards, and desecrates.

Another was Syed Husain Ujicarke, the son of Syed Ujicarke, and elder brother of Syed Yasef Beg. He had a son named Mirza Firodak, a man of great acquirements and talents, who joined me when I took Sunan-kund in 917. He was a poet, and though he wrote little, he wrote this little well. He was well acquainted with the use of the astrolabe, and the science of astronomy. He was an agreeable friend and companion. He was rather addicted to stims, and was noted in his corps. He fell in the battle of Ghajuran.

Another was Tengri Berdhi, of the Sunnabi tribe. He was an honest, brave man, and an accomplished swordsman. By a well-conducted surprise, he seized and car-

1 Khalsa-Berg.
2 The Sultan, or Chief Jelalur, is properly an acclamation, i.e., appearance. This title was given to his royal character, and entered into the numerary 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 and degree. 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 1511, in which Baber and his Persian auxiliaries were defeated and driven out of Bokhara.
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ried off, from the gates of Balkh, Nazir Behâder, Khozorn Shah's head man, as has been mentioned.

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 Balendür, Aned Beg and Tehemtin Beg, who were brothers, were also of the number. It was the daughter of this Tehemtin Beg whom Badlú-z-zemán Mirza married, and had by her Muhammed Zemán Mirza. Another was Ibrahim Chaghatâi; another Amir Omer-Beg, who was afterwards in Badlú-z-zemán's service. He was a brave, plain, honest man. A son of his, named Abul Fath, came to me from Irák, 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 Ismâil had conquered Irák and Azerbaijan, one was Abdal Bâki Mirza. He was of the race of Taimur Beg, by the Mirânedhi 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 Qâmar, 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 Khurasân. 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 Sulamí Begum, who was the mother of Muhammed Sultan Mirza.

Another of the later comers was Murád Beg Balendür.

As for the head of the Sehber, one was Mir Sir-Borchuch (the bare-headed Mir). He was from a village in Andejan. 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 Khurasân, 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 Amir Khnâjah, and in composing a fat-fetched, long-winded, improbable tale, an employment altogether absurd, and quite unworthy of his genius.

Another of them was Kemâled-din Hussain Kârigahâlî, who, though not a Sûfî, affected Sûfî principles. Many who affected these Sûfî principles gathered about Shir All 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 Mîdâds al-shadîk (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 lies, for example, represented some of the prophets,
and many mints, 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-din Hussain that Zulmiar Agha got the name of Hereber-ûllâs
(the Lion of God).

Of the Vazirs of Sultan Hussain Mirza, one was Majd-ed-din Muhammed, the son
of Khwâjeh Pir Ahmed Khwâzî, who was the chief counsellor in the Diwân of Shahr-
rokhi 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-din Muhammed held the office of Ferwândzi* (or issuer of the royal firmâns), he
went by the name of Mirzâ; the Mirza happened on one occasion to want a little mo-
ney, and sent for the officers of the Diwân, who told him, that there was none, and
that none could be got. Majd-ed-din, who was present, smiled; he Mirza asked him
the reason, and retired with him; when Majd-ed-din 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
Khurasân entirely under his management, and gave him the unlimited direction of
everything. Majd-ed-din, on his part, spared no pains nor labour, exerted his utmost
ability, and in a short time made both the peasants and soldiers contented and happy,
while he, at the same time, replenished the treasury, and rendered the country flour-
ishing and populous. He, however, conducted himself with so much 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 Nisâm-ul-mâlik was made Diwân in his place. In a short time, Nisâm-ul-mâlik
was in his turn seized and put to death, when Khwâjeh Afsâl was brought from Iraq
and appointed Diwân. At the time when I came to Khâbul, Khwâjeh Afsâl had been
made a Beg, and held the seal of the Diwân.

Another was Khwâjeh Afsâl, who, although he was not, like those who have been
mentioned, of the first rank nor Diwân, yet, in the whole extent of the Khurasân do-
minions, nothing was done without his advice. He was a man of piety, strictly ob-
servant 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.

The age of Sultan Hussain Mirza was certainly a wonderful age, and Khurasân.

*The Vâzîr was a sort of minister of finance. The Diwân was the office of revenue recepios and issues.
* A sort of chancellor.
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 Maulana Abdul Rahman Jani, 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 Mullah 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 allusion to his excellencies, into these humble pages, for a good man and a blessing.

Another was the Sheikhul-Islam, Seif-ed-Din Ahmed, who was descended of the stock of Mullah Sahel-ed-Din Taftazani, which for several generations had occupied the situation of Sheikhul-Islam in the kingdom of Khurasan. He was eminent for his knowledge, and particularly versed in the sciences of the Arabic, and the sciences dependent on theology. He was a man of great piety, and devoted to religion. Though of the sect of Shafi, he cherished persons of every persuasion. It is said, that for nearly seventy years he had never omitted the appointed prayers of the public worship. Shah Ismail, when he took Heri, put him to death, and he was the last of his family.

Another was Maulana Sheikh Husain. Although he was in his greatest eminence and celebrity in the time of Sultan Alauddin Mirza; yet, as he continued to flourish in the reign of Sultan Husain 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 Alauddin 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 Muhaddith with more ability. In consequence of the great favour in which he had been with Sultan Alauddin Mirza, this incomparable person was not harshly treated in the time of Sultan Husain Mirza.

Another was the Mullah-ul-Mulla Usman, who was from the village of Cheerki, which lies in the Tumult of Lahenger, one of the Tumults of Kuhel. As, in the time of Ulug Beg Mirza, when only fourteen years of age, he had commenced giving instructions as a teacher, he was denominated the Mother-born Mullah. When he was on his journey from Samarkand to Mecca, as he was passing through Heri, Sultan Husain 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

1 No local poet ever had a higher reputation than Jani. His poems are written with great beauty of language and versification, in a captivating strain of religious and philosophic metaphysics. He is not merely admired for his ability as a poet, but regarded as a man.
2 The sciences of the Arabs are those connected with grammar and rhetoric.
3 The Mullah is one of the first authors of his age.
4 The Mullahs take possession of all offices against good morals, such as drinking, gambling, intrigue, and where he is often shielded to with terror by the juridical acts of Persia. He had also the reputation of the master.
of Hjielad, but he never pretended to it. It was he who said, "When a man has learned anything, how can he forget it?" He had a most retentive memory.

Another was Mr Jumahuddin Michaldis (or the Traditioman), who, in the science of tradition, was unequalled in all the country of Khurasan. He is of a very advanced age, and is still alive at the present date.

Another was Mr Murtaz, who was well versed in the sciences of practical philosophy and of metaphysics. He received the name of Murtaz (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 skirt of the other's clothes to prevent his going away.

Another of them was Mulla Manshid, who was of Sherwane.

Another was Abdal Ghafir of Lar, who was both the scholar and disciple of Manshid Abdal Rahman Jami. He had read many of the Mulla's works, under his immediate guidance, and wrote a sort of exposition or commentary on the Nukhbat (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 unassuming man. If any person had but the name of a Mulla, he was never ashamed to take out a section of any work, and enter into discussion with him; and if any dervish 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 Khurasan, Mulla Abdal Ghafir was sick, and when I went and circumambulated the Mulla's shrine (Jami's), I at the same time went and inquired after the health of Mulla Abdal Ghafir. He was at that time in the Mulla's College. A few days afterwards, he died of the disease of which he was then ill.

Another of them was Mr 'Ain-Allah of Meshhid, who was well versed in Arabic Literature. He wrote a treatise in Persian, on the Kafirn (rythms or verses), 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 Bahlil-Şahid (the wonders of metre). He was not quite orthodox in his religious opinions.

Another was Kazi Ekhtiliar, who executed the duties of Kazi with great propriety.

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8 The rank of Mujtahid, which is not bestowed by any individual or class of men, but which is the result of slow and imperceptible opinion, generally prevailing and universally acknowledged, is one of the greatest peculiarities of the religion of Persia. The Mujtahid is supposed to be divested above human laws and federal conceptions, and to have a certain degree of infallibility and inspiration. He is consulted with reverence and ease. There is not always a Mujtahid necessarily existing.—See Encyclop., art. Eurashia.

9 The works of the Mulla Jami 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.

10 This is a poem of Jami's, written on the principle of the Sufis, or Mytics Latitudinarians.

11 I have now by me a small Persian manuscript, containing anecdotes of Jami, by his friend Mullah Abdal Ghafir Lar.
He wrote a treatise, in Persian, on Jurisprudence. It is an excellent treatise. He formed a collection of passages, for the purpose of elucidating and explaining the texts of the Korân. When I met the Mirza at Murghab, Kazi Ekhtiar and Muhammad Mir Yusuf 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.

Another was Muhammad Mir Yusuf, the scholar of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and afterwards his successor. In many parties, Kazi Ekhtiar had the upper place; and in others, Muhammad Mir Yusuf. He finally was so much carried away and inflamed by his fondness for soldierish 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 scind his wealth, his life, his family, and his reputation.

Of the poets of Sultan Husain Mirza's court, the most distinguished and the most eminent by far, was Mouhamec Abd al Rahman Jama. Sheikhm Schelli, and Hassan Ali Tofeit Jelahir, whose names and characters have been mentioned in the short account which has been given of Sultan Husain Mirza's principal Bega and courtiers, were also distinguished as poets.

Another of the poets was Asef, who was the son of a Vazir, whence he obtained the poetical name of Asef. 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 with the intention of collecting them." This was probably mere ostentation. His odes were collected by his friends, and those about him. He wrote few poems except odes. When I went to Khorasun, he waited on me.

Another of them was Bina of Herat, whose father's name was Ustad Muhammad Selim Bina, whence he himself derived his poetical name. His odes possess both colouring of style, and enthusiasm, and he composed a Divan. He also wrote Mesnevis, among which there is one on the qualities of fruits, in the Mekuehr measure. It is a sorry composition, of no value. Another of them was a short Mesnevis in the Khajif measure; and another of greater extent, also in the Khajif measure; this last he completed in his latter days. At first he was acquainted with the science of music, and Ali Shih Beg had taunted him with his ignorance; but, one year, the Mirza having spent a winter at Merv, whither he was accompanied by Ali Shih Beg, Bina remained

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**Notes:**

1. Baber.
2. Merv.
3. Asef was a great scholar and poet.
4. Baber's famous year, 1326.
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-râng (or nine measure). The parts of this Nuh-râng, 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 manifestation; and finally, being unable to maintain his ground, went to Irâk and Aulkhanjan to Yakub Beg, by whom he was well received, and became his companion in all his parties. After the death of Yakub 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 hinderparts of Binaî; 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 Binaî, "without coming in contact with a poet's backside!" At last his sarcasm drove Binaî from Heri, and he went to Samarkand. 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 Shîr. 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 Shîr fashion. When Binaî left Heri for Samarkand, as he was setting out, he ordered rather an uncommon sort of pad for his use, and called it the Ali Shîr pad. The Ali Shîr pad became common, and is now well known.

Another was Suî Bokhari, who was a tolerable Mulla. He used to point to the numerous volumes he had read, as a proof of his undoubted claim to the title. He composed a Diwan. There is another Diwan of his which he composed for the use of tradespeople. He wrote many tales; but left no Mesnevi, as may be gathered from the following verses:

(Proem.) 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 Khamashas.

He left a Persian Prosody, which is very brief in one respect, and profuse in another. It is brief as it has omitted to treat of several useful and difficult subjects; and profuse 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 Aulacs 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 Khamash is a collection of five poems written in the Mesnevi style. Several Persian poets have composed Khamashas.
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.

Another was Abdallah Mesnevi (the Mesnevi writer), who was of Jâm. He was the nephew of the Mulla by his sister. He took the poetical name of Hâfez. He wrote some Mesnevis in emulation of the Khamsa. He also composed the Timur-nama in rivalry to the Hâfiz-Paiker (or seven stanzas). Of his Mesnevis, the best known is the Ladi-Mejmû, though its excellence does not equal its reputation.

Another was Mîr Husein Maamâh (the Enigmatis). None perhaps ever equalled him in his riddles and riddles. His whole time was spent in devising enigmas. He was a humble, unpretending man, and, in his way, incomparable man.

Another was Mulla Muhammad Badakhshi, who was from Ishkémish. Ishkémish is not in Badakhshan, 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. 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.

Another was Yisef Budînâl, who was from the country of Ferghâna, and composed very respectable Kaschids.

Another was Abî, who wrote pretty good Ghazels. He latterly went and lived with Ebn Husein Mirza. He composed a Divân.

Another was Muhammad Salikâh, He wrote sweet Ghazels, but their correctness is not equal to their sweetness. He also composed verses in the Târki tongue, and good ones. He finally went to the Khân's court, and was received with every kind of favour. He wrote a Târki Mesnevi, which he addressed to Shâhâh Khân, in the measure of Remân-mânaâs-Majmûâ, which is that of the Salîkh (of Jâm). It is very dull and flat. One soon gets tired of reading Muhammad Salikâh's poems. One good couplet of his is the following:

Tambul (Dobber) has gained the land of Ferghâna,
He converts Ferghâna into a Tambul-Khanâb (i.e., a Khanate).

The country of Ferghâna is also called Tambal-Khanâb. I am not quite certain, however, that this couplet is to be found in his Mesnevi. He was wretched, tyrannical, and unfeeling.

Another was Shâh Husein Khâmî. His poems are very fair. He composed Ghazels, and also wrote a Divân.

Another was Hîfîlî, who is still alive. His Ghazels are correct and elegant, but leave little impression behind. He also wrote a Divân, and a Mesnevi entitled Shah-

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1. Jâm. Jâm is a considerable city in Khurasân, from which that poet had his name.
2. It lies south of Kuselâ.
3. One of the secrets of the succession of good; and bad fortune is nothing; "The fortune of men is like a sand-glass; one hour up, the next down."—See D'Herbelot, in his article.
4. The Kasch is a particular species of Ota.
5. The Khamsa is a particular species of Persian verse.
6. The Sâhchâs-at-shâzil, or Rosary of the Virtuous, is a mystic poem of Jâm's.
va-Dervish (the king and the Dervish), in the Khâfî measure: although many verses in it are excellent, yet the general plan of the 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. Hâlî 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 satanite, and an abandoned creature. So that the moral example afforded by this Mevori of his is, that of a young man, a king, acting the part of a prostitute and satanite, 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 Khamsa was of great service to him, in regard to reciting and singing.

Another was Abîl, who could neither write nor read. His poems are excellent. Abîl He also composed a Divâh.

Although there were many beautiful penmen, yet the person who excelled all others Penmen in the Nastâlik character was Sultan Ali Meshhâdi. 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.

Of the painters or immers, the most eminent was Behrâd. He was a very elegant painter, but did not draw young, beardless faces well. He made the neck too large. Bearded faces he painted extremely well.

Another was Shah Mozaffer. He took likenesses very beautifully, but he did not live long, and died when he was rising to eminence.

Of the musicians, there was none performed on the Kânâm in a style to be compared with Kilwâjeh Abdallah Merwârî, as has been observed. Another was Kûl Muhammad Uni (the lutist). 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.

Another was Sheikh Nâjî (the flute-player). He also played well on the lute and guitar. From the age of twelve or thirteen, he played well on the flute. On one occasion he played an air beautifully before Badîi-eh-amânu Mirza on the flute. Kûl Muhammad attempted, but was unable to play it on the guitar. He said, "The guitar is an imperfect instrument." Sheikh immediately took the guitar out of Kûl Muhammad's hand, and played the same air completely and delightfully upon it. They tell of Sheikh, 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.

Another was Shah Kûl Ghechek (the performer on the ghechek or guitar). He was a native of Irâk, who came into Khurasân, and rose to fame by his excellence as a composer. He composed many tunes, preludes, and airs.

1 In the eastern countries in which no painting is used, the art of penmanship is a source of much higher distinction than in Europe at the present day.

2 Ghechek also signifies the damb-shin.

3 Fâhroz.

4 Ed or And, and Ghechek.

5 Nâjî.

6 Nâkû.

7 Tai-mudh.
Another was Hussain Udi (the lutanist), who played with great taste on one of his lutes and composed elegantly. He could play, using only one string of his lute at a time. He had the fault of giving himself airs when desired to play. On one occasion Shaikhani 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. Shaikhani 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 Shaikhani Khan did in his day; and indeed the infliction of such people deserves even severe punishment.

Ghalam Shadi was also a musical composer. He was the son of Shadi 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, and some finished pieces; there were few compositions of that day that could be compared to his. At last Shaikhani Khan sent him to Muhammad Amiri Khan Kora Khanji, since which, I have not heard of him.

Another was Mird Asri. He was not a performer, but composed. Though his productions are few, yet they are exquisite of their kind.

Binai was likewise a composer. He left many excellent ukesses and ukes.

Another peerless man was Pehlewani Muhammad Bunsli. He was unqualified as a wrestler. He was a poet too, and likewise composed various musical suites and ukes. He composed one beautiful (air or) uke in the Charigah key. He was an agreeable man in society. The degree of excellence which he reached in athletic exercises was quite wonderful.

When Sultan Hussain Mirza expired, Badshah Sir Sayyid Mirza and Mozaffar Hussain Mirza were the only Mirzas at banji. As Mozaffar Hussain Mirza was his favourite son, and as Muhammad Berendik Birli, the Emir and minister in chief, was so prince’s atkeh (or tutor), and as, besides, his mother Khadijah Begum had the most influence of all the Mirza’s wives, the greater part of the people who were about the Mirza gathered round Mozaffar Hussain Mirza, and looked up to him as his father’s successor. Badshah Sir Sayyid Mirza being alarmed at this, intended not to go to head-quarters. Mozaffar Mirza and Muhammad 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 so all due pomp, to Heri, where they interred him in his own college. At this time Zalman Beg was likewise on the spot. Muhammad Berendik Beg, Zalman Beg, and other Amirs, who had been with Sultan Hussain Mirza, and had accompanied the Mirza, having now met and consulted together, finally resolved to

\* The terms used are afe and uke.

\* For.

\* Particular kinds of musical pieces.

\* I have not been able to translate; with any degree of certainty, the musical terms used in the preceding pages. *Peshke* is a kind of similar to the *zhangeh*, *zhangeh* is a species of the *zhangeh*, *zhangeh*, and *afe* are names of various kinds. The same uncertainty prevails as to the musical instruments. *Af* is applied to any stringed instrument. The *afe* is an instrument with many strings, and is generally placed on the ground when it is played on. The *zhangeh* resembles our guitar, but has a large round body. *Af* is a pipe of flue.—See Kempfer’s *dissertatio* *Euripica*, p. 740.
place Badia-ex-zemán Mirza, with Mozaffer Hussain Mirza, on the throne of Heri, as joint kings. At the court of Badia-ex-zemán Mirza, Zalim Beg was prime minister, and Muhammed Berendük Beg held the same office in the court of Mozaffer Hussain Mirza. On the part of Badia-ex-zemán Mirza, Sheikh Ali Toghi was Darugh of the city; as Yusef Ali Gokhtahah was on the part of Mozaffer Mirza. This was a strange arrangement. A joint kingship was never before heard of. The well-known words of Sheikh Sadi in the Gulistan are very applicable to it: 

"Ten Dervishes can sleep on one rag; but the same climate of the earth cannot contain two kings."

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 912.

In the month of Moharrem, I set out for Khorsán, in order to oppose the invasion of the Ubecks, and advanced by way of Ghürbendi and Shibberda. As Jelangir Mirza had taken some disgust and fled from the country of Ghazni, I judged it proper, for the purpose of reducing the Aümáks in order, and to prevent the disaffected in the rising in revolt, to separate from our baggage and camp-followers in Uliter Shcher, (leaving Wali Khán and Duller 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 Zohák. Having proceeded thence by the Kotal or hill pass of Gümbezak, and descended by Sackán, we surmounted the Dendán Shekel pass, and encamped in the valley of Kühmurad. I sent on Sultan Muhammed Döthi, and Syed Afsel Khál-čín, with a letter to Sultan Hussain Mirza, to inform him of my approach from Kühmar.

Jelangir Mirza having lagged behind his men, when he came opposite to Bamián, went to see it, accompanied by twenty-three attendants. On approaching the place he observed the tents of my household, 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 disturbed by any consideration whatever, marched away, never looking behind him till he had reached the territory of Yeks-Aulung.

Meanwhile Sheihul Khan had laid siege to Bálch. Sultan Kalujjak commanded in the place. Sheihul Khan sent out two or three Sultanes, with three or four thousand men, to plunder the country of Badakshán. At that time Móbrék Shah Vásí had gone and joined Násir Mirza. 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 Khans of Khéchak ceased, and the country was depopulated. The conquest of the Ubecks in Māsarchahar and Khéchak probably derived great support from the wounding relics, drawn on that occasion from the their own settlements, just as the bullocks of barbarians into the Roman empire, in its decline, came from a similar cause.

2 This place lies to the west of Kühmar.

3 Or Qaghíf. These place lie between Bamián and Kühmar.

4 Teer-e-brechak.

5 The Derviss.

6 Yeks-Aulung is situated about thirty or thirty-five miles west from Bamián, among the hills.

7 Baber's brother.
encamped below Kishem, in Shakhdan, when the Uzbekos, towards morning, came by surprise on Nasir Mirza. Nasir Mirza drew off his men to the summit of a rising ground, and having rallied his troops, and blown his trumpets, attacked the Uzbekos at the moment they were advancing, and put them to the rout; 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. Muhammad Shah Vazir was encamped higher up than the Mirza, towards Kishem.

The Uzbekos, 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 Nasir Mirza had defeated those opposed to him, he learned this situation of things, and marched to attack the other division. The Amiris 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 Uzbekos 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 Uzbekos fell. This was a good exploit of Nasir Mirza. One of his men brought us the news when we were in the valley of Kehmir.

While we continued in that neighbourhood, my troops went out to forage, and collected grain from Ghuri and Delmers. In this same valley of Kehmir, I received letters from Syed Aflak and Sultan Muhammad Duldai, whom I had sent into Khorasan, containing intelligence of the death of Sultan Hassain Mirza. Nevertheless, I continued to advance to Khorasan, from a regard to the reputation of our family, though I had also other motives for advancing. Having passed through the valley of Tuk and Mandughon, and by the hill-passes of Balkh-Ab, we ascended the hill-country of Saf. Here, having learned that the Uzbekos were plundering Sia and Charyok, I dispatched Kastum 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 Jehangir Mirza and the Aimakas, I remained for some days in the height of the hill of Saf, waiting for their return. In this neighbourhood there are numbers of deer. I hunted one. In a few days all the Aimakas came out and acknowledged me. Though Jehangir Mirza had sent different persons to the Aimakas, and on one occasion had deputed Umuleddin Munsid 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 mountains of Saf, and to come down to the valley of Pad, to meet me and make his submissions. As I was occupied with the troubles of Khorasan, I did not see the Mirza, and did not care about the Aimakas. Having passed by Gurnewan, Ahmar, Kysar, and Chi-

1 Probably Kishem-Abad, about twenty-five miles from Dukh.
2 This, or Tuk, is between Ajer and the Balkh-Ab, or Delmers river.
3 These passes lie either more than a degree west of Kehmir, on the Balkh river.
4 Probably Charyok, on the road from the Balkh-Ab passes to Herat, about ten degrees west from the former, among the hills.
5 Probably the same as Aliak, summer quarters.
6 Gurnewan lies among the hills, at the source of the Murghab river. Ahmar and Chishkhan lie south of the hills on the road from Balkh to Herat. The Kysar river flows about twenty miles to the east of the Murghab, and is passed on the main line of road.
shikah, and proceeded by Ulam Fakhruddin, we reached a place called the valley of Bam in the dependency of Badghis. 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 lacs and Uluks. We imposed a contribution on the Turks and Aimaks of that quarter, and levied part of it. In the course of a month or two, we perhaps levied three hundred kepki tamanas.

A few days before my arrival, a plundering detachment of the Uzbek had been attacked in Pendah and Marubah, by a light armed force sent from Khurasan by Zulmán Beg, and completely routed. A number of the Uzbek were slain: Baiba-es-sanín Mirza, Moezefur Hussain Mirza, Mohammed Berendák Birlas, and Zulmán Argilán, with Shah Beg; Zulmán's son, having at length come to the resolution of marching against Sheibání Khan, who was besieging Sultan Kalañjak in Bakhsh, dispatched messengers to invite all the sons of Sultan Hussain Mirza to join them, and marched out of Heri in prosecution of this enterprise. By the time they reached Badghis, Ahul Mohsin Mirza advanced from Merv, and joined them at Chehil-dakhterín. Elam Hussain Mirza too, soon after joined them from Tim, and Kãen. Kapak Mirza, who was in Meshidh, though they sent to invite him, returned an unwilling answer, and in a cowardly way declined coming. He bore hostility to Moezefur Mirza, and alleged, that to join 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 quivering with efforts to oppose an enemy so formidable as Sheibání 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 sacrifice 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 it is 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 Mohammed Berendák Birlas himself arrived. What was to hinder me from joining them? I had marched two hundred farsangs 6 for that very purpose. I therefore went on along with Mohammed Beg. By this time the Mirzas had advanced as far as the Murgáb, where they were now encamped. On Monday, the 8th of the latter Jemnáli, I waited on them. Ahul Mohsin Mirza came out half a bow discharge 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 a little, and were some near the camp, Moezefur Mirza and Elam Hussain Mirza met me. They were younger than Ahul Mohsin Mirza, and ought therefore to have come out farther than he did to receive me. Probably their

1. Badghis lies to the west of north from Herat.
2. For the terms, see page 117.
3. Probably Perják and Murchah, which lie on the Murgab, the former on the left bank, the other on the right bank of that river, nearly a degree and a half north of Herat.
4. Tim and Kãen lie south-west of Heri, near the lake of Sistan.
5. Eight hundred miles.
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. Mozeefur Mirza having complimented me, we embraced and saluted each other on horseback. I then saluted Emir Hussain Mirza in the same way; after which, we proceeded to Badia-ez-zemán 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 Badia-ez-zemán Mirza’s Hall of State. It had been settled that immediately on entering, I was to bow, whenupon Badia-ez-zemán 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 Badia-ez-zemán Mirza, who rose up rather tardily to come to meet me. Kásim Beg, who was keenly alive to my honour, and regarded my consequence as his own, had 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 were spread in four places. In the state-tents of Badia-ez-zemán 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 Mozeefur Hussain Mirza. Another carpet was spread on the right of the porch in a kind of pavilion; Abul Mohsin Mirza and myself sat on it. Lower than Badia-ez-zemán’s carpet, on the left, was another carpet, on which Kásim Sultan Uzbek, one of the Shahán Sultans, who was the Mirza’s son-in-law, and father of Kásim Hussain Sultan, sat along with Emír Hussain Mirza. On my right, but lower down than the carpet which they had spread for me, another carpet was spread, on which Juhangír Mirza and Abdu Rízak Mirza were seated. Muhammad Berendik Beg, Zóliím Beg, and Kásim Beg, sat on the right, a little lower than Kásim Sultan and Emír 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 customarily observed the rules of Chingiz. 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 Chingiz. The institutions of Chingiz certainly possessed no divine authority, so that any one should be obliged to conform to them; every man who had 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 Shírás kés between my army and that of the Mirzas.

The second time that I came, Badia-ez-zemán Mirza was not so respectful as he had been the first time. I therefore sent for Muhammad Berendik Beg, and Zóliím Beg.

1 Tashák – carpets, or stuffed cushions for sitting or leaning on.
2 Ta-khâmí – perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing.
3 Abdu Rízak Mirza; it will be recollected, was the son of Elghán Beg Mirza, the last king of Khán.
4 Tách-chingiz. They are also called the Fáka Chingiz.
5 Káshí Séfí.
6 Nearly two miles.
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.

On another occasion, when I went to Badi-uz-azam, 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 kupabs of fowl, and of goose, and indeed dishes of every kind. Badi-uz-azam's entertainments were highly celebrated; and certainly this party was free, easy, and unconstrained. During the time I remained on the banks of the Marghah, 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 Messer Mirza's. Hassam Ali Julfar, and Mir Beder, who were in his service, were of the party. When the wine began to take effect, Mr Beder began to dance, and he danced excessively well. The dance was one of his own invention.

The Mirza had wasted three or four months in marching from Heri, in uniting their troops, and assembling their strength, before they reached the Marghah. Sultan Kulejmik, meanwhile, being reduced to great distress, surrendered the fort of Balkh to the Ushaks, who, having heard of the coalition against them, after taking Balkh, returned towards Samarkand. The Mirza, 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 Marghah, news came that Huk Nuser Chaps, with four or five hundred men, had advanced, and was plundering the territory of Chichikut.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 Marghah and Chichikut 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 Sheikz 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 strongly urged me also to winter in the territory of Khorassan. But as Kâbul and Ghazni were places much exposed to external violence and internal confusion, and as bodies of Turks, Moghuls, Aimiks, Wandering Tribes,3 Afghans, Hassâns, Ulu, and Uluass, were scattered over their territory in different directions; and as the nearest road between Khorassan 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,

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1 Chichikut lies east of the Marghah.
2 Forty miles.
3 Ikhshān.
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, Badia-ez-zemân Mirza and Abul Mohsin Mirza, with Mozaffer Mirza, came on horseback to my quarters, and urgently sought 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 invited me 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, and 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 Meov. Ela Hussain Mirza also set out for Tâm and Khan; while Badia-ez-zemân Mirza and Mozaffer Mirza returned to Heri. Two or three days after, I set out for the same city by way of Chahil-Dokhterân and Tabrâbât. The whole of the Begums, Payendeh Sultan Begum, my father's sister, Khadijeh Begum, Apâk Begum, and the other daughters of Sultan Abassal Mirza, my paternal aunts, were at this time not 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 Begun, and embraced her; I next saluted and embraced Apâk Begum; I then went and saluted Khadijeh Begum, and embraced her. I sat some time, while the readers were reading the Kûrân, and then rose and went to the Southern College, where Khadijeh 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 for my residence, and accordingly I next morning went and took up my quarters in it, and stayed there one night; after which, as I did not like the place, they gave me Ali Shir Bég's house, where I staid till I left Heri. Every two or three days I went to the Bagh-e-Jehân-ârâ, in order to perform the kornish to Badia-ez-zemân Mirza.

A few days after, I had an invitation from Mozaffer Mirza, who lived in the White Garden. Khadijeh Begum, after the dinner was removed, carried Mozaffer Mirza and myself to a palace which Baber Mirza had built, called Terekhyaan. In the Terekhyaan there was a drinking party. The Terekhyaan 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

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1. She was a widow of Sultan Hussain Mirza's. The salam was by bowing; literally, praying the kâne, or kânâtây, perhaps the old form.
2. The Musulmans employ a set of readers who succeed each other in reading the Kûrân at the tombs of their men of substance. 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.
4. The world-adorning Garden.
5. The kornish is performed to the supreme emperor alone, by making a certain number of bows, or prostrations. Badia-ez-zemân, on his father's death, was regarded as the chief prince of the house of Tamer.
apartments are four Shahmashins, or royal balconies. Every part of this hall is covered with paintings. Though Baber Mirza built this palace, the paintings were executed by orders of Sultan Alauddin Mirza, and represent his battles and wars. In the north end of the northern balcony, two carpets were placed facing each other. On one of them Mozaffer Mirza and I sat, on the other sat Sultan Masoud Mirza and Jelungir Mirza. As we were guests at Mozaffer Mirza's house, Mozaffer Mirza placed me above himself, and having filled up a glass of wine, 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, 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, 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 Khvâjeh Karâ, I remained pure and undisturbed. 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 me to invite me to gratify my wishes; nay, there was not one who even suspected my secret longings 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 Radha-uz-zaman 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 Radha-uz-zaman Mirza's, I should drink when pressed by the two Mirzas. At this party, among the musicians, was Hâfez Haji; Jebâl-ed-din Mahomad, the flute-player, was also there, and the younger brother of Mahomad Shah, Shâh Beshah, who played on the harp. Hâfez Haji sung well. The people of Heri sing in a low, delicate, and equal style. There was a singer of Jehangir Mirza's present, by name Mir Jan, a native of Samarkand, who always sung in a loud, harsh voice, and out of tune. Jehangir Mirza, who was for gone, proposed that he should sing. He
sang accordingly, but in a dreadfully loud, rough, disagreeable tone. The people of Khorasan value themselves on their politeness; many, however, turned away their ears, others knelt their brows, but, out of respect to the Mirza, nobody ventured to stop him. After the time of evening prayers, we went from the Terekhkhan to the new Winter-palace, which Mosef Mirza had built. By the time we reached it, Yusuf Ali Cokultasch, 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. Mosef Mirza gave me a sword and belt, a corset, and a whitish Tipeshk horse. In this palace Janik sang a Taurki song. Mosef Mirza had two slaves, called Kitterman and Kechekman. During the party, and while the company was hot with wine, they performed some inconsiderate, scurvy tricks. The party was kept up late, and did not separate till an un timely hour. I remained that night in the palace where I was.

Kha'm Beg, on hearing what had passed as to urging me to take wine, sent to remonstrate on the subject with Zul'mun 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. Badaa-ex-zemun Mirza, having heard of Mosef's entertainment to me, made a party in the Bagh-Johann-ara, in the Makevi-khan, 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 my 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 branch ing willow trees. I do not know if they were in the natural state of the trees, 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 handsome 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. Badaa-ex-zemun 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. Badaa-ex-zemun Mirza was unequalled in such kind of attentions. Towards the close of the party, he presented me with a rich enamelled dagger, a charokh, or kerchief of cloth of gold, and a Tipeshk horse.

During the twenty days that I stayed in Heri, I every day rode out to visit some new place that I had not seen before. My guide and providor in these visits was Yusuf Ali Cokultasch, who always got ready a sort of collation, in some suitable place where

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2. The Orientals generally have their meat dressed and brought to table, ready cut up into small pieces.
we stopped. In the course of these twenty days, I saw perhaps everything worthy of notice, except the Khanekeh (or convent) of Sultan Hussein Mirza. I saw the Bleaching-ground, the gardens of Ali Shir Beg, the Paper-mills, the Takht-Jasmeeh (or Royal Throne); the bridge of Käh, the Keh-dastan; the Bagh-e-Nezer-gah; the Namazgah-e-Maham; the Khâhân, or public pleasure-walks at the Bleaching-ground; the Khâtirat of Sultan Ahmad Mirza; the Takht-e-Sefer (or Sefer-Palace); the Takht-e-Nawâr; the Takht-e-Backir; the Takht-e-Hilji Beg; and the Takhts of Sheikh Behâeddin Umer, and Sheikh Zeineddin; the mausoleum and tomb of Mouhammed Abdal-rahman Jâni; the Namazgah-e-Mukhtar; the Fish-pond; the Sâk-e-Suleiman; Baluqerî, which was originally called Ahul Walid; the Imam Fakhr; the Bagh-e-Khâhân; the Colleges and Tombs of the Mirza; the College of Ghuber-shâh-begum, her Tomb, and her Grand Mosque; the Bagh-e-Zâghân (or Raven-Garden); the Bagh-e-nou (or New Garden); the Bagh-e-Zobâideh, or Zobeideh’s Garden; the Akseraî (or White Palace), built by Sultan Ahmad Mirza, which is situated close by the Irâk-Gate; Pûrin and Sâfeh-e-Sirendâzân (the Warrior’s Seat); Chirgh Alânik and Mir-Walid; the Bridge of Milân; the Khwâjeh-Tâk (Khwâjeh’s Porch); and Bagh-e-Sevid (White Garden); the Terek-khâna (Pleasure-House); the Bagh-e-Jehân-ârâ; the Kioske; and Makevi-Khaneh (or Mansion of Enjoyment); the Souni-Khâna (or Lily-palace); the Dalxzeh-Bârf, 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 Pircâbâd Gate, the Khud Gate, and the Kipelskâ Gate; the King’s-bazaar; the Chârâh (or great Public Market); the College of Sheikh-ul-Jâlûn; the Grand Mosque of the Kings; the Bagh-e-Shohêr (or City Garden); the College of Bidla-oz-zaman Mirza, which is built on the banks of the river Anjil; Ali Shir Beg’s dwelling-houses, which they call Unisa (or the Palace of Ease); his Tomb and Great Mosque, which they call Kadûs (or the Holy); his College and Khunkah (or Convent), which they call Khulâsî and Akhlasî (or the Pure); his Bath and Hospital, which they call Safaû and Shâfû (the Purifying and Healthful); all these I saw in the short space that I had to spare.
Some time before, while the country was in confusion, the younger daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza,1 Maadam Sultan Begum, had been brought into Khorasan by her mother Habibeh Sultan Begum. One day that I went to see my Aka,2 the young princess called along with her mother and saw me. She knew me for the place she conceived a strong attachment, and employed persons secretly to communicate her feelings to my Aka and my Yenka. I called Fursendeh Sultan Begum, Akam, and Habibeh Sultan Begum, Yenka.3 After some conversation, it was agreed that my Yenka should follow me with her daughter, and come to Kabul.

Muhammad Berenduk and Zulhun Beg had used every kind of entreaty, and exerted all their endeavours, to prevail on me to winter in Khorasan, 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 Kabul, 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 29th of Shaban, under pretence of going into winter-quarters. I marched to the neighbourhood of Badghis,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 leaving Langer-Mir Ghiils, we saw the moon of Ramlám.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 Kabul; several staid behind altogether, and entered into the Mirza's service. Of this last number was Sidim Ali Derban, who remained behind, and took service with Badai-ez-zaman Mirza. I had shown some of Khosrow Shah's servants such attention as him. When Jhangir Mirza went off and abandoned Ghazi, I had given it to Sidim Ali, who had left his wife's brother, Dost Amgh Sheik, behind in that city, while he himself accompanied the army. In truth, among all the servants of Khosrow Shah, there were no better men than Sidim Ali Derban and Mobih Ali Korchil. Sidim had an excellent temper and manners. He was a man of valour in war, and was never without a party or entertainment in 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 pederasty. 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,

1. One of Babur's paternal uncles.
2. Poindah Sultan Begum, the widow of Sultan Hussein Mirza.
3. These names seem to mean my lady and my bride's sister, and are used by way of endearment.
4. Badghis, or Bakkh, is north-east from Herat.
5. This must have been about the 14th or 15th January 1597.
however, were really owing to his ironical manner: yet no doubt there was some truth in the charge. When Badia-eez-zemân surrendered Hari 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 Hirmand. Mobih Ali will be mentioned hereafter.

Leaving Langer-Mir-Ghiāṣ, and passing the villages on the borders of Gharjīshān, we reached Chekherān. From the time we left Langer till we came into the vicinity of Chekherān, it snowed incessantly. The further we advanced, the deeper was the snow. At Chekherān the snow reached above the horses' knees. Chekherān belonged to Zulnān Beg; Mirīk Jan Irāī was his manager there. I took and paid for all Zulnān Beg's grain. Two or three days after we had passed Chekherān, 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 Chirāghdān, the snow not only continued deep, but we did not know the road. When at Langer-Mir-Ghiāṣ, we had consulted what was the best road to return to Kābūl. I and some others proposed that, as it was winter, we should go by the route of Kandahār, because, though rather the longer road, it might be travelled without risk or trouble, while the hill-road was difficult and dangerous. Kāsim 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 Bishāī was our guide. I do not know whether it was from 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 Kāsim 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 Hazārā 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 counting on Sultan Bishāī 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:

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1 For a learned dissertation of Silvestro de Saci on the situation of Gharjīshān, see Memes de l'Orient, vol. 1, p. 371.
2 Baber, in returning to Kābūl, pursued a route through the country of the Amīls and Hamīrs, considerably to the south of that by which he had advanced to Hari. Chekherān lies about N. lat. 34° 18', and E. long. 69° 47'.

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For about a week, we continued pressing down the snow, without being able to advance more than a foot or a foot and a half. I myself assisted in depressing the snow. Accompanied by ten or fifteen of my household, and by Khaim Beg, his two sons Tangerl Berdel 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 knows to such works of himself. Continuing to advance by a track which we had beaten in the snow in this manner, we proceeded by a place named Anjukan, and in three or four days reached a Khawal, or cave, called Khawal-kot, at the foot of the Zirrin pass. That day the storm of wind was dreadful. The snow fell in quantities, that we all expected to meet death together. The men of that hill country call their caves and hollows Khawal. When we reached this Khawal, the storm was terrible, 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 Khawal 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 Khawal seemed to be small. I took a hoot, 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. 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 severity 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

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1 Two or three miles.
2 The Zirrin pass seems to have lain between Yeke-sulaw and Chakhchurin.
3 The Musulmans, particularly travellers, when about to pray, spread out a small carpet, on which they make their prostrations.
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 bedtime 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 bedtime prayers a party, after having surveyed the cave, reported that the Khwâlid 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 drifted 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 Bâhê-Dâhâin. As the usual road, which is called the Zirrân kóta, 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 Dâhâin, the day closed upon 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. Kêpêl lost his feet; Sewandîk Turkûndî 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; nor, 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;

(Persian verse) — Every good and evil that exists, If you mark it well, is for a blessing.

It was bedtime prayers when we reached Yeka-Aueleng, and halted. The people of Yeka-Aueleng, who had heard of us as we descended, carried us to their warm log.

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1 Upper Dâhâin, i.e. Pass. Perhaps the top of the pass.
2 Lower Dâhâin, i.e. Pass; or, probably the bottom of the pass.
3 Yeka-Aueleng lies about thirty miles south-west from Ramîn.
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, and halted. Next morning was the Id of the Ramazan. We passed through Bamiyan, descended by the kotal, or hill-pass of Shahrin, and halted before reaching Jungilk. The Turkoman Hazarans 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 Hazarans 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 hearing this I hurried forward. On coming up, I found that there really was properly speaking, no strait; but that some Hazarans 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.

![Plunder the Hazarans](Image)

They marked the distant blackening of the foe,
And stood gainst-armed 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 tent at small, nor horse-small, 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.

If 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 the season,
Not later in thy service, so as not even to be mentioned to thy face."
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 women behind.

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1 About eight miles.
2 About the 18th of February 1857. The festival on the termination of the fast of Ramazan.
3 That is, if the master furnishes the principal part of the entertainment by being the most, the servant ought at least, to be the second, or asses. If the master bears the brunt of the day, the servant should lend some assistance.
Pushing forward, we quickly climbed the hill.
We went on without heeding their arrows,
Sometimes dismissing, sometimes on bare back.
First of all came on the boldest warriors:
The enemy showered down arrows from above,
But nothing our resolution gave way and fled.
We gained the top of the hill, and drove the Hazaras 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 Turkoman Hazaras,
And made captives of their men and women;
Those who were far off we followed and made prisoners;
We took their wives and their children.

The purport of these verses is, that when the Hazaras 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 left my helmet, my horse’s mail, or my armours, and had only my bow and quiver, I called on the
servants to keep that they might be serviceable and, in times 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 Hazaras 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 Yarik Taghiba, while we proceeded forward.
We traversed the heights and eminences of the hill-country, driving off the horses and
sheep of the Hazaras, and brought them to Langer-Taimur-Beg, where we encamped.
Fourteen or fifteen of the most noted insurgents and robber chiefs of the Hazaras
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
Kissim Beg happening to meet them, was filled with unspeakable compassion, and
let them go:

To do good is the best of the good things,
As to do evil it is the opposite:
Salt ground does not produce milk, nor milk makes bread;
Do not throw away good soil on it.

The same pity was extended to the other prisoners, who were all set at liberty.

1 From the Galliace of Sadi.
While we were plundering the Turkomans Hazara, information reached us that
Mohammed Hussein Mirza Dehkur, and Sultan Senjer Bibi, having drawn over to
their interests the body of Moghuls who had stood behind in Kabul, had declared Khan
Mirza king, were now besieging Kabul, and had spread a report that Badin-ez-Zemân
Mirza and Musoof Mirza had seized the king, and carried him away to the fort of
Eldikâr-ed-din at Herat, which is now known by the name of Aich-kurgan. The
chief persons in the fort of Kabul were Mulla Babai Beskâgheri, Khalifeh, Mubib Ali
Kurchi, Ahmed Youzef, and Ahmed Kashi. These officers had all conducted themselves
well, and had put the fort into a strong state of defence, and done everything to
guard it. At Langer-Taimur-Beg I wrote an intimation of my having arrived in this
quarter, and sent it to the nobles who were in Kabul, by Muhammad Andejâni, one of
Kashâr Beg's servants, I arranged with them that I was to descend by the Straits
of Ghurand, 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 rejoined them, on their side, to make a large fire in the Citadel, on the top of the
Old Kisch, which is now the Tyburn, 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 Muhammad Andejâni to communicate.

Next morning, we left Langer, and halted opposite to Ushir-sherab. Mounting
again before day, we descended the Pass of Ghurand towards night, and halted near
Sir-o-pul. Having refreshed our horses, and bathed them, we left Sir-o-pul at noon-
day prayers. Till we reached Turkâweh there was no snow. After passing that place,
the farther we went the snow was the deeper. Between the village of Noble and Minâr
the cold was so excessive, that, in the whole course of my life, I have seldom
experienced the like. I sent Ahmed Youzef, along with Kara Ahmed Yurchi, to the Begs
in Kabul, 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 Kabul 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 Kabul undiscovered, by the appointed time. Before
we arrived at Bala Mahrid, we saw a fire blazing in the Citadel. We then knew that

Khan Mirza was Sultan Wali Mirza, the youngest son of Baber's uncle, Sultan Mahmud Mirza of
Haidar, by a half niece of Baber's mother, and consequently his cousin. Mohammed Hussein Mirza
Dehkur had married another sister of Baber's mother, and had been governor of Urgup, whence he
had been expelled by Shahbât Khan.

Eagle Castle. It was an extremely strong castle on the north of Herat, and much used as a state-
prison. It is presumed that Shahrâb Mirza employed no less than seven hundred thousand men in
rebuilding it.

Bridge, a common name in those countries. 

The Persians have Yolk."
they were prepared. When we came to Syed Khaim's Bridge, I sent Shrim Taghdu, with the right wing, towards Mulla Bala's Bridge. With the centre and left wing, I advanced by way of Bala Loll at that time, where the Bagh-e-Kalâh now is, there was a small garden and house, which Ulugh Beg Mirza had made to serve as a Lenger. Although its trees and wood were gone, yet its inclosure was still left. Khan Mirza had his quarters there. Hassain Mirza was in the Bagh-e-Kalâh, which had been made by Ulugh Beg Mirza. We had got to the burying-ground near Mulla Bala'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 Khaim Ishak-ghul, Kember Ali Beg, Shri Kull Kerwai Moghul, and Sultan Ahmed Moghul, who was one of Shri Kull Moghul's followers; these four pursuers, 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 a horseman, galloped off, and escaped. Muhummad Hassain Kermegh's younger brother, also in the service of Khan Mirza, attacked Shri Kull Moghul, one of the four, sword in hand, and threw him down. But Shri Kull 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 battle ensued. Some of the enemy also collected, and though much crowded, made a stand. Our people could not get forward, and could not get halh. I desired some men who were near me to dismount and push on. Desh Kham, Khwajg Muhammad Ali Khâmbad, Baba Shri Bâd, Shâh Malmul, 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 Charbagh, in which Khan Mirza's quarters had been, Ahmed Yusef and Syed Yusef 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 Yusef was behind me, when, at the gate of the Charbagh, as I was coming out, Desh Sirjul Fâhel, a man to whom I had shown particular marks of favour in Kâbul, on account of his valor, and whom I had left in the office of Kotwal, advanced with a naked sword in his hand, and spoke to me: I had on my staffed waistcoat, but had not put on my plate-mail. I had also omitted to put on my helmet. Although I called out to him: "Ho, Ho! Desh! Ho, Desh!" and spoke to him; and though Ahmed Yusef 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 flight, he did not know me, and, without stopping, let fall a

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3 A Lenger is a house, in which Kalamghu, or the religious doers of the Mohammadi, live in a sort of collegiate state. A Carvansaar is generally connected with it, and is often the only part remaining of the establishment.

4 Garden of Heaven.

5 The Kotwal is a Superintendant of Police.

6 The jerkin is a sort of waistcoat quilted with cotton. The cheshiniche or plate-mail, are four pieces of iron or other metal, made to cover the back, front, and sides.
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 —

He 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 comprehendeth 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.""

Proceeding thence, I went to the Bagh-o-Behisht, where Mohammed Hussain Mirza resided; but he had fled, and had escaped and hid himself. In a brench in the wall of the Baghebeh (or Little Garden), in which Mohammed 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 Talik Golkutiah, the foster brother of Khan Mirza; I struck him on the arm. Just as I had reached the door of Mohammed 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 Senjar Birlas, whom I had distinguished by favours, and to whom I had given the Tuman of Nanguniar, 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, 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 Kaisim Kothber, who was one of the chiefs that had been in the fort, to pursue Khan Mirza with a body of troops. Close by the

Shah Begum was one of the wives of Yatia Khan, the maternal grandfather of Baber, and was the mother of Sultan Niyaz-Khanum, who was Khan Mirza's mother. It is to be observed, that Khanum and Khanum are used indiscriminately in all the copies.
Bagh-e-Bebisht, Shah Begum and the Khanim 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 in the press of the crowd, theDNS 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 saluted them as 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 Begum. 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, and his mother, Sultan Nigar-Khanum, 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 Yumis Khan, and I was his grandson. But whether I was or not, every one of that connection 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 Penghian, which is one of the most desirable places in Kabul. Indeed, I never failed in my duty or service towards any of them. Sultan Said Khan, the Khan of Kasghar, came to me with five or six naked followers on foot; I received them like my own brothers, and gave him the Tuman of Mandaur, one of the districts of Lennghian. When Shah Ismail overthrew and slew Sheibkh Khan in Merv, and I passed over into Kunduz, the men of Andea began to turn their eyes towards me. Several of them displaced their Darghahs, while others held their towns on my account, and sent to give me notice of their proceedings. I dispatched Sultan Said Khan, with my Baheri servants and an additional reinforcement, to hold the government of my own native country of Andea; 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.

1 Garden of Paradise.

2 The Khanim, or princess, here mentioned, must be either Maber-nigar-Khanum, the eldest sister of Beder's mother, and one of the widows of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, or more probably her youngest sister of the full blood, Khab-nigar-Khanum, the wife of Muhammad Husein Mirza. Khan Mirza was the youngest son of their sister of the half blood, Sultan Nigar-Khanum, the widow of Sultan Mahomad Mirza.

3 Couina 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 Yumis Khan. He married a daughter of one of Beder's amans.
with as much kindness as my own paternal relations; as, for example, Chit Taimur Sultana, Isat Taimur Sultan, Tahkitch Bagha 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 palaces, I went to the Chishtâr 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 Aimaks and wandering tribes, announcing my victory. I then mounted my horse and entered the citadel.

Muhammad Hussain Mirza, after making his escape, had in his fright taken refuge in the Khanim's wardrobe, and hid himself among the carpets. Mirza Divânâh 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 Muhammad 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. Muhammad Hussain Mirza had conducted himself in such a criminal and guilty way, and had been actively engaged in such tumultuous 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, Khâbah-âgar-Khanim, I took that circumstance into consideration, and gave him his liberty, allowing him to set out for Khurasân. 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 Sheik Bak Khan. It was but a short time, however, before Sheik Bak Khan put him to death, and thus sufficiently avenged me:

Believe over him who injures you to Fate;
For Fate is a sword that will avenge your quarrel.

Ahmed Kâsim Kühber, and the party who were sent in pursuit of Khan Mirza, overtook him among the hillocks of Korghâ-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 Divânâkhâneh1 (or Hall of Audience), in a

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1 The Alberâmâleh says that the young prince was brought to Babur by the Khânim, his mother, and gives the address which she made him on the occasion. The account of this affair has been given, as in several respects, inconsistent with that of Babur. His mother does not appear to have been at Khâtâbul. She had married Ulîk Khan.
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 obeisances. 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 Moghul, and Chaghtak, who were yet unsettled, I sent Khan Mirza into custody at large in the house of his sisters, with orders to him not to leave it; but, as the commotions and sedition of the Iss and Ulfuss still continued, and as the Khan's stay in Kābul did not seem advisable, I allowed him, in the course of a few days, to proceed to Khurasân.

After he had taken leave, I set out on a circuit through Bārān, Chāhistāb, and the low grounds of Gulhelur. In the spring, the country about Bārān, the plain of Chāhistāb, and the low country of Gulhelur, is excessively pleasant. Its verdure is much superior to that of any place in Kābul. It abounds with tulips of various species. I have desired the different kinds to be counted, and they brought me in thirty-four sorts. I wrote some verses in praise of the district:

(Tashk.) Its verdure and flowers render Kābul, in spring, a heaven;
But above all, the spring of Bārān, and of Gulhelur, is enchanting.

In this same tour I finished the ghazal which begins thus:—

(Tashk.) My heart is like a rose-bed, spotted with blood;
Were there a hundred thousand springs, the rose-bed 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 Kābul and Ghazni.

This same year, the Amir of Badakshān, such as Muhammad Korchi, Mohārek, Shah Zobir, and Jelantir, being offended with the conduct and proceedings of Nāṣir 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 Kakeleh, towards Yezdil and Rāgh, they advanced by way of the broken hilllock grounds near Khulmakān. Nāṣir 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 spiritually, that the Mirza's horse were unable to keep their ground, and fled. The Badakshānians having routed Nāṣir Mirza, pillaged and plundered all who were connected with or dependent on him. Nāṣir Mirza, with his routed and plundered adherents, fled by way of Ishkemish and Nārlu, to Kil-

1 Several of his sisters seem to have been at this time at Kābul.—See p. 361.
2 These places lie to the north of Kābul, among the hills.
3 The river on which Fasakāh stands; it joins the Amu from the south, rising in Kaffiristan. It is one of the two chief branches of the Oxus.
4 These places lie south-east from Kandahār.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

kāl, and going up the Sūrkābāb, proceeded on to Abderch: whence, descending by the hill-pass of Shībēlū, he reached Kābul 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, Nāsir Mirza had instigated all the Īls and Ulūses to rise up and march off with him in rebellion from Kābul, had proceeded to Bādakshān, 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 distressed 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 meanness and embarrass-

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 913.

I set out from Kābul for the purpose of plundering and beating up the quarters of the Ghiljīs. By the time we halted at Sirdeh, they brought me notice that a large body of Mehmoms, quite unaware of our approach, were lying at Mislāt and Sēkānī, which are about a farsang from Sirdeh. The Amirs, and men who accompanied me, were eager to be allowed to fall upon these Mehmoms. 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 Dehst of Kattowān 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 Khākān, and the stream of Ulūkātī, towards the places where the Ghiljīs were lying, called Khwājah Ismaīl Sīrī. 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 Dehst. From thence, a good farsang from the Ghiljī camp, we observed a blackness, which was either owing to the Ghiljīs being in motion, or to smoke. The young and inexperienced men of the army all set forward full speed; I followed them for two kāl, shooting arrows at their horses, and at length checked their speed. When five or six

1 This year commenced on the 12th of May 1307.
2 The Ghiljīs inhabit the tract to the southward and eastward of Ghāznī and Lohgān.
3 Sēkānī lies south-east of Shīrābāb, and near Khākān. Sirdeh is about twenty-five or thirty miles south of Ghāznī.
4 The Dehst of Kattowān is to the south of Ghāznī.
5 Four miles.
6 Three miles.
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 kis from the enemy, we saw the blackness occasioned by the encumbrance 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 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. Hâir 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 Fâidch, the Kotwal, whose name has been already noticed, was wounded in the leg by an arrow, and died by the time we reached Kâhol.

Marching back from Khwâjâh Ummâl, we halted at Ushâbût. 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.

Marching from this ground next morning, I directed the large hunting-ring to be formed by the troops in the plain of Kattâhwâr, for the purpose of the chase. The deer and gorkhârs of this plain are always very fat, and in great plenty. A number of sheer and gorkhârs 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 with 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 gâz in length. Shîrîn Tâghâi, and some others who had seen the deer of Mughâlîstân, were surprised, and declared that, even in Mughâlîstân, deer so fat and large were very rare, and to be met with. I killed also another gorkher, and the deer and gorkhârs in general that were killed in this hunt were very fat, but none equalled in size the gorkher which I have mentioned.

When this foray was over I returned to Kâhol, and encamped. In the end of last year, Sheikâk Khan had sent out from Samarkand with his army, for the purpose of conquering Khorsân. Shâh Mâmûr Bakhshî, a traitor, who held Andâkhâlî, sent persons in Sheikâk Khan, inviting him to hasten his approach. When he came near Andâkhâlî, this wretch, relying on his having invited the Uzbek, dressed himself very fine, put a plume on his head, and taking along with him a pashehsh and a present of his choicest curiosities, issued forth. On his approach, the Uzbek, who had

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1 The gorkher is the wild ox.
2 The gaz may be about two feet.
3 Spring of Isar.
4 Andâkhâlî may be about twenty-five miles west of Shâbâghân, and lies near the Desert.
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 peashrew and his rarities, and stripped and robbed him and all his people.

Badla-ex-zamán Mirza, Mozaffer Mirza, Muhammed Berendolk Birlas, and Zulnún
Arghún, all lay in the vicinity of Baba 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 Beren-
dolk Birlas, who was a man of sense and talent, proposed that Mozaffer Mirza and
he should fortify themselves in Heri, while Badla-ex-zamán Mirza and Zulnún Beg
should proceed to the hill-country in the adjoining territory, should call in to their
assistance, Sultan Ali Arghún from Sistân, and Sheik Bag and Mokim, with their
armies, from Kandahar and Zemin-Dawer, so as to strengthen themselves by a junc-
tion with these chieftains; that when the troops of the Hazaras 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. Zul-
nún Arghún, 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 Badla-ex-zamán Mirza’s prime-minister and chief
adviser, as has been mentioned. His arraige made him unwilling that Muhammed Berendolk
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-headed-
ness and derangement is, that he suffered himself to be grossly defrocked and chanted,
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
Mullas came and told him, that they had discovered by their communications with the
Spheres, that he was to have the appellation of Huzsher-ullah (the Lion of God), and
was to defeat the Uzbeks. Rulying 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 Berendolk; did not put the fort in a defensible
state; did not prepare ammunition and warlike arms; did not appoint either an ad-
vance or pickets 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.

Sheikh Khan having passed the Marghab in the month of Moharram, the first notice
they had of his approach, was the news of his arrival in the vicinity of Sirakhâ,4
Being filled with consternation, they were unable to do any one thing that was requi-
site. They could neither assemble their men, nor draw up their army in battle-array;
every man went off to shift for himself. Zulnûn Arghûn, infatuated by absurd flat-
ttery, as has been mentioned, kept his ground at Kara Rebat against fifty thousand

1 May and June 1801.
2 Perhaps Sirak or Sirakhâh.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

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.

The mother, sister, Haram, and treasures of the Mirzas, were in the castle of Khktiir-é-din, which commonly goes by the name of Aleh Kürghân. The Mirzas reached the city late in the evening; they slept till midnight to refresh their losses. 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. Payendeh Sultan Begum, Khadiijeh Begum, with the wives and women of Sultan Hussain Mirza, of Badin-cc-zemân Mirza, and Mozaffer Mirza, their children, infants, and whatever treasure and effects the Mirzas possessed, were all in Aleh Kürghân. 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 Arghun, the younger brother of Mazid Beg, having fled on foot from the army, arrived at Heri and entered the castle. All Khân the son of Amir Umar Beg, Sheikh Abdulla Behâwal, Mirza Beg Ky-Khurâvi, and Miraki Ker Diwan, also threw themselves into the castle. On Sheibhâ Khan’s arrival, after two or three days, the Sheikh-ul-Isam 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.

After the taking of Heri, Sheibhâ 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, forgetting his good name and glory for a little wretched earthly puff. The first of Sheibhâ Khan’s misdeeds in Heri was, that for the sake of some worldly dirt, he ordered Khadiijeh Begum to be given up to Shah Mansur Bakhsi, the eunuch, 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 Wahab to be plundered: each of his sons he gave to a different person for the same purpose. He gave the poets and authors to Muhi Binâi to be squeezed. Among the jeux d’esprit on this subject, one tetradrachm is often repeated in Khorasán:

Except only Abdulla Khâki, to-day,
There is not a poet can show the colour of money.

† This strong castle lië, as has been mentioned, close in Heri on the north.
§ It may only be necessary to add, that Badin-cc-zemân Mirza took refuge with Shah Isâk Safi, who gave him Tentir. When the Turkish Emperor Sulîn took that place in A. H. 823 (A. D. 1414), he was taken prisoner and arrived at Constantinople, where he died A. H. 833 (A. D. 1423). Mouâmmul Zemân Mirza, who is often mentioned in the course of Baber’s transactions in Hindustân, was his son.

† Kirkhâr (klein nervus) seems to have been the nick-name of some poet who was plundered.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

Babur is infected with hopes of getting hold of the past's end.
But he will not get hold of a Kikhar. 1

There was a Khan's daughter called Khanum, one of Mozefer Mirza's Haranis. Sheshak 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 Kazi Ekhtiar and Muhammed Mir-Yusuf, who were among the most celebrated Mullahs in Khorasan and Heri. He also took a pen and corrected the writing and drawings of Mullah Sultan Ali, and Behzad the painter. When at any time he happened to have composed one of his dull and incomprehensible verses, he read it from the pulpit, hung it up in the Ghars (or Public Market), and levied a benevolence from the town's people on the joyful occasion. He did know something of reading the Koran, but he was guilty of many number of stupid, absurd, presumptuous, insincere words and deeds, such as I have mentioned.

Ten or fifteen days after the taking of Heri, he advanced from Kohdestan to the bridge of Salar, and sent his whole army, under the command of Taimur Sultan and Abid Sultan, against Abul Hassan Mira and Kepak Mirza, who were lying in Meshnah, quite off their guard. At one time they thought of defending Khat; 3 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 Sheshak 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 Abid 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. Kepak 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 Kepak Mirza. The heads of the two Mirzas were sent to Sheshak Khan while he was at the Bridge of Salar.

At this time Shah Beg, and his younger brother Mohammed Mokim, being alarmed at the progress of Sheshak Khan, sent me several ambassadors in succession, with substance letters, to convey professions of their attachment and fidelity. Mokim 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, Kir-cher haddah maei? Abid nervus depressns.
2 The Abet, or unlawful union of a woman, according to the Mohammedan law, are thirty-three,—while she is mourning the death of her husband, when unmarried, and for a certain period after her divorce.
3 A celebrated city of Khorasan, west from Heri.
4 The birth-place of Nadir Shah, north of Mashhad. It stands on very strong grounds.
5 These two noblemen were the sons of Zulim Beg, and, after their father's death, were in possession of Kandahar, Zamin-Dawar, and part of the hill-country to the south. The former, who was a brave warrior, afterwards founded an independent sovereignty (that of the Afghans) in that.
been sent to invite me, I did not think it necessary to attend on the ceremony of waiting till these noblemen came personally to pay me their compliments. Having consulted with all my Amirs and best-informed councillors, it was arranged that we should march to their assistance with our army; and that, after forming a junction with the Arghun Amirs, we might consult together, and either march against Khorasan, or follow some other course that might appear more expedient. With these intentions, we set out for Kandahar. At Ghazni I met Habibullah Begum, whom, as has been mentioned, I called my Yenka, and who had brought her daughter Mansurah Sultan Begum, as had been settled between us at Herat. Khosrow Gohuliah, Sultan Kuli Chinâk, and Godsi Bolali, had fled from Herat to Ebu Husein 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.

When we reached Kilat, the merchants of Hindustân, who had come to Kilat 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 offences 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 Ghiljies, the Mahomads, with their flocks, their whole effects, wives, and families, were within a single furrnge 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 Afghans, the Ghiljies, bestowed on the army so much spoil as had never perhaps been taken in any other instance." We encamped after passing Kilat, and merely levied something from each merchant by way of Peshkesh.

After passing Kilat, I was joined by Khan Mirza, whom I had suffered to retire into Khorasan after his revolt in Kâbul, and by Abul Rizak Mirza, who had stood behind in Khorasan when I left it. They had just escaped from Kandahar. The mother of the Pîr Mohammed Mirza, who was the grandson of Bahâr Mirza, and the son of Jâhanâr Mirza, accompanied these Mirzas, and waited on me.

I now sent letters to Shâh Beg and Mokhus, informing them that I had advanced thus far in compliance with their wishes; that, as a foreign enemy like the Uzbeks had occupied Khorasan, 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 us, 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 Amir writes to another, nay, where an Amir of some rank sets

1 This is Kilat; Ghilji on the Tunze, about a degree east from Kandahar.
2 Khan Mirza, it will be recollected, was the youngest son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, one of Baber's uncles, and Kâbul; Rizak, a native of Samarqand; and Abul Rizak Mirza was the son of another of them, Ulugh Beg Mirza, last king of Kâbul.
his seal in writing to an inferior Amir. 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 alternation 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, one day, there was a false alarm in the camp; all the soldiers armed and mounted. I was busy bathing and purifying myself. The Amir was in great alarm. When ready I mounted; but, as the alarm was a false one, everything was soon quieted.

Proceeding thence by successive marches, we encamped at Ghriz. 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 Kandahar, on the side of Baba Hassan Abdal, and Khalishak, 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 Mokum had erected a large ayniye on the projecting face of the hill of Kandahar, somewhat below the place where I have built a palace, and lay there with their army. Mokum's men pushed forward and advanced near us. Tofan Arghun, who had deserted and joined us near Sheher-Sefa, advanced alone towards the Arghun line. One Asik-Alla, with seven or eight men, separating from the enemy, rode hard towards him. Tofan advanced singly, fused them, exchanged some sword-blows, dismounted Asik-Alla, cut off his head, and brought it to us as we were passing by Sang Lekhabeh. 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 ayniye (or meadow) near Kandahar, had halted, and were encamping, when Shah 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 Kilat, 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

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1 The Persians pay great attention in their correspondence, not only to the style, but in 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 Kandahar.
3 The ford. This village probably stands at the passage over some river.
4 Baba Hassan Abdal is probably the same as Baba Walli, five or six miles north of Kandahar; at least, the saint who gives his name to Hassan Abdal, east of Aush, is called indiscriminately Hassan Abdal, and Baba Walli Kandahari. Khalishak is on a little hill about three miles west of Baba Walli, beyond the Arghun flood.
5 There are two Lekhabeh, Little Lekhabeh, a mile west of modern Kandahar, and Great Lekhabeh, about a mile southwest of the old city of Kandahar, and five or six from the modern one.
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, 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, 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 Tewâchhs; and in general the whole troops knew their proper stations, and were trained to attack those to whom they were opposed. Although the terms Berângâhr, 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 Berângâhr and Jewângâhr (Meinmehr and Myresserch), 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 Berângâhr and Jewângâhr. 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 Ungyân and Sûlân. The right and left of my own household troops, who were close at hand, I called Ung and Sûl. In the Berângâhr or right wing, were Mirza Khan, Shâhru Taghâi, Yûrek Taghâi, with his brother, Jehmeh Moghul, Ayâb Beg, Muhammed Beg, Brâham Beg, All Syed Moghul, with the Moghuls, Sultan Ali Chehrâh, Khudiâ Bâkhsh, and his brothers. In the Jewângâhr or left wing, were Aâtâl Rieâk Mirza, Kâsim Beg, Tengrî Berdi, Kemîr Ali Aineed Elchi, Baghsh Ghiûrî Birâa, Syed Hussain Akber, Mir Shâh Kocîñ, Irânâl; Nâisir Mirza, Syed Kâsim the Ishiik-âgha (or Chamberlain), Mohîb Ali Korchê, Papa Uglî, Alla Weiran Turkmân, Shîr Kûli Kercâwî Moghul, with his brothers, and Ali Muhammed. In the Ghûl, or centre on my right hand, Kâsim Gokultâsh, Khozorn Gokultâsh, Sultan Muhammed Dalâlî, Shâh Muhammed Perwâncî (the Secretary), Kûl Bâzâd Bâkâwî (the Taster), Kemûl Sherbetî (the Cup-bearer);
On my left, Khiwächíj Muhammad, Ali Dost, Náhir Miram, Náhir Bábá Shírázd, Ján Kull, Wallí Khirámíx Bábá (the Treasurer), Kutlák Kadam Khárvél, Maksúd, Suhi, and Bábá Shírází; besides these, all my 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 Shírází, Jáníx Kirmíxí, Kápekbí Kull, Bábá Abúl-Hassan Kármíxí, of the Úrís Moháms Ali Sády Dersásh, Ali Sády Khírámh-Geldí, Chittí Dost Geldí, Hímíxí Tádbíxí, Dádboí Mílassí, of the Turkománt Mínsír and Rustam, with his brothers, and Sháh Núzír Sáwwííxí.

The enemy were divided into two bodies. One of them was commanded by Sháh Shírají Áshrám, who is known by the name of Sháh Beg, and shall hereafter be called Sháh Beg; the other by his younger brother Mokímí, from the appearance of the Áshrám, they looked about six or seven thousand in number. There was 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 Mokímí was opposed to the left wing. Mokímí’s division was much smaller than his elder brother’s. He made a violent attack on my left wing, where Kásím Beg was stationed with his division. During the fight, two or three messages came to me from Kásím 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. 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 ever 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 Sháh Beg himself. During the battle, Pírí Beg Turkomán, with four or five of his brothers, taking their turbans in their hands, left the enemy and came over to us. This Pírí Beg was one of those Turkománt who, when Sháh Isámíl vanquished the Bayender Sultán, and conquered the kingdom of Irák, had accompanied Abdál Bídíxí Mírabí, Murád Beg Bayender, and the Turkománt Begs, in their flight. My right wing continued to advance towards the enemy. Its farther extremity made its way forward with difficulty, striking 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 Bábá Hassan Abdal, by the larger river and its streams and channels. Mokímí, 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 Kandahár 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 Áshrám, Khírámhí Terkhán engaged in a skirmish. 

* Probably Butler.
* This was equivalent to an offer of submission.
MEMOIRS OF BABAER.

mish with Kember Ali and Tengeri Berdi in the water. Kember Ali was wounded; Kāsim Beg was struck with an arrow in the forehead; Ghārī Bhirī 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 Margān. 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 Shāh 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 Abdālā Kitābdīr (the Librarian). Moklim 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.

{Tevāt.}—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 Kandahār, and took up my quarters at the Chār-bigh of Fārēkhānī, of which not a vestige now remains. Shāh Beg and Moklim, not being able to regain the fort of Kandahār in their flight, the former went off for Shāh and Mustānqī, and the latter for Zemīn-Dāwār, without leaving anybody in the castle able to hold it out. The brothers of Ahmed Ali Terkhān, Kūl Beg Arghum, 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 Māshār-gate of the fort. From a dread of the excesses which might be committed by our troops, the others were not opened. Shāhīm Beg and Fārēkh 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 Afghān and Tīkān. I first went to Moklim's treasury; it was in the walled town. Abdāl Rizāk Mirza had reached it before me and alighted. I gave Abdāl Rizāk Mirza a present from the valuables in the treasury, placed Deśt Nāṣir Beg and Kūl Bāyazīd Bekāwī in charge of it, and appointed Muhāmmad Bahāshī as paymaster. Proceeding thence, I went to the citadel, where I placed Khwāja Muhāmmad Ali and Shāh Muhāmād in charge of Shāh Beg's treasury. I appointed Ta-

1 Shāh and Mustānqī are apsers of two degrees south of Kandahār, on the borders of Bahshābāl. Zemīn-Dāwār lies west of the Helmand, below the Hinduks 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.

Bākhāshī.
ghâl Shah to be paymaster. I sent Miram Násir and Mukaíd Suhâl to the house of Mr Jân, who was Zâlân Beg’s Diwân (or chief minister of revenue); Násir Mirza had the squeezing of him. Sheikh Abûsul Adâl Terkân was given to Mirza Khan to be laid under contribution. * * * * * 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 staíd 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, Sambal effected his escape. Next morning I went to the Garden of Perukhrâd, where the army lay. I gave the kingdom of Kandâhâr to Násir 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, Násir 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.

Marching thence, we halted in the Ānâleng (or meadow) of Kosh-Khânâh. 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 Tipchák horses, strings of long-hairèd male and female camels, and mules laden with silk-cloth and fine linen; long-hairèd female camels bearing permentanes, tents, and coverings of velvet and purpure; in every house, chests, containing hundreds of muns* 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; cloth, bags on cloth, 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 Khâám Beg I gave up the garrison that was in Khâtâ, who were servants of Mokhin, and commanded by Khâch Arghân and Taj-ul-din Mahmûd, together with all their property and effects. Khâám Beg, who was a man of judgment and foresight, strongly urged me not to prolong my stay in the territory of Kandâhâr, and it was his urgenty that made me commence my march back. Kandâhâr, as has been said, I bestowed on Násir Mirza; and, on his taking leave of me, I set out for Kabûl. While we staíd in the Kandâhâr 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 Beggars, officers, servants, and household, carried off on their animals whole khâravar* and bags of silver money, with which they loaded them as with forage; and we reached Kabûl with much wealth and plunder, and great reputation.

* The same does not appear in any of the MSS. Perhaps Baber, when writing, had forgotten it.
* There is a Ghâl Khân with a mile and a half south of Kandâhâr, inclining west. It is probably a corruption of the name here mentioned.
* The Tahiris man is nearly seven English pounds.
* The Kheravar is nearly seven hundred pounds weight, being a hundred Tahiris muns.
On my arrival at this period, I married Manasheh Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, whom I had invited from Khurasan.

Six or seven days afterwards, I learned by Naṣir Mirza's servants, that Sheibāk Khan had arrived, and was blockading Kandahār. It has already been mentioned, that Miskin had fled towards Zunin-Dâwer. He went thence, and waited on Sheibāk Khan. Shâh Beg had also sent persons one after another, to invite him to their assistance; and Sheibāk Khan had in consequence advanced from Herī by the hill-country, in hopes of taking me by surprise in Kandahār, 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 Kāsim Beg, who was a man of judgment, to urge with so much earnestness my departure from Kandahār:

(Proverbs.) What the young man sees in a mirror, The sage can discern in a baked brick.

On his arrival he besieged Naṣir Mirza in Kandahār.

When this intelligence reached me, I sent for my Begs, and held a council. It was observed, that foreign hands and old enemies, as were the Uzbeks and Sheibāk Khan, had occupied the countries so long under the dominion of the family of Taimur Beg; that of the Turks and Jaghāni, 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 Kābūl; 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 me 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 Badakhshān, or of Hindustān, one of which two places must be pitched upon as the object of our expedition. Kāsim Beg and Shâhīm Beg, with their adherents, were for our proceeding against Badakhshān. At that time, the chief persons who still held up their heads in Badakhshān in any force, were Malārēk Shâh and Zabārī. Jehangīr and Zulzāmah Muroddi, who had driven Naṣir Mirza out of that country, had never been reduced by 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 Hindustān, I set out in that direction, and advanced by way of Lāngīshān. After the conquering of Kandahār, I had bestowed Kihār, and the country of Ternak, on Abādul Riṣāk Mirza, who had accordingly been left in Kihār. When the Uzbeks came and besieged Kandahār, Abādul Riṣāk Mirza, not finding himself in a situation to maintain Kihār, abandoned it, and rejoined me. He arrived just when I was setting out from Kābūl, and I left him in that place.

As there was no king, and none of royal blood in Badakhshān, Khan Mirza, at the instigation of Shâh Begum, or in consequence of an understanding with her, showed a
desire to try his fortunes in that quarter. I accordingly gave him leave. Shah Begum accompanied Khan Mirza; my mother’s sister, Mehr Nigar-Khanum, also took a fancy to go into Badakhshan. 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 Badakhshan.

In the month of the first Jamadi, we marched from Kabul against Hindustan. We proceeded on our route by way of Little-Kabul; on reaching Surkh Robat we passed Kurak-Sai, by the hill pass. The Afghans who inhabit between Kabul and Langhuan 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 Kabul and was marching for Hindustan, 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 Jagdalik, the Afghans, through whose country we were to march, such as the Khizer-khalil, the Shimuk-khalil, the Khirzilj, and the Khugium, formed the plan of obstructing our march through the Kotul or hill-pass of Jagdalik, 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 Afghans, 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 Afghan 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.

We halted in the Tumun of Nangrahar, before the fort of Adinapur. 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 Tumun of Alishung, the Kafrs 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 Nangrahar, therefore, and pushing steadily forward, we passed Sisgai, and advanced up to the valley of Birain. 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 Kafrs were killed. They had posted some men in a breastwork on a commanding eminence in the valley of Birain. When the Kafrs fled, this party descended rapidly from the hill, and began to annoy us with arrows. Having wounded Purkin, the son-in-law of Khair Beg, they were on the point of coming up with him, and of making him prisoner, when the rest of his party made a rush, put

* She was the eldest sister of Baher’s mother, and widow of Sultan Ahmad Mirza of Samarqand.
MEMOIRS OF HABER.

the enemy to flight, and extricated and rescued him. We stayed one night in the Kāfirs' rice-fields, where we took a great quantity of grain, and then returned back to the camp.

At this same time, Mokim's daughter, Māh-chuchāch, who is now the wife of Shāh Hassan, was married to Kāsim Gokulshāh, in the territory of the Tumān of Mendraur.

As we did not find it expedient to proceed in our expedition against Hindustān, I sent back Mulla Bāla Bhashāgheri with a few troops towards Kābul. Marching from Mendraur, I proceeded by Ater and Shīwah, and continued for some days in that neighbourhood, from Ater I went on by Kumer and Nūrgil, and examined the country. From Kumer 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.

At this time Mulla Mirak Ferkez arrived from Nāsir Mirza. He brought the detailed news of Shēbak Khan's having taken the walled town of Kandahār, and of his retiring without having taken the citadel; he also brought information, that after Shēbak Khan's retreat, Nāsir Mirza had abandoned Kandahār on several accounts, and retired to Ghāzni. A few days after my departure, Shēbak Khan had unexpectedly appeared before Kandahār, 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. Nāsir Mirza was wounded by an arrow behind the neck, and the citadel was on the point of being taken. In this extremity, Muḥammad Anā'ī, Khwājah Dost Khy̨āwed, and Muḥammad Ali Pādshāh, 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, Shēbak Khan made some proposals for an accommodation, but hastily raised the siege. The reason of his retreat was, that, when he came against Kandahār, he had sent his Harūn to Nīrshāh. Some persons having revolted in Nīrshāh, had taken the fort. This induced him hurriedly to patch up a sort of peace and retire.

A few days afterwards, though it was the middle of winter, I arrived in Kābul by the way of Bādīj. Above Bādīj I directed the date of the passage to be engraved on a stone. Hāfez Mirak wrote the inscription. Ustād Shāh Muḥammad performed the stone-cutter's part. From haste it is not well cut.

I bestowed Ghāzni on Nāsir Mirza; to Abdul Rizāk Mirza I gave the Tumān of Naγrīshāt, Mendraur, the valley of Nīr, Kumer, and Nūrgil.

Till this time the family of Taimūr 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 Pādshāh.

* These places, it will be recollected, lie on the Ghāzni river.

* A strong fort to the east of Harūn.

* Abdul-Fadl, in the short account of Haber's reign prefixed to the Akbarnamah, says, that this inscription was still to be seen in his time.

* The title of Pādshāh corresponds with that of emperor. It is often used, however, merely to signify king. It is to be observed, that Haber applies it to himself before this time, and indeed in the very opening of his Memoirs, "I became Pādshāh of Ferghāna." He probably did not use that style in his Chancery.
In the end of this year, on Tuesday the fourth day of the month of Zilkadeh, when the sun was in Aquarius, Húmání was born. Mtqíbá Shíshí, the poet, discovered the date of his birth in the words: Sultan Húmání Khan. One of the minor poets of Kábal, found it in Sháh-o-Firúz-Kádr. A few days after I gave him the name of Húmání. After Húmání’s birth, I went for five or six days to the Chár-bách, and celebrated the festival of his activity. Those who were Begs, and those who were not, great and small, brought their offerings. Bags of silver money were hooped up. I never before saw so much white money in one place. It was a very splendid feast.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 914.1

In the spring I surprised and plundered a body of Mahmúd Afghán, in the neighbourhood of Maaber. A few days after we had returned from the expedition, and resumed our quarters, Kúch Beg, Fákhír Ali Karhundúd, and Bába Chehreh, formed a plan for deserting from me. On discovering their intentions, I dispatched a party, who seized them below Sharábghá, and brought them back. During the lifetime of Jahangír Mirza, 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 to me, when Kásim Beg sent Khallífah 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.

The Histáirs and Kúndisís, and the Mughals of superior rank, who had been in Khásan Shult’s service, among whom were Chúlí Ali, Syed Shekme, Shír Kull, Ikír Sálim, and others, who had been promoted and patronised by him; certain of the Jagliáthí, such as Sultan Ali Chehreh, Khudáí Bakhsí, with their dependents; some of the Sewendák Turkmáns, Sháh Núzar, with his adherents, amounting in all to two or three thousand good soldiers, at this very time, having concerted and conspired together, had come to a resolution to revolt. Those whom I have mentioned lay near Khwájá Rhodes, stretching from the valley of Súng-Karghán to the valley of Chálak.4 Abdal Rizákh Mirza having come from Nanginár, took up his quarters in Deh-Afghán. Mohib Ali Korchí had once or twice communicated to Khallífah and Mulla Bábá some

1 March 3, 1308.
2 The king victorious in might.
3 The year of the Hijrá 914 commenced on the 26 of May 1508.
4 North of Kábal.
This is the first notice taken of Jahangír’s death. He seems to have died soon after the expedition into Khwájásí, Khádú Khan says of a dysentery, ya aššá-num; or, according to Forsbí, of hard thinking.
6 These places be close by Kábal. Khwájá Rhodes is in Bakshí, two or three miles south of Kábal.
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 Musa 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 Abdul 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-Turavastokhfeh. When I came near the Haram, all my followers, of every rank and description, and even my night-guards, 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 Muhammad 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.]

* The Fatâhs are the persons who watch by night at the prince’s door.
SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

AN ABRIDGED ACCOUNT OF BABER'S TRANSACTIONS,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF A. H. 914 TO THE BEGINNING OF A. D. 925.

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 Khwajah Mohammed 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 Khozru 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. They had combined with the other men of influence mentioned in the Memoirs, and had agreed not only to raise Abul Rizak Mirza to the throne of Kâhil and Ghazni, which had been held by his father, Ulugh Beg Mirza, Baber's uncle, but also to put him in possession of Budakshân, Kunduz, and Khutlân, and all the territories which had formerly been held by Khozru 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 Kâhil, under presence of taking care of their families.

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 destituted. This arose not so much from his being a descendant of Chingis Khan, as from his being a foreigner from the north; and from the age of Chingis Khan downwards, all Tartars and Persians, in the loose colloquial language of India, seem to have been denominated Moghuls.
3 See the Terakes Khud Khan, being a history of the house of Taimur in Hindustan, vol. II. MS.; and Dow's Translation of Firdoüs, vol. II. p. 188.
MEMOIRS OF BAHER.

Babur, 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. Babur computes the original number of the rebels at two or three thousand men; but Forishhta 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 soul valour of the prince and the general to hold. He exposed himself in every encounter, and attacked the insurgents whenever 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 Babur. Their names, which have been transmitted to us by Forishhta and Khâfi Khan, indicate that they were of different races. They were Ali Beg Sheibâni, Muhammad Ali Sheibâni, Nazer Behâder Uzbek, Yakub Beg Bâherjâng, and Abdulla Sofkhehen. 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 gradually dropped off; one defeat succeeded to another; Abdal Rizâk found death at the close of his short reign; and Babur saw himself once more the undisputed sovereign of Kâbul and Ghazni.

When Khosru Shah’s territories fell into the hands of Sheibani Khan, the inhabitants of Badakhsân, 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 Zohir, 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, Babur’s cousin, had crossed from Kâbul, A.H. 913, in order to try his fortune in that quarter, A.D. 1508, as Babur has himself mentioned. His grandmother, Shah Begma, was the daughter of Shah Sultan Muhammad, the King of Badakhsân; so that the Mirza had probably some hereditary connexions in the country. His outset was not prosperous. His grandfather and Mehûr Kâham, his aunt, who followed in the rear of his army, were carried off by Mirza Alhâbezer Kâshâhi; and Khan Mirza himself was defeated and obliged to surrender to Zohir, who detained him in custody. Finally, however, Yasef Ali, who had formerly been in the Mirza’s service, formed a conspiracy against Zohir, whom he assassinated; when Khan Mirza was raised to the undisputed possession of the throne of Badakhsân, which he held till his death.

1 Perhaps rather Sheibul, as in Forishhta.
2 Khan Mirza was, as has been mentioned, the son of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, the king of Bokhara, Khârbul, and Badakhsân, and of Sultan Nicholas Khâtun, a sister of Babur’s mother. He was consequently Babur’s cousin both by the father and mother’s side. His proper name was Sultan Wulk Mirza.
In the year 916 of the Hijra, an event occurred, which Baber had no influence in producing, but which promised the most favourable change on his fortunes. Sheikhani Khan, after the defeat of Buizza-ee-zemân and the sons of Sultan Hussain Mirza, had overrun Khorasan 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 Ismael, who at that time filled the Persian throne; and he had even sent an army to invade Kerman. Shah Ismael, having subdued the Turkomans in Azerbajian, 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 Sheikhani Khan ambassadors, who carried letters, remonstrating, but with great courtesy, against the aggressions which had occurred within the boundaries of his dominions. The Uchek prince, rendered hungry by long success, returned for answer, that he did not comprehend Shah Ismael's meaning; that, for his own part, he was a prince who held dominions by hereditary descent; but that, as for Shah Ismael, 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 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 Ismael, who was descended of a celebrated Dervish, and who prided himself on his descent from the holy Syed, affected to receive the tamar 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 Sheikhani 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 Pesshudiana, Kazaniana, and the family of Chengis, to Sheikhani himself. That he too intended making a pilgrimage, but it was to the tomb of the holy Imâm Reza at Meshhid, which might afford him an opportunity of meeting Sheikhani 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, buried 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 Zulkâr. "Let us then fairly try," concluded Shah Ismael, "to which of the two the superiority belongs. You will at least learn that you have not now to deal with an inexperienced boy."

1 See the Tarikh Aliu-Asil Ahbâri of Mirza Seckander, vol. 1. MS.
2 The Meshkút is a sort of dish or plate which mendicants hold out for receiving alms.
3 These were different dynasties that had governed Fars and Khorasan.
4 It is the duty of all Muslims to visit Mekka. The Shiahs visit the shrine of Imâms Reza, which is at Meshhid, in Khorasan, in the territory then belonging to Sheikhani Khan.
5 Zulkâr was the celebrated two-tongued woman of Ali, from whom Shah Ismael boasted his descent.
6 In the account of this correspondence, Tâlîf Khan, corrected by Mirza Seckander, the author of the Alim-e-Asil Ahbâri. Khâji Khan and Fornaka mention the presents, which are not alluded to by the Persian writer, who probably did not chose to recall incidents, the remembrance of which the reigning family, having shaken off the Dervish, were not proud to recall. He mentions the pilgrimages of Mekka and Meshhid, a subject more agreeable to the prevailing prejudices.
Without losing a moment, or giving the enemy time to prepare for meeting him, Shah Ismael put his army in motion, and advanced through Khorasân as far as Meshhíhd. The detachments of the Uzbek army all fell back and retired to Herat. Sheibani Khan, who had just returned from an expedition into the country of the Hazaras, on hearing of Shah Ismael’s arrival at Meshhid, perceiving that he was too weak to meet his enemy in the field, left Jân Vâfa Mirza in Herat, and set off with such of his troops as he could collect, to Merv Shahjehan, a station where he could receive reinforcements from his northern dominions; or from which, if necessary, he could retire across the Amu. Jân Vâfa was not long able to maintain himself in Herat. He found it necessary, very speedily, to follow Sheibani Khan. Shah Ismael himself now advanced towards Merv, and sent on Dâneh Muhammed with a large force to clear the way. That officer was met by Jân Vâfa Mirza near Tákerâhâd of Merv by an desperate action ensued, in which the Persian general fell, but Jân Vâfa was cut off, finding himself, unable to oppose the Persians in the field, retired into the form the enterprising messengers to call all his generals and chief men from beyond, having retired with their troops to their various governorats have been disposed of Khorasân. Many desperate actions took place under the walls of Tákerâhâd. Shah Ismael, seeing that the siege was likely to extend to great length, which would have exposed him to an attack from the whole force of Turkistan and Mervalmaker, proceeded to be under the necessity of raising it. He sent to tell Sheibani 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 Sheibani 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 Mecca. He then retired with all his forces from before Merv, and appeared to be measuring back his way to Irikh. The feint succeeded. Sheibani Khan followed him with twenty-five thousand men, but had scarcely passed a river about ten miles from Merv, when Shah Ismael, who threw a body of horse into his rear, broke down the bridge, and fell upon him with seventeen thousand cavalry. The regulated value of the Kezzalludis, or red-hornets, the name given to the Persian soldiers, speedily prevailed. Sheibani Khan was detained, 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 overgrown, 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 Ismael, who ordered his body to be dismembered, and his limbs to be sent to different kingdoms. The skin of the head was strip...
ped of, stuffed with hay, and sent to Sultan Bayezid, the son of Sultan Mohammed 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 Mazenderan, who still held out against Shah Ismail, had been accustomed often to repeat, that he was wholly in the interests of Sheibani 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 Ismail, 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 Sheibani Khan’s garment, but that now Sheibani’s hand was indeed on his; and, with these words, dashed the rigid hand of Sheibani Khan on the hem of the prince’s sky by loud rushing through the midst of the astonished courtiers, mounted and empty, meaning ed. About a thousand Uzbeks, with a number of women of rank, and ordinary descent, the hands of the Persians.

Shah Ismail, paternal possession the battle, marched to Herat, the gates of which were opened to him; the same tinkel the divine service in the Mosques to be celebrated according to the Sida 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.

The transactions of the Uzbeks for some time after the death of Sheibani Khan, are not very distinctly detailed. Kani Beg appears to have succeeded to the immediate command of the Uzbek army, and, with him, Shah Ismail 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. Abdulla Khan appears to have held Bokhara, while Taimur Khan, the son of Sheibani Khan, reigned in Samarkand.

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 Sheibani Khan, wrote to congratulate him on the event, and invited him into Badakhshan: and

1 Called Bajaz by European writers.
2 In the account of the transactions of Sheibani Khan, and Shah Ismail, in Khorasan, and of the subsequent battles, I follow Mirza Sekander as the most intelligent guide. Some circumstances are borrowed from Khan Khan, who follows Mirza Haidar, the author of the Turki-e-Bashi, a contemporary and well-informed historian. Ferhat, whose information is here very defective, gives Sheibani Khan as an army of a hundred thousand men in the battle.
3 See the Alim-arat Abasri. Khan Khan speaks of him as descendant of the great Taimur Beg.
Babar having, without delay, crossed the mountains from Kābul; united his forces with those of the Mirza: He was in hopes that he might have carried the important fort of Hisār by a sudden attack, and for that purpose, advanced across the Amu up to the walls of the place. But the Uzbekes 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 Hisār, 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 Uzbekes in the battle had been great, their power was by no means broken. There was no force left in Māvaranjāb from which they had anything to apprehend.

It is probable that they were speedily joined by numbers of volunteers, and by some wandering tribes 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 Hisār, finding that his strength was not adequate to the attempt, was compelled to abandon the enterprise, to recross the Amu, and retire towards Kunīzā.

About this time Shāh Ismā'īl, who appears to have been disposed to cultivate the friendship of Baber, sent back, with an honourable retinue, that prince's sister, Khaņzādeh Begum, who had fallen into his hands along with the other prisoners, after the defeat of Şehbāni 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 Haram1 of Şehbāni Khan, who had by her one son, to whom he gave the kingdom of Bādakhshān, but who died young, two years after this time. Şehbāni Khan afterwards gave her in marriage to a man of no family, and much below her station. She was now sent back by Shāh Ismā'īl with a conciliatory message, and Baber, who had been preparing to send an embassy to congratulate that prince, embraced this opportunity of dispatching Khaņzādeh Begum, as a token of his good-will, to thank him for this proof of his friendship, to congratulate him on his successes, and to dispose him to lend him some assistance in the capture of Hisār, which he had fallen into their hands.

Babar, after making a second march towards Hisār, was, on hearing that the Uzbekes 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 Hisār. 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 Meḥdi Mirza Sultan, his maternal cousins, who had fallen into their hands.

The Khanship of Kipchak had terminated, the country falling under the power of Russia in 1806, only four years before, and several of the tribes had probably shifted their ground as consequences of the change.

1 He is not said by Baber to have married her; but Khań Khan attests, on the authority of the Tarīkh-e-Hilalī, that she did, and that he afterwards divorced her.

2 Firdausī, Khań Khan; and Baber himself, in his Memorandums.

3 Firdausī says towards Kinnari, but that he retired on finding the Uzbekes strongly posted at Nakhshān or Kishābī.

4 Tarīkh-e-Khań Khan; but the transactions of this period are very uncertain; and, from Baber's Memorandums, it is rather probable that he defeated Meḥdi Sultan.
SUPPLEMENT TO THE

The embassy of Khan Mirza to Shah Ismail 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 Suli, a relation of the Persian monarch, of Ali Khan Isilijo, and of Shahroksh Sultan, his scabbard, an Afshar, by whose co-operation Baber defeated and slew Jemshid Sultan, and Mahmud Sultan, who had the chief authority in the country of Hisar, and gained possession of Hisar as well as of Kunduz, Khutlu, and Khosar; and so rapidly did his situation improve, that, if we may believe Ferishta, whose authority is supported by that of Khafl Khan, he now saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand horse.

Encouraged by this prosperous state of his affairs, he resolved to attempt the conquest of Bokhara, which, since the death of Shahbani Khan, had been held by Abdulla Khan and his Uzbek. On his approach, they abandoned the country and retired to Turkiastan. Baber advanced up the river from Bokhara, 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 or prayer for the sovereignty was read, and the coin struck in his name.

Having thus, for the third time, taken possession of Samarkand, he committed the government of Kâbul to Násir Mirza, and dismissed the generals of Shah Ismael, after having amply rewarded them for their services.

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, than ants or locusts, had collected, and were on their march for Bokhara, under the command of Muhammad Taimur Sultan, the son of Shahbani 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 forces, sought them out, and falling in with them near Bokhara, 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 aided by the Amir himself in that capital. He therefore withdrew to Hisar, whither he was followed by the Uzbeck chiefs and closely blockaded. In this exigency he retired into the towns and suburbs, blocked up the entrance of the streets, and threw up strong defences. He at the same time dispatched messengers to Balkh, to Binom Khan Karamanita, who was then in that neighbourhood with an army of Persians. Binom Khan instantly sent a detachment to his relief, and at their approach the Uzbeks raised the siege and re-treated.

The Afshar are a Tork tribe celebrated in the History of Persia.

*Turkiastan, in its extensive sense, is applied to the whole country inhabited by the Turk tribes. It is in a more limited sense, applied to the countries north of the Sirr below Takshkend, where there is also a town of the name of Turkiastan. In the details of the events of this period, the author of the Allmeybl Ahsan is more specific than Ferishta or Khafl Khan.

*See Ferishta and Khafl Khan, the Indian authorities. Mirza Sekander, the Persia authority, says, that the Khutbeh was read in the name of Shah Ismael; and some circumstances render this not improbable, but it is difficult to disentangle the truth of history from the maze of Persian and Indian history.

Khafl Khan.
Shah Ismā'īl, on hearing of these events, being probably apprehensive of a new Uzbek invasion, sent Nijam Šāh Ṣafarīnī, one of his principal officers, with a large force, for the protection of Khurasān. This general, without orders from his sovereign, was brought upon to march to the assistance of Baber; with whom having formed a junction, he enabled him to reduce first Khuzar and next Kārābī, which last place was carried by storm, and Sheikhīmūr 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 Jaghdātī Turks of his own race, and urgently besought Amir Nijām to comply with his entreaties; but the unrelenting Persian was deaf to his wishes. Mū'alla Bihārī 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 Šekanda, "Amir Nijām prospered in none of his undertakings.”

After these successes, the army advanced to subdue the other countries still occupied by the Uzbeks, and laid siege to Ghādżīwān, which lies not far west of Bokhāra, on the borders of the desert. This fort was bravely defended, for four months, by Muḥammad Šāh Tāmūr Šāh Tūltānī, who had thrown themselves into it. The Uzbeks well saw that Baber’s further progress would be fatal to their hopes of retaining possession of Mawarrahma, and their other rich conquests. The whole Princes and Chief men in their alliance were therefore summoned, collected their forces, formed a junction, and marched from Bokhāra, under the command of Abdalī Šāh Ṣafarīnī and Jalāl Šāh Šāh Tūltānī, against the invaders. Muḥammad Šāh Tāmūr Šāh Tūltānī having issued from Ghādżīwān, joined them in the field. The battle, which was fought on Sunday the 3rd of October 1314, was long and desperate; but it was perfectly decisive. The Uzbeks gained a great victory. Bīrām Šāh, who was the ablest general of the Kezvābāshes, being wounded with an arrow and unhorsed, his fall occasioned the rout of the army. The Uzbeks by a resolute charge broke their centre. The Persian Chiefs, disgusted with the haughty deportment and harsh inflexibility of Amir Nijām, 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 Kirkī, and returned into Khurasān. Shah Ismā‘īl, 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 Hisar-Shāhman as a fugitive, and with scarce a hope left of recovering his hereditary dominions.

But his misfortunes did not terminate here. Some Moghul tribes had long possessed considerable power in the country about Hisar, 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 ano-

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1 No year is mentioned, but the date, Sunday the 3rd of Ramzan, can only correspond with the year 920.
bitions 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 Yashgar Mirza, Nasir Mirza, Mir Ayub, and Mir Muhammad, 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 Usbecks daily increased, till they regained the undisputed possession of all Mâwûrlânâher, 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.

What diminished his ultimate chance of success, was a marked dissatisfaction to his government, which had manifested itself from Hissâr to Bokhârâ. When he first entered the country on the defeat of Shahbâd 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 mental ingst speedily arose. As he relied much on the assistance of Shah-Ismâil, 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 Kezzelbashi. The principal men of Samarkand and Bokhârâ were highly offended at this order, which, with the general distinction shown to the Persian auxiliaries, and perhaps some acts of Baber implying a dependence 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 Is mâil being a warm and zealous apostle of the Shiâ faith, while Mâwûrlânâher, from the earliest ages of the Isâm, was always famous for the orthodoxy of its doctors and inhabitants. The detestation which the orthodox Sunnis of Mâwûrlânâher then bore to the heretical Shiâ of Persia, was certainly increased by the persecutions at Herât; and it continues undiminished at the present hour, particularly among the Usbecks, one of whom seldom willingly enters the territories of Persia except as an enemy. The nobles and religious men of Samarkand and Bokhârâ had expressed great indignation that their soldiers should be disarmed as Kezzelbashi. The usual sequaces of ridicule and abuse were plentifully lavished on the king and his army, to expose these innovations to derision. The massacre at Kârshi, though it occurred in

1 I happened to meet with a singular instance of this, while making some inquiries regarding the geography of Usbek Turkestan. An Usbek Mulla, whom I consulted, had just made the pilgrimage of Mecca. On inquiring if he had passed through Persia, he expressed great pleasure. 'I found,' said he, 'that in avoiding the salt of Persia, he had gone from Bokhârâ to Kâshân, thence to Kashâîr, thence to Antâch, whence by Kand Târâ he had reached Constantinople. He went by sea to Egypt, and joined the caravans of Cairo. I saw him at Bombay, whither he had come from Jâdâ, after making the Haj, or pilgrimage. He was preparing to return home by Delhi, Lahore, and Peshawar, to avoid coming in contact with the Persian Shiâ.

2 They mutilated the king and his troops, asking how they came to wear their heads with such manner, as they vulgarly called the red piece of cloth that hangs from the top of the Persian cap.—See Khân Khan, vol. i. MS.
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 destitution 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 Hisar and Samarkand totally vanished, once more recrossed the Hindkush mountains, attended by a few faithful followers, who still adhered to his fortunes, and again arrived in the city of Kabul. From this time he seems to have abandoned all views on the country of Maweraluab, 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 Hindustan."

But his arms were previously employed for several years in attempting a conquest nearer to his capital. When Sheikh Ali Khan was obliged to raise the siege of the citadel of Kandahar, to return to the rescue of his family in Nicheh, Nasir Mirza, Baber's youngest brother, who defended the place, had been reduced to great difficulties. The departure of Sheikh Ali Khan did not much improve his situation; for Shah Beg and Mokhim 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 Kandahar, 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 Kandez to Kabul, I have not discovered; but his return was probably in the course of 931. 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 Kandahar, the forts of which were defended by Shah Beg, though he did not venture to oppose the invaders in the field.

The fragment of Baber's Memoirs which follows, describes his first invasion of India, and also what Khafi Khan and Ferihta 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 revised for a moment near the close of his life.
MEMOIRS OF BABAER.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 923 A.D.

On Monday, the first day of the month of Moharrum, there was a violent earthquake in the lower part of the valley of Jilga or Jilga of Chandol, 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 treaty-man of the Dilazik Afghans 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.

On Thursday, the 4th of Moharrum, I ordered the troops to put on their armor, 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 most Begs 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, charged back the enemy to the fort, and drove them under the ramparts. Mulla Abdalmalek of Khost mudil pushed on his horse, and rode close up to the foot of the wall. If the scaling-ladders and Tora had been ready, and the day not so nearly spent, we should have taken the castle at that very time. Mulla Türk Ali, and a servant of Tengri Bordi, 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 De Layden's translation here begins.
2 The whole of the year 913 of the Hejira is included in A.D. 1419.
3 This valley is now called Jandol, or Yandol. It is about a day's journey from Bajour, to the north or north-east. The name of Chandol, however, is still known.
4 The Tora, as has already been observed, were probably broad tendons, under cover of which the besiegers advanced to the storm.
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, Ustad Ali Kuli brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Khasin also killed two. The rest of the matchlock-men likewise showed great courage, and behaved finely. Quitting their shields, their maul, and their cowheads, they plied their shot so well, that before evening, seven, eight, or ten Bajauris 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 Moharram, 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 Tara from their trenches, applied the scaling-ladders, and began to mount. Khudîbâ, Shah Hassan Arghun, and Ahmed Yusef, 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. Ustad Ali Kuli was also there, and that day too he managed his matchlock to good purpose; the Feringy piece was twice discharged. Wali Khasin 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 Jung-jung, and his younger brother Nezam, mounted by a scaling-ladder, and fought bravely with spear and sword. Bâla Yesâwê, mounting by another scaling-ladder, buried 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, 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

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1 The cowheads were probably a kind of axing, covered with cow-hides, as means of the matchlock-men 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 Feringy, 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 Churh.
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 Islam, and us, beside their rebellion and hostility, they followed the customs and ranges of the infidels, while even the name of Islam 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 Sultan, and bestowed the country of Bajour on Khwaja Kilan, and having given him a number of my best men to support him, returned to the camp about evening prayers.

Next morning I purposed my march, and halted in the vale of Bajour, at the fountain of Baba Kâra. At the intercession of Khwaja Kilan, 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 Badakhshan, Kandahar, and Balkh. Shah Mansur 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.

The expedition against Bajour being thus terminated to my entire satisfaction, on Tuesday, the 9th of Moharram, I moved on, and halted a few farther down, in the same vale of Bajour, where I gave orders for the erection of a pillar of sculls on a rising ground.

On Wednesday, the 10th of Moharram, I mounted and rode to the castle of Bajour, where we had a drinking party in Khwaja Kilan’s house. The Kafirs 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 Kafirstan which lies about Bajour. I stayed there all night, and next morning surveyed the towers and rampart of the fort, after which I mounted and rode back to the camp.

The morning after, I marched on, and encamped on the banks of the river of Khwaja Khizir. Marching thence, I halted on the banks of the river Chandol.

1 Khwaja Kilan, was the son of Maulana Muhammad Saker, who was one of the chief men of Omar-shahikh Mire’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 Amirsafi.

2 The valley of Baba Kâra is seven kilometres the town of Bajour, on the road to Jandol.

3 Baber has now got over his scruples about drinking wine, and seems hurryward 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 Jandol, except that of Bâba Kâra, which may also, perhaps, have been called Khwaja Khizir. Mr Elphinstone informs me, that he has laid down the river of Bajour wrong in his map; and that it joins the river of Pejtozor a march or two above the junction of that river with the river of Sule (or Siul) while the Jandol river joins the river of Bajour a march from the town of Bajour.
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 Moharram, having given Khwâjâh Khîrî a tâj (or banner), January 10. I sent him back to the fort of Bajour. A day or two after his departure, I composed the following lines, which I wrote and sent him:

*Such was not the agreement and promise between my friend and me,—*
*Separation has shown me and made me suffering at last;*
*What can be done against the sneaks of Fortune,*
*Which tear by force from friend from friend at last?*

On Wednesday, the 17th of Moharram, Sultan Abâl-dîn Siwâlî arrived as an envoy on the part of Sultan Wâs Siwâlî, and waited on me to offer his submission.

On Thursday, the 18th of Moharram, I hunted on a hill that lies between Bajour and the Chandîl. The hawks and grousers 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 black bird; its body was black, as were its eyes. This day, too, Burkut took a deer. As there was a scarcity of grain in the atayâ, we went to the valley of Kehrûj, where we seized a quantity of seeds, and then proceeded towards Siwâlî, on an expedition against the Yuseffâí Afghans.

On Friday, we marched, and encamped between the Poonjâra and the junction of the Chandîl and Bajour rivers. Shah Mansûr Yuseffâí had brought some very pleasant but highly intoxicating Kimâl. I cut a Kimâl into three parts, and gave one part myself, giving another to Gahâb Taghâ, and the third to Abûlînâ 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.

Marching thence, we halted near the mouth of the valley of Kehrûj and of Peshâg-hram, before Poonjâra. While we stood here, it snowed in these places. It rarely does snow there, and the inhabitants were surprised at the circumstance. By the advice of Sultan Wâs Siwâlî, I demanded a contribution of four thousand kharvars of rice.

The tâj is a banner of the kins or mountain-river's tail, which belongs only to noblemen of the first class.

8 The term of these verses is on the word Bopuâr, so that the last line signifies either Bopuâr has separated friend from friend, or friend is separated from friend by fire.

9 Sultan Wâs or Owâlî was King of Swât (or Siwâlî). He possessed a country from the coast of Swât to Ramnûlî, as the extreme of Kashmir. He was expelled by the Yuseffâís.

10 Or rather, perhaps the mountain-hull.

11 Burkut is probably the name of a favourite hawk. Burkut signifies a hawk.

12 It has since been remarked, that the Jumâl and Bajour rivers join before they fall into the Poonjâra.

13 A sort of intoxicating comfit,.

14 Peshâg-hram lies north of Malâyân, which is in Mr. Bâithârâm's map. Kehrûj I have not found; but it may be part of the same valley.

15 A hundred mules is a kharwar, at four near the same—kuphè. That is, four mules, or the weight of four hundred copper coins is a kharwar, or nearly seven pounds weight, which makes the kharwar about seven hundred pounds weight. If the mule be 7½ lb., the kharwar will be 720 lb.
A.D. 1518. 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.

On Tuesday, the 23rd of Moharrem, I sent the army, under the command of Hindu
Beg, in order to plunder in Penjukra. Penjukra 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 Penjukra, 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 28th 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 Humaïn; 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."

On the 28th, in the same camp, I gave up Hindâl to Maham, and, writing an answer
to her letter, sent it to Kâbul by Yusef Ali Rikâhâdrâ. 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 Safarah, or terrace of stone, of such extent, that it could con-
tain my large set of tents, with the smaller set usually sent in advance. The stones
of this work were wholly brought by my officers and the soldiers.

Malek Shah Mansur, the son of Malek Sulaiman 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 encamp-
ment we learned that the daughter 3 of Shah Mansur was coming with the tribute of

1 Khâchevi. 2 Peer Khâchevi. 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 Afghan historians make the chief, to whose daughter Baber was married, Malek Ahmad, nephew of Malek Sulaiman. Malek Sulaiman had been treacherously murdered at a banquet by Ulugh Beg Mina. 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 Minâ, 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 Ahmad, and some other Maleks, with presents to
Baber. Ahmad went from Sana through Sâh to Baijaur, and so to Loghorie, whence he proceeded to
Kâbul. The King received him well, but was offended at heart, having received complaints from the
Dâzâkâz, who were his favourite subjects, and who had betrayed his ministers to procure the death of
Ahmed. The Gajamis, who had been enemies of Malek Ahmed, but were now reconciled to him, gave
him notice of the King's real intentions. He sent away the other Maleks, and hastened himself. The King
took his bow and arrows. Malek Ahmed joined his heart, that the King's arrow might not be im-
peded. 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 Maheral hills, where they strengthened, shutting up all the passes.

The King accordingly set out for Sâri. On his way he besieged a Gelhri fort, which was held by
Malek Halder Ali Gelhri. Having taken it, he moved on to Mânger.
the Yusefsais. We had a drinking party about evening prayers. I invited Sultan Alāūdīn 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 Khurj, and encamped. Yusefsain, the younger brother of Shah Mawsīr, brought his rice, which has been mentioned, to this encampment. As the people of Bajour are connected with those of Bajour, I sent Yusef Al Bakkal from this station to collect them, and remove them to Bajour. I sent orders to the troops that had been left in Kābul to join me without delay.

On Friday, the 3d of the month of Safar, we encamped at the junction of the Bajour and Penjkōrā rivers.

On Sunday the 5th, I went from this station to Bajour; and had a drinking party at Khwājeh Kilān's house.

On Tuesday the 7th, I sent for the Begs and the Dilāzāk 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 lower country, should we enter Sewal now, the army would suffer greatly from want of provisions; that it was, therefore, better to proceed by way of Ambhir and Pani-suit, and crossing the river of Sewal above Hashmghur, to advance our troops with all possible expedition opposite to the Sanger (or hill-foot) of Māmūr, belonging to the Yusefsais, and to make an incursion upon the Afghans inhabiting the open country and plain, who are composed of the Yusefsais and Muhammedanis, 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 Wais and Sultan Alāūdīn, 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 Mawsīr in the fort of Bajour, till the return of the army. Next morning, proceeding in our course, and passing Khwājeh Khīzār, we halted. Khwājeh Kilān here took leave of me on his return. The heavy baggage were sent on towards Lenghūn, by way of Kūnār. Next morning we again marched, and I gave the heavy baggage and camels to the charge of Khwājeh Mir-Mirza, and sent him on by the road of Jor-ghān, Derwāzāh, and the pass of Karakobleh; while I myself, with a light-armed and unnumbered force of cavalry, proceeded on our expedition. Having surmounted the pass of Ambhir, and likewise another pass, we reached Puri-

Baber, after marching in vain by his spies for a pass into the Makorah hills, went himself in the disguise of a Khānjūrī, and was present at one of their festivals. The daughter of Malik Ahmad, observing the stranger, sent him some provisions. Baber, captivated with her appearance and demeanor, told her he had been a prisoner, and on his return back, sent to ask her in marriage. Ahmad consented, and, accompanied by all his Maliks, waited on the King. The lady, whose name was Bili Māsharikāh, so charmed Baber by her grace and conversation, that he remitted the revenue of her tribe, and returned to Kābul. The Yusefsais, we are told, then rose into great power; and Baber raised a very distinguished rank her daughter, Mir Jenab, who accompanied him and her into Hindustan. The brother and sister both died in Akbar's reign.

1 The Yusefzai ambassador.
2 Kilān.—Kīlān.
3 Hashmghur stands not far above the junction of the Sewal river with the river of Kābul.
A.D. 1519. 

February 13.

I sent forward Aghan 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 Aghan 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 Sewād. About bed-time prayers we again mounted, and proceeding with speed, about sunrise, when the sun was a spear-length high, Rustân 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.

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 Dilāzāk Afghans also cut off and brought in several heads. Returning from thence, we halted in the neighbourhood of Katland,† where I sent guides in search of Khwājeh Mir Mirzā, who had been sent on with the baggage, with instructions to bring him to join me in Makān.

February 14.

Next morning we marched, and passing by way of Katland, halted in the midst of Makān. One of Shah Mumârs people here joined us, and I dispatched Khosrān Gobūstāni and Almâdī Pervānchi with a body of troops to meet and protect the baggage. On Tuesday the 14th, just as we halted in Makān, the baggage joined us. In the course of the last thirty or forty years, one Shahbāz Kalendar, an impious unbeliever, had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yusafzais and Bihārs. At the abrupt termination of the hill of Makān, 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 Shahbāz 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 manzān, and continued there for some time.

When we left Bājur, we did it with the intention of attacking Behīrā before we returned to Kâbul. We were always full of the idea of invading Hindustān. This was prevented by various circumstances. For three or four months that the army had been detained in Bājur, it had got no plunder of value. As Bāhīrā is on the borders of Hindustān, 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 Makān, several

† Katland is forty miles north of Akhâr, inclining to the east.
‡ Makān appears to be in Bākur.
§ These temples, generally composed of many, are taken to produce what is regarded as an agreeable inunction.
¶ Or Akhâr, appears to be the country on the Behīr or Hydaspes, near the town of that name, but chiefly on the right bank of the river.
of my principal adherents advised me, that if we were to enter Hindustan, 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 Lâmhân; 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 Mr. Muhamed Julehsân in advance, with his brothers and some troops to escort them, for examining the banks of the river, both above and below. After sending on the army towards the river, I myself set off for Sawââ, which they likewise call Kurak-Khanâz, to hunt the rhinoceros. We started many rhinoceroses, 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 lame and unable to run. We killed it, and every one cut off a bit of it as a trophy of the chase. Leaving Sââ, after a long and fatiguing circuit, we reached the camp about noon-day prayers. The party that had been sent to survey the passage over the river did so, and returned.

Next morning, being Thursday the 17th, we crossed the ford with our horses, camels, and baggage, the camp bazar and the infantry were floated across on rafts. The same day the inhabitants of Nîshâbûd waited on us, bringing an armed horse and three hundred mundaorokhãs, as a Peshkâsh. 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 Kechâh-kot. Marching there before day, we crossed the river of Kechâh-kot, and the same evening mounted the Pass of Sângûlãkã, and halted. Syed Káisim Iâhek-Agha, who brought up the rear guard, took a few Guzars who followed the camp, cut off some of their heads and brought them in.

Marching at the dawn from Sângûlãkã, and crossing the river Sônhâr, 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 Bâhreñ to the north, there is a hill. This hill, in the Zafær-nâmah and some other books, is called the hill of Jânâ. At first I

1 It is worthy of note, that the rhinoceros is now no longer to be found in the west of the Indus.
2 Baber appears to have crossed a little above Attak.
3 Nîshâbûd lies fifteen miles below Attak on the Sind.
4 Something less than £15 sterling.
5 The river of Kechâh-kot is the Bârhâ, or river of Ghardân. By his acceding a pass as soon as he passed the river, and by reaching the Sind so soon, it appears that Baber turned sharp to the south after crossing the Bâreñ.
6 Or Swar, which lies between the Sind and Bûbâk.
7 Perhaps the Bhara south of the Swar.
8 The Zafær-nâmah, or Book of Victory, is the history of Taimur Bag, or Tamerlane, written in a very elegant style, by Sherifuddin Ali Yazdi. It has been well translated by Petis de la Croix.
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 Jūd, the other Jenjūbī. From old times, they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the Ilas and Ulusse which are between Nikhab 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 Shahrrokhi for each head of cattle; seven Shahrrokhis are paid by each master of a family, and they serve in their armies. The Jūd are divided into various branches or families, as well as the Jenjūbī. This hill, which lies within seven kas of Behreh, branching off from the hill-country of Kashmir, which belongs to the same range as Hindu-kish, takes a south-westerly direction, and terminates below Dinkot, on the river Sind. On the one half of this hill are the Jūd, and on the other the Jenjūbī. This hill got the name of Jūd from a supposed resemblance to the celebrated hill of Jūd. The chief man among them gets the name of Rāi. His younger brothers and sons are called Malek. These Jenjūbī were the maternal uncles of Langer Khan. The name of the Hākim of the Ilas and Ulusse in the neighbourhood of the river Subān was Malek-Hest. His original name was Aṣed, but as the people of Hindustān often drop the vowels, calling, for instance, Khabur, Khābūr, and Aṣed, Aṣūr, this word, going on from one corruption to another, ended in becoming Hest.

Immediately on reaching our ground I sent Langer 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 cupbanned horse with him by way of Peshkesh, and made his submission. He was about the twenty-second or twenty-third year of his age.

Many flocks of sheep, and herds of brood-cows, were feeding on all sides of the camp. As I always laid the campest of Hindustān at heart, and as the countries of Behreh, Khushāb, Chunāb, and Chamīyā, among which I now was, had long been in the possession of the Türkās, 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 Shahrrokhi may be taken at a shilling or chevenence sterling.
2 Dinkot from this seems to have lain near Kashmir.
3 Behreh's account of this hill is not very exact. It comes from the Kashmir hills, and, near Khampur, passes to the east and south of Hāmil Abād, and joins the Kehār or Kheleber range, which crosses the hills of Nikhab. It is evident that he supposes all the rough and moutainous country between the Kehār and Salt Range, to be one hill, and to be continued up to Kashmir.
4 Jūd or Azzar, in Armenia, on which the ark was supposed to have rested.
5 Rec. Dr. Layden's version has it close.
6 Behreh is present lies near Fāzil Dāvin Khan, to the south-east of the Jumā or Hyderāb, but the district in Behreh's time extended on both sides of the river, and the capital was in the north. Khushāb lies lower down the river. Chunāb probably stretched over to the river of that name, the ancient Assinies. No Chunāb can be found; perhaps it is Hurūt, south-east of Aitk, by a slight mistake. In writing Behreh at this time belonged to Ali Khan, the son of Daulār Khan, Hākim of Lāhore, under the kings of Delhi.
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 through rather late, about noon-day prayers we reached Keldah-Kohar, where we halted. On every side there were many corn-fields, where the grain was still green. This Keldah-Kohar is a considerable place. Ten koss' from Behreh, in the middle of the hill of Judd, 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 koss. On the north is the valley of Khali'; on the west, on the skirts of the hill, is a spring of water, which rises in the high grounds that overlook the lake. As the place suggested itself as suitable for such a purpose, I formed a garden on it, called the Bigha-e-Seva (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 Keldah-Kohar. On the very top of the Pass of Hamishpussa A.D. 1819 February 20. we met, in different places, men who were coming bringing in Peshkas of small value, and tendering their submission. These men I sent forward along with Abdul-Rahim Shaghawal to Behreh, in order to reassure the people of the place; to tell them that those countries, from remote times, had belonged to the Turks, 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.

About luncheon-time we reached the bottom of the pass, where we halted and sent on Kurhan Cherkhi and Abdul Maluk Kouti, with seven or eight others, to reconnoitre and bring in intelligence. Mr. Muhammad Mehdi Khwajih, one of the persons who was so sent in advance, brought in one man. At this time some chiefs of the Afghans came with Peshkas 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, Dewhe Hindo, and the son of Sohun, who were servants of Ali Khan, the son of Doulet Khan Yaser-Khail, accompanied by the head men of Behreh, met us, bringing each a horse and camel as a Peshkash, and tendered their submission and service. Noon-day prayers were over when we halted to the east of Behreh, 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.

From the time that Taimur Beg had invaded Hindustan, and again left it, these countries of Behreh, Khushab, Chamh, and Chamhit, had remained in the possession of the family of Taimur Beg, and of their dependents and adherents. Sultan Masulid...
Mirza, the grandson of Shahrokh Mirza and son of Shurghanam Mirza, was, in those days, the ruler and chief of Kâbul and Zâbul, on which account he got the name of Sultan Musâlah Kâbuli. After his death, and that of his son Ali Aghâr Mirza, some of the persons whom he had brought forward and patronised, such as the sons of Mir Ali Beg, Bâba Kâbuli, Deris 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 Pershâwâr, with the intention of invading Hindustân; but, by the persuasion of Bâbi Cheghânînâ, was diverted towards the Lower Bangâla, which is called Kohat, and after having pillaged and ravaged a great part of Afghanistan, and plundered and laid waste the Deshi (or low country), I returned by way of Duki. At that time the government of Behrekh, Khushâb, and Chunah, was held by Sîyad Ali Khan, the son of Ghazi Khan, and grandson of Mir Ali Beg. He read the Khutbah in the name of Iskander Behlul, and was subject to him. Being alarmed at my inroad, he abandoned the town of Behrekh, crossed the river Behun, and made Shirkot, a place in the district of Behrekh, his capital. After a year or two, the Afghans having conceived suspicions against Sîyad Ali on my account, he became alarmed at their hostility, and surrendered his country to Doulet Khan Tâtâr Khan Yûsuf Khan, who at that time was Hâkím of Lahore. Doulet Khan gave Behrekh 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 Behlul Emperor. This Tâtâr Khan possessed Sirhind and all the country to the north of the Sâîlaj. The revenue of these territories was upwards of three crores. 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.

Next morning, I sent out several foraging parties in proper directions, and afterwards rode round Behrekh. The same day Sânger Khan Jefâbâkh came with a horse, which he presented to me with tenders of service.

On Wednesday the 22d, I sent for the head men and Chanderis of Behrekh, and agreed with them for the sum of four hundred thousand Shahrokhis 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 sat a majmun. I had sent Hâdder Alemdâr (the standard-bearer), to the Baluchis, who were settled in the country of Behreh and Khushâb. Next morning, being Thursday, they came in with a bay Tipchak horse as a Peshkosh, and made their submission. Having learned that the troops had exercised...
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 Türks as my own territories, I therefore admitted of no plundering or pilage.

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 Türks, it could do no harm. I therefore despatched Mulla Murshid to Sultan Ibrahim, whose father Sultan Iskander had died five or six months before, and who had succeeded his father in the empire of Hindustan; and, giving him the name and style of ambassador, sent him to demand, that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Türks, should be given up to me. Besides these letters for Sultan Ibrahim, I gave Mulla Murshid letters to Doulet Khan, and having also delivered to him verbal instructions, dismissed him on his mission. The people of Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans, 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 animity 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 Ibrahim, so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kâbul without having received any answer.

On Friday, letters of submission came from the people of Khushâb. Shah Hassan, the son of Shah Shujâ, Aghâ, was appointed to proceed to that district.

On Saturday the 25th, I directed Shah Hassan to set out for Khushâb. There was such a fall of rain, 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 packs of small 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. We remained one day in the fort of Behreh, which they call Jehân-numâ, and on the morning of Tuesday we marched, and encamped on the rising grounds which skirt

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1 This Shah Hassan afterwards made a distinguished figure in the history of India, 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.
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 consigned 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 Kouch-Beg, a third to Dost Nasir, the fourth to Syed Khaim and Mohib Ali.

On Friday, the second of the month, Shembak Pahdeh and Derwall Ali Pahdeh, who are now matchlock-men, brought me letters from Kabul, containing news of the birth of Hindal. As this news came when I was on an expedition against Hind, taking it as a good omen, I named him Hindal.

Kummer Beg, at the same time, brought letters from Balkh, from Muhammad Zeman Mirza. Next morning, after the Diwan was dismissed, when I had finished my ride, I went on board of a boat, and had a drinking party with Khwajah Dost Khawend, Khurram Mirza, Mirza Kalli, Muhammad Ali Ahmedi, Gedai, Naamun, Langer Khan, Rukhsadem, Khaim Ali Teriaka, Wasef Ali, and Tengri Koff. Towards the bow of the vessel a space was reserved. 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. Muhammad, with Gedai and Naaman, sat there. We continued drinking spirits till after noon-prayers. Disliking the spirits, we then took to maajin. Those who were at the other end of the vessel, did not know that we were taking maajin, and continued to drink spirits. About night-prayers we left the vessel, and mounting our horses, returned late to the camp. Muhammad, 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 maajin-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 maajin, take maajin; and let not the one party give any idle or provoking language to the other." Some sat down to spirits, some to maajin. The party went on for some time tolerably well. Biba Jan Kabiri had not been in the boat; we had sent for him when we reached the royal tents. He chose to drink spirits. Tervel Muhammad Kipchak, too, was sent for and joined the spirit-drinkers. As the spirit-drinkers and maajin-takers never can agree in one party, the spirit-drinking party began to indulge in foolish and idle conversation, and to make provoking remarks on maajin and maajin-takers. Biba Jan, too, getting drunk, talked very absurdly. The tippers filling up glass after glass for Tervel Muhammad, made him drink them off, so that in a very short time he was mad drunk.

*The Matchlock-men seem to have been considered as a superior service.

* Muhammad Zeman Mirza, who is often mentioned in the sequel of these Memoirs, was a son of Nadia-se-manes Mirza, the late King of Khurasan.

* Kabiri, one who plays the Kabir.

* Khanzad Safir.
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 Hindú Beg, and the country of Chumáh to Husseín Ikāk; when Husseín Ikāk, and the men of Chumáh, took leave.

At this time Māmācheber Khan, the son of Sīyed Ali Khan, who had given me notice of his intention to wait on me, but who, as he was coming from Hindūstān by the upper road, was intercepted by Tātār 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.

In the hill-country between Nūlāb and Behreh, but apart from the tribes of Jāh and Jenjībēh, and adjoining to the hill-country of Kashmir, are the Jats, Ghijries, and many other men of similar tribes, who build villages, and settle on every hillock and in every valley. Their Hādīm was of the Gaker race, and their government resembles that of the Jāh and Jenjībēh. The government of those tribes, which stretch along the skirt of the hills, was at that time held by Tātār Gaker and Hātī Gaker, sons of the same family: they were cousins. Their places of strength were situated on ravines and steep precipices. The name of Tātār’s strong-hold was Pērkāleh. It was considerably lower than the snowy mountains. Hātī’s country is close adjoining to the hills. Hātī had also brought over to his interest Bhab Khan, who held Kaimjīr. Tātār Gaker had waited on Doukht Khan, and was in a certain way subject to him. Hātī had never visited him, but remained in an independent, turbulent state. Tātār, at the desire of the Amir of Hindūstān, and in conjunction with them, had taken a position with his army a considerable way off, and in some sort kept Hātī in a state of blockade. At the very time when we were in Behreh, Hātī had advanced near Tātār by a stratagem, had surprised and slain him, and taken his country, his women, and all his property.

About the time of noon-day prayers, I mounted to take a ride, and afterwards going down on board of a boat, we had a drinking bout. The party consisted of Doukht Beg, Mirza Kulli, Ahmed, Gecdi, Mouhamed Ali Jung-Jung, Hassan Aghaun, and Berdi Moghad. The musicians were Hôkh-doum, Baba Jan, Kasim Ali, Yusef Ali, Tengri Kull, Abul Kasim, and Râmzân Lâli. 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 circumstances. After coming home, I vomited plentifully.

On Friday I mounted to ride out, and crossed the river in a boat, went round the Māh 11.
gardeners and partizans on the opposite side, with the ground 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 muzafin, and when we had seen everything, we returned to the boat. Munnadeck Khan had also taken a muzafin, 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.

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 Khwajeh Doost Khaworo, Doost Beg, Miram Mirza Kuli, Muhammad, Ahmad, Yimit Ali, Muhammad Ali Jung Jung, Gudai, Tochi, Mir Khurid Ask. The musicians were Stub-hoon, Baba Jan, Kasim Ali, Yusuf Ali, Toogri Kuli, Raman. 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 Khushab. He had been sent as ambassador, to invite the countries that had formerly been held by the Turks 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 tents were now close at hand. I therefore appointed Shah Muhammed Muherdar, his younger brother, Doost Muherdar, with a number of the most efficient men, and of those who were best suited to the service, to remain to support Hindu Beg. I settled on each of them a stated allowance, suited to his rank and circumstances. On Langer Khan, who was the prime cause and adviser of this expedition, I bestowed Khushab, and gave him the Tagh, or banner of mountain-cow's tail. I left him also behind to support Hindu Beg. With the same view, I placed, under the orders of Hindu Beg a number of Turki soldiers and Zemindars, who were in Behreh, and increased their allowances. Among these was Munnadeck Khan, who has been already mentioned; another was Sanger Khan Jenjooch, who was Melek-hesh of the Jenjooch.

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 Khabah. We halted at Kildok-kehar. That day also there was a most uncommon fall of rain. Those who had cloaks, 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 Tagh, as already mentioned, is a pennon with a skin of a mountain-cow's tail. It is only bestowed on officers of rank. It resembles the Turkish imperial standard.
3. Kopah, a kind of mantle, covered with wool.
tion of the neighbouring territories, and particularly the Jenjulah, 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, so 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 Khwâje Mir Mirân and Miram Naşir 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 Tâtar, seized the country of Perhâleh, and was now at Perhâleh, as has been mentioned. About afternoon prayers we halted, and halted our horses; and set off again about bed-time prayers. Our guide was a servant of the Malik-hust, by name Sûra. He was a Gujar. All night long we proceeded straight on in our course, but halted towards morning, and sent on Beg Muhammad Moghall towards their camp. When it was beginning to be light we again mounted, and, about luncheon time, 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. Kuch Beg, who belonged to that wing, was directed to follow in their rear, by way of reserve. The left wing and centre pressed 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.

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 fort or settlement, yet it is so situated that it is not assailable. It is surrounded by a precipice seven or eight geâs in perpendicular height. The troops of the left wing having passed along the ravines, went pining 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 impetuousity, 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 ravines; 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.
April 15th, Dost Beg, on this occasion, again greatly distinguished himself. I ordered an honorary gift to be given to him. At the same time I entered Peshâlêh, and took up my abode at Tahâr's palace. During these operations, some men, who had been ordered to remain with me, had joined the skirmishing party. Among these were Amin Muhammad Korâchî, and Terekhân Argâû. In order to punish them for this offense, I gave them the Gujer Surpa for their guide, and turned them out disgracefully into the deserts and wilds, to find their way back to the camp.

March 10th.

Next morning, passing by the ravine on the north-west, we halted on the town fields, where I gave Wâli, the treasurer, a body of select troops, and sent him off to the camp.

March 17th.

On Thursday the 15th, we halted at Anderâbâb, which lies on the banks of the river Sibâm. This fort of Anderâbâb depended, from old times, on the father of Malék-hast. When Háti Qâkân slew Malék-hast'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 Keldâ-kâr rejoined us.

Háti, after dispatching Tahâr, had sent to me one Parbat, his relation, with a caparisoned horse, and a pekhâsh. 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. Linger 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 Sibâm, and encamped on a rising ground. I gave a dress of honour to Parbat, Háti Khan's relation; and, having written letters to confirm Háti in his good intentions, and to remove any apprehensions that he might entertain, dispatched Parbat in company with a servant of Muhammad Ali Jong-Jong.

Some of Humâûin's servants had gone along with Dâba Dost and Hilâhil to Nilât, and in the Kariâbî Hazrâzî, who had been given to Humâûin, and submitted to receive Darûghâz. Sanger Karâkî, accompanied by Mizra Mâvi Korâchî, 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 obsequies. The army of the Dihzâk Afghans having also arrived, we next morning marched thence and halted, after advancing two kashes. I here ascended a rising ground to survey the camp, and directed the emblems of the army to be numbered. They amounted to five hundred and seventy canals. I had formerly heard the sambal plant (apâkûnâr) described; I saw one at this station.

1 Humâûin.

2 The original has: "I sent them out with grace without spó-pa." The spó-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 Note.

There is still a part of the country, on the east bank of the Indus, called Hazara, probably after this tribe; for in all these countries, the name of a tribe is applied to its country, without any addition.
On the skirts of this hill there are a few saudah plants scattered here and there. They are more abundant in the skirts of the hills of Hindustān, where the plant is both more plentiful and larger in size. When I describe the shrubs and forests of Hindustān, it will be more particularly mentioned.

Marching hence the time when the kettle-drum beats, we halted about luncheon-time at the foot of the pass of Sengulki. 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 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 reasonably. Towards evening we halted lower down than the junction of the Sind and Kābul rivers, and higher up than old Nilāb, between the two. We brought six boats from Nilāb, 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.

Parbat, Hātī's relation, who had been sent from the neighbourhood of Chandīgarh with the servant of Mūhammed Ali Jung-Jeng, returned to us; while we were on the banks of the river, bringing from Parbat a horse clad in armour, by way of tribute offering. The inhabitants of Nilāb brought an armed horse as a present, and tendered their submission. Mūhammed Ali Jung-Jeng having a wish to remain in Behreh and Behreh itself having been given in Hūdī Beg, I bestowed on him the tract of country between Bārubh and the Sind, with the Iśā and Ullūses in the district, such as the Kālūk, Hansāro, and Hātī, and Ghūndā, and Kib. Whoever submitted his neck was to be treated with kindness, and no such as were rebellious and refractory.

(*Verse.*)—*Whatever does not submit his head, must be subjected to punishment, and humbled by gallows.*

After making these grants to Mūhammed Ali Jung-Jeng, I gave him one of my own black velvet Kāmil kurshets, and the top (or banner) of mountain-cow's tail. I gave Hātī's relation leave to depart, presented him with a sword, and a dress of honour: and sent him letters calculated to confirm Hātī 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 mānjūm. While under its influence, I visited some beautiful gardens. In different beds, the ground was covered with purple and yellow argawān 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

* That is, an hour before day.
* This was probably at the Aīk pass.
* The argawān is a beautiful flowering shrub, of great size.
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 Pershawer, during the spring, the flower-plots are exquisitely beautiful.

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 steep 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 Khulwa Piâdel 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 Bâhâ Yeshâwal, drawing his sword, approached, and struck him on the head, at the moment he was on the spring. After this, Ali Siâvûd struck him on the limbs, 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.

Next morning, we continued our march, and halted at Bekrân. We visited the Gûrkh-kâtî. 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 be 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 Gûrkh-kâtî there are numerous cells, like those of a college or monastery. The number of apartments is very great. The first year that I came to Kabul, when I plundered and laid waste Kohat, Bânû, and the Desh, I passed through Bekrân 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 shot my best hawk. Shiüklim, the chief huntsman, had the charge of it. It took heroics and storks excellently. It had flown away twice or thrice before. It pounced so unfallingly 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 Dilâr-khâl Afgâns, who accompanied Mêlek Tarkhân and Mêlek Mânâ, I bestowed a hundred miskals of silver, one suit, 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.

When we had reached our ground at Ali Menjâd, one Mûrût, a Yakáb-khâl Dilâr-khâl, brought ten sheep, two loads of rice, and eight large cheeses, as tribute.

From Ali Menjâd, we halted at Yeddêh Bîr. From Yeddêh Bîr, we reached Jâm-Shâbî, at noon-day prayers, and halted. This same day, Dust Bêg was seized with a
burning fever. Early in the morning, we marched from Jih-Shahi, and passed the mid-day at the Bagh-vafti. At noon-day prayers, we left the Bagh-vafti, and passed the Shah-ka of Gazinek. Evening prayers were over, when, after having given our horses breath in a cultivated field, we mounted again in a geri² or two, and, passing the Sirkhâb, halted at Kerch, where we slept. Before dawn, we again mounted; and, at the separation of the Karath road, I and five or six others went to view a garden which I had made in Karath. I sent Khalilshâh, Shah Hassan Beg, and other persons, straight-on to Kirâhi-Sai, where they were to wait for me. On reaching Karath, one Kazil, a Tewacli³ of Shah Beg Arshum’s, brought me information that Shah Beg had taken and plundered Kâham and retired. I issued orders that nobody should carry forward intelligence of my approach. I reached Kâbul at noon prayers; no one knew of my approach till I reached the bridge of Kuttâk-Kadam. After that, there was no time to put Hümâûn and Kâhârul 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, Kazim Beg, with the Kazi of the city, and most of my court as had remained in Kâbul, waited on me.

On Friday, the first day of the second Ruhl, I had a jovial party about afternoon prayers. I bestowed a dress of honour from my own wardrobe on Shah Hassan.

At daybreak on Saturday morning, I went on board of a boat, and had a morning-party. At this entertainment, Nur 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 Kilkeneh⁴ and the hill. About afternoon prayers, we went to the Bagh-Bimshâh,⁵ and sat down to our wine. I returned from Kilkeneh over the ramparts into the citadel.

On the night of Tuesday the 8th, 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 forage of Andijan, at the Rebat of Zanab. 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 Naizir, another Mirza Koli Gokultshad, the third Kermale. I had on my corset. Tambol, with another person, stood in front of his troops, about as far in advance as the outer vestilule of a

¹ Near Advanpur.
² A geri = 1/3 minutes.
³ Tewacli, an adjutant or companion.
⁴ Siro-pul.
⁵ A garden of flowers.
⁶ One of the three was Dost Naizir, another Mirza Koli Gokultshad, the third Kermale. I had on my corset. Tambol, with another person, stood in front of his troops, about as far in advance as the outer vestilule of a
⁷ Violet Garden.
house is from the door. I advanced right to Tambah, 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. Tambah let fall a heavy sword-blows 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 Akbar, when we were retiring out of that place, he had a single combat with Haji Khizr; though they called him Khizr (the effeminate), yet he was a stern and sturdy soldier, and wielded his sword right powerfully. When I retired from Akbar, and had only eight persons left with me, he was one of them. The enemy, after disemboweling the other two, at last disemboweled Dost Beg. After he was elevated to the rank of Beg, too, when Shuruk Khan came with the Sultans to Tashkent, and besieged Ahmed Kasim, 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; Ahmed Kasim, without giving him notice, abandoned the city and died. Under these circumstances, he manfully attacked the Khan and Sultans, forced his way out of Tashkent, broke through the midst of their army, and bravely effected his escape. After this, when Shirin Taghia and Mardan, with 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 Shirukhan, 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 Bejouj, too, Dost Beg's people came up and mounted the ramparts before any of the others: and, at Perghur, Dost Beg defeated Hathi, put him to flight, and took the place. After Dost Beg's death, I gave his government to his younger brother, Mirzam Naddar.

On Friday, the 8th of the latter Rebi, I left the fort, and went to the Chebar-Bagh.

On Tuesday the 12th, Sultaness Begum, the eldest daughter of Sultan Mirza, who, during the late occurrences, had been in Khwarizm, where Imam Kuli Sultan, the younger brother of Yeli Pahre Sultan, had married her daughter, arrived with her in Khyber. I assigned her the Bagh-e 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.

On Sunday the 17th, I released from custody that traitor Haji Sheikh, who had

1. His narrative that Babur takes no notice of the wound which he received by the thigh.
2. The effeminate.
3. This name of Tashkent is referred to nowhere else.
4. He is better called Dillar, which seems to be the correct name.
long been in confinement, forgave his offenders, and bestowed on him a dress of honour.

On Tuesday the 19th, I went out about noon, to make a tour round Khwājeh Syārun. April in that day I was fasting. Yūnis Ali and some others said with surprise, "What! Tuesday, and you fasting! This is a miracle." On reaching Behshādī, we halted at the Kāzi's house. That night we had made every preparation for a jolly party, when the Kāzi 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 merrymaking was ready, yet, to please the Kāzi, we gave up our intention of drinking wine.

On Thursday the 21st, I directed that an inclosure or fence should be made on the Aṣpāzī hill, on the brow of which I had planned out a garden.

On Friday, I embarked above the bridge on a raft. On coming opposite to the Aṣpāzī Khāneh Syārun (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 Hindustān.

On Saturday the 23rd, I planted shoots of the plane, and of the sycamore, within the Aṣpāzī inclosure. At noon-day prayers we had a drinking party. At day-break next morning, April 24th, we had an early drinking party within the new inclosed ground. After mid-day we mounted and returned towards Kābul. Reaching Khwājeh Hassan, completely drunk, we slept there. At midnight we mounted again, left Khwājeh Hassan, and arrived at the Char-bagh. At Khwājeh Hassan, Abdu'l-lah, being intoxicated, had leaped into the Aṣpāzī 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 Kullkul Khwājeh'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.

On Monday the 28th, Hindū Beg, who had been left in Behshādī the adjoining producès without sufficient means, in hopes of their remaining peaceable, rejoined me. My bank had no sooner been turned than the Afghans and Hindustānis, 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 Hindū Beg in Behshādī. The Zendahals also joined the party of the Afghans; so that Hindū Beg, being unable to defend himself in Behshādī, retired by Khushab, passed through the country of Dīkūt, and proceeding on by Nīshābūr, arrived in Kābul. Den Hindū, with the son of Sekh, and some other Hindūs, had been brought as prisoners from Behshādī. We now settled with each of them for a certain contribution, on payment of which these Hindustānis were all presented with horses and dresses of honour, and dismissed, with liberty to return home.

On Friday the 29th, I felt some symptoms of an intermittent fever, and got myself aper to let blood. At that time there was an interval sometimes of two days, sometimes of
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, Mulla Khwajka pre-
scribed wine mixed with numerous flowers. I took it once or twice, but it did me no good.

A.D. 1319. May 16.

On Sunday, the 15th of the first Jumadi, Khwajeh Muhammed Ali came from
Khost. He brought a saddled horse as tribute, and also some money as an offering. Muhammed Sherif Muneefian, and some sons of the Mirzas of Khost, accompanied
Khwajeh Muhammed Ali, and tendered their service.

May 18.

Next morning, being Monday, Mullah Kahr arrived from Kharghar. He had gone
from Andijan to Kharghar, and had thence come on to Kuhul.

May 22.

On Monday the 23d, Malek Shah Mansur Yusuf-zai, with five or six chiefs of the
Yusuf-zaus, came from Sewad, and waited on me.

May 26.

On Monday, the first of the latter Jumadi, I bestowed dressers of honour on the
Afgan Yusuf-zaus chiefs who had accompanied Shah Mansur; I gave Shah Mansur a
silk 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 Sewad higher up than Arabat; and should strike
out the contributions of the inhabitants from the rolls of their annual collections; and
further, that the Afgans who cultivate lands in Bajour and Sewad should pay six
thousand Kherwar or loads of rice to the government.

June 1.

On Wednesday the 3d, I took a jilap.

June 6.

On Monday, the 8th of the month, they brought the wedding present of Khemzhe,
the younger son of Khaem Beg, who was married to the eldest daughter of Khellifah.
It consisted of a thousand shahdah, with a saddled horse.

June 7.

Shah Hassen Beg's drinking party.

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
Ghais Taghni were with me. I still abstained from the use of wine. I said, "I never
in my life sat sober while my friends were getting merry, nor remained cool and ob-
servant 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, 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. Ghais, 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 Terfi Muhammed Kicheh and Mulla
Khitabz. I composed extempore, and sent to Shah Hassan and his party, the follow-
ing verses:

(Terfi.)—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 beseech a hundred prayers that no evil may befall them.

Khost lies on the Kermun river, north of Darr, in the Afghan country.
* The entertainer.
* This would amount to nearly thirty-eight thousand hundred weight.
* Nearly 230.
* Probably in consequence of his intermittent.

Shah Rishab, or Picture-galler.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

I sent these lines by Ibrahim Cheshmeh. 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-ewwan. For several days before this I had drunk 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 Talerkhuniti, under an apple tree, when we drank the medicated wine.

On Friday the 12th, Ahmed Beg and Sultan Muhammad Döday, who had been left in Bajaur to assist in the defence of the country, rejoined me.

On Wednesday, the 17th of the month, Tengri Berdli, with some Beggars 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 Tent.

On Thursday, the 25th of the month, Molla Mahmud was appointed to read the Jurn. Fika-e-Syfi.

On Tuesday, the last day of the month, Abu Muslim Golkhathe arrived from Shah Jum. Shuja Askar, as ambassador. He brought a Tipchak horse as a present. That same day Yusef Ali-Rikabdar having swum across the water-plot of the Bagh-e-Cha-

när a hundred times, received a dress of honour and a saddled horse as a present.

On Wednesday, the 8th of Rejeb, I went to Shah Hassan's house, where we had a Jurn. drinking party. Many of my nobles and courtiers were present.

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 Delhi-Afghan road, proceeding to the city. I ascertained that they were Derwish Muhammad Särân 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 style of an ambassador," said I, "and sit down and join us without ceremony." Derwish Muhammad 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.

Last year, with extreme difficulty, and by incessant exertions and management, all the natives in the neighbouring tracts, along with the Aimaks, had been moved and brought down into Kábul. Kábul is but a small country. It has not sufficient room for the range of their flocks of sheep and brood-mares; and the Aimaks 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 Kábul. Through Kásim Beg, they begged leave to pass into another country. Ká-
A.D. 1510. sim Beg pleaded hard for them, and at last procured leave for the Aimaks to go over to Khânez and Baghân.

Háfez Mir Kâlib’s eldest brother had come from Samarkand. I now gave him leave to return. I sent by him my Diwan for Polâd Sultan, and on the back of it I wrote the following verses:

(Persian.)—O Zephyr, if thou enter thesymmetry of that cypress,
Remind the heart-broken victim of separation—
The object of my love thinks not of Babur; ye I cherish a hope
That God will pour pity into his own heart—(or Polâd’s heart).

July 15.

On Friday, the 17th, of the month, Muhammad Zaman Mirza brought an offering, and a horse, as tribute from Shah Muzaffar Gulkâsh, and was introduced to me.

The same day, having arrayed Abu Mislem Gulkâsh, 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 Khwâtje Muhammad Ali and Tâqi Beg, who held the countries of Khoot and Anderâl.

July 21.

On Thursday the 23d, Muhammad Ali Jeng-Jong, whom I had left in the neighbourhood of Kucheh-kot and Karlih, districts which I had placed under his control, came to me, accompanied by Mirza Milâ Kâliâk’s son, Shah Husseinf, 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.

The Abdal-Rahman Afghan had settled themselves within the limits of Gerdesd, and did not pay their taxes nor demean themselves peaceably. They molested the caravans both in coming and going. In order to chastise these Afghans, and beat up their quarters, on Wednesday, the 29th of Hejâb, I set out upon an expedition against them. We halted and took some food in the neighbourhood of Teng-Wagghân, and again set out after noon-day prayers. That night we lost our road; and wandered a great deal to the south-east of Panjâb Shâkhrî, among hillocks and waste grounds. After a time we again found the road, passed the Koral (hill-defile) of Cheshmeh-Porch, and about the time of sunrise, reached the plain, (descending to it by the valley of Yâkshilk, on the side of Gerdesd,) 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 Kirmâk, which lies south-east of Gerdesd. I sent Khuren Mirza Kuli 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 Julghâ (or Dale), to the east of Gerdesd,

1. This name, as well as the play on the words, and the epigrammatic form of these lines.
2. Khoot and Anderâl lie west of Bâdakhân.
3. Beyond the said. Kucheh-kot seems to be Chuch.
4. The Persian for Tarkh-Shâkhrî.
5. The Yâkshilk also reaches Kirmâk and Kowmâ. On the Kûrûm there is a village called Kirmâk. Perhaps the hill-country at the source of the Kûrûm may be meant, the whole country shrouded by this river, being sometimes called Kirmâk.
Syed Kāsim Ishaq-āghā, Mr Shah Kōchā Kīlān, and Hindū Beg, Kutlūk Kedem, Hassain, 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 Afghans 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, Hassain Hassain, without motive or reason, had spurred on his horse into the midst of the Afghans, 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 lances and swords, and cut him in pieces. The Amir stopped short, and stood looking on, but gave him no assistance. On getting information of this, I ordered Gedul Taghtū, Payndeh Muhammed Kiplān, Abul Hassain Kārei, Momīn 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, Momīn Utkeh, on getting into action, struck down an Afghan with a spear, and cut off his head, which he brought away. Abul Hassain Kārei had not arrayed himself in his mail, but he advanced bravely, posted himself in the road by which the Afghans were marching, charged among them full speed on horseback, brought down an Afghan 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. Payndeh Muhammed Kiplān also advanced very gallantly, attacked and wounded an Afghan, sword in hand, made him prisoner, and brought in his head. Though the courage of Abul Hassain and Payndeh Muhammed Kiplān had been distinguished on former occasions, yet in this affair they gave still more conspicuous proofs of their gallantry. These forty or fifty Afghans were all shot or cut down to a man. After slaying the Afghans, 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 Bega who had been with Hassain 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 Afghans 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 shaved, 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 so contemptible an enemy. On level ground you stood looking on, and never lifted an arm. Do this your punishment." That detachment of the army which had gone towards Kirmas brought in some sheep and plunder. Būba Kiskē, who was a very resolute man, while an Afghan 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 Afghan, and brought him down.

Next morning we set out on our return towards Kābul. I ordered Muhammed Jānī to

The Chamberlain.
Bakshish, Abdal Aziz Mir Akhur, and Mir Khurul Bekawel, to remain at Cheemahporeh, and take some Gherghawels. I myself, with a small boy, went by the way of Meidan e Rustam, as I had never seen that road. The Meidan e Rustam 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 Julga, 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 Gordes to this Meidan e Rustam there are springs. They also have many trees about them, but these trees are not so lofty as the former. Although the Julga 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 Meidan e Rustam, the hill country of Kermis 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 Hali, and halted.

July 28. Next morning, I halted at the village of Muhammed Akso, and, indulging myself with a maqûn, made them throw into the water the liquor used for intoxicating fishes, and caught a few fish.

July 29. 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 Derwish Muhammed Faush, and the servants of Khosrow, regarding the surrender of Nilah, and it appeared 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 Bahc Ikshkeh Moghol.

August 7. On Friday, the 8th, Kepck, who had been sent to Mirza Khan, returned back.

August 11. On Thursday, we mounted, in order to ride round and visit the Dumenkoah (or skirts of the hill-country) of Khwâjeh Seyâran and Bâran. About bed-time prayers, we lighted at Mann Khatûn. Next morning, we went as far as Isâlîf, where we halted. That day I took a maqûn.

August 13. On Saturday, we had a drinking party at Isâlîf.

August 14. Next morning we left Isâlîf, and passed through the Sunjid Dureh. When we had nearly reached Khwâjeh Seyâran, 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 Seyâran, we had a drinking party.

I wrote letters, which I sent by the hand of Kichkemek Tâmektar to the Amir beyond the hills, desiring them to assemble the force of the country, mentioning that

1 Master of Horse.
2 Taxer.
3 A bird resembling the great partridge, or the peasant.
4 Bilar, or perhaps rather Iljar, the military force of the country of Kabul being still called Iljar.
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 Persián, where it meets the road, some of the drag which is used by the inhabitants of the country to intoxicate the fishes, and took a very great quantity of fish. Mr. Shah Beg presented me with a horse, and gave us a dinner. From thence we went on to Gúlbélâr. After bed-time prayers we had a drinking party. Derwhish Muhammed Sârbân was present at these parties. Though young, and a soldier, yet he never indulged in wine. He always rigidly abstained from it. Kuthâk Khwâjeh Gûlûtshâh had for a long time renounced the profession of arms, and become a Derwhish. He was very aged, and his beard had become white, but he always joined us at our wine in those jovial drinking parties. "Does not the heavy beard of Kuthâkh Khwâjeh make you ashamed?" said I to Muhammed Derwhish; "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, so 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.

Next morning we had a morning cup. On Wednesday, we left Gúlbélâr, 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.

Next morning, we set out again on our progress, and after having visited and circumambulated the tomb of Khwâjeh Khân Sâld, embarked in a raft at Chineh Kürghâmeh. At the confluence 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-dâr, Tangri Kûlî, and Mr. Muhammed Jâlesût, were tossed into the river. Rûkh-dût and Tangri Kûlî 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 Sêngû-Burdshâh (the cut-rock), the raft again struck on something in the midst of the stream. I knew 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 had hold of Mirza Kûlî Gûlûtshâh, and drew him in along with him. Derwhish Muhammed Sârbân likewise tumbled into the water. Mirza Kûlî Gûlûtshâh fell in an odd way. He had in his hand a knife for cutting melons, which, while in the act of cutting, he struck into the mast 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. Derwhish Muhammed made me a present of a cup of seven colours, like that which had fallen overboard.

On Friday, we left the banks of the river. We halted on the skirt of a small hill, situated lower down than Kûh-Bırîk, where I plucked a number of toothpicks with my own hand. About noon-day prayers, we halted in Kuthâk Khwâjeh's village, in a
district of Lenghân. 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 Khilânt-Khâșch (or dress of honour of the highest degree), and a saddled horse, on Derwish Muhammed Sârbân, and he was presented on being raised to the rank of Beg. For four or five months I had never cut the hair of my head. On Wednesday the 27th I had it cut. This day we had a drinking party.

August 28. On Friday the 29th, I invested Mir Khûrd with the office of governor to Hindûil, on which occasion he brought me a present of a thousand shârâkhs.

August 31. On Wednesday, the 5th of Ramzân, one Jekul, a servant of Tâlik Gokulâh, Bûrâ, 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. 2. On the night of Saturday the 8th, we went to Kûsim Beg's house, and broke our fast. He presented me with a saddled horse. Next morning, we broke our fast at the house of Khâlîfâh, who presented me with a saddled horse.

Sept. 4. The morning after, Khwâjeh Muhammed Ali and Jân Násir, 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 Kâmanî, who, in the year in which I passed over from Khoat to Kâbul, had proceeded to Kâshâghûr, as has been mentioned, waited on me.

Sept. 10. On Thursday, the 13th of Ramzân, I set out on an expedition for the purpose of repelling and chastising the Yânâmâs, and halted at a valley which lies near Deh-Yetkub, on the Kâbul side of that village. As I was mounting my horse, Baba 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, Doulât Sultan Khanîm, arrived from Kâshâghûr, bringing letters and news of the Khanîm.

The same day, Bûkâhân and Músâ, the chiefs of the Dîlaâ, came with their tribute, and were introduced.

Sept. 11. On Sunday the 16th, Kich 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 Ramûn, Kelmard, Ghârî, and the districts held by Kich Beg, were much exposed, in consequence of the vicinity of the Uzbecks, I excused him from accompanying

1 The Khilânt-Khâșch, 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, saber and dagger with ensamled handle, a military standard, and a horse with trappings scarlet with gold, and perhaps the nekara-khânc, or band of music.

2 About 200. The quantity of each sum shows the poverty of the country.

3 This being Ramûn, Baber did not break his fast till sunset. In like manner, during Ramûn, they eat in the mornings before sunrise.
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 Bahlam-Cheshmeh.

Next morning, we halted at Berlik-h or. I went and rode all round Kurayil. In the course of this day's march, we found honey in a tree. Advancing, we halted after marching on Wednesday the 20th, we halted at Bugh. On Thursday we stayed at Bugh. On Friday, we marched, and halted after passing Sultanpur. The same day, Mir Shah Hussain arrived from his government. Bakhin and Mian, the chief of the Dilazaks, and the Dilazaks themselves, also arrived this day. I had intended to make an expedition against Sewad, in order to check the Yusefzais. The Dilazak chief represented to me, that, in Hashanchar, there were a great number of Ulbs (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 Hashanchar, we should plunder the Afghans of that neighborhood; that we should fit up the fort of Hashanchar, or that of Peshawar, and lay up magazines of grain in them; and that Mir Shah Hussain should be left there with a body of troops for their defence. In consequence of this resolution, Mir 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.

Next morning, we resumed our march, and came to Jol Shahi, where we halted. Sept. 24. Tongri Beall and Sultan Muhammad Dubbin courted and joined us at this station. Khanzal likewise arrived this day from Kunur.

On Sunday, the 20th of Ramazan, we marched from Jol Shahi; and halted at Kirak. On Monday, 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 Nur. After evening prayers, there was a drinking-party consisting of Mohib Ali Kurachi, Khowja Subhan Shah, Beg, Sultan Muhammad Dubbin, and Dorweel. Muhammad Sardari; Dorweel and I, always abstained from wine. From my childhood days, it has been my rule that no one should be pressed to drink against his will. Dorweel was always of our party, and never was urged to drink at all. Khowja Muhammad Ali would not suffer him to take his own way, but, by pressing and urging, made him drink some wine.

Early on Monday, being the day of the Id, we renewed our march; on the way I took a munjin to remove the crop sickness. At the time of my taking the munjin, they brought a Colocynthis apple; Muhammad had never seen one. I told him it was a Hindustani melon; lightly prised it up, gave him a slice, which he put hastily into his mouth, and chewed one. The bitter taste did not leave his mouth.

1 The Id al-Fitr is the festival on the conclusion of the fast of the Ramazan, celebrated on seeing the new moon of Shawal.
2 That is, of the new moon of Shawal. The new moon having been seen the evening before, which to the Musalmans was Monday evening, they had celebrated the Id al-Fitr on Monday eve.
that whole day. We halted on the rising ground of Germ Chashmeh. Some men had been already dressed and presented, when Langer Khan, who had been for some time at his place, arrived with an offering of some maajun as tribute, and made a tender of his services. We went on and halted at Bedch-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.

Next morning we marched thence and halted at the bottom of the Khelber Pass. The same day Sultan Bayezid, who had passed over from Nilah, by way of Barah (whence, having got notice of my motions, he had traced me out), arrived and gave me information, that the Aferdi Afghans, with their families and property, were settled in Barah, where they had sung 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 Afghans and Hashmaghar, I did not care to meddle with these others. At noonday prayers, we had a drinking party at the quarters of Khwaja Muhammad Ali. During this party I went to Khwaja Kilah at Bajour, by the hands of Sultan Tirah, 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 hils and desert.

Marching thence at dawn, we passed the desiles of Khelber, and halted at Ali Meajid. Marching again about noon-day prayers, and leaving the baggage to follow, we reached the banks of the river of Kuhl when the second watch was over, and had a short sleep. At break of day we discovered a ford, and crossed the river. We got notice from our advanced party, that the Afghans had received information of our approach, and fled. Proceeding in our course we crossed the river of Sewaid, and halted amidst the corn-fields of the Afghans. 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 Hashmaghar as a depot. The Dihazak chief who had urged us to make this inroad were rather mortified. About afternoon prayers we crossed to the Kuhl side of the Sewaid river, and halted.

Next morning having marshed from the Sewaid river, we crossed the Kuhl 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 Aferdi Afghans, as had been proposed by Sultan Bayezid, to fit up the fort of Pershawer for the reception of their effects and corn, and to leave it on the 30th. Hindu Beg, and the Mir-sadleh of Khos, joined us at this six districts hot. I took a maajun. Derwisch Muhammad Sardab, Muhammad Gokutdut, and Geddi Taghmai, the captain of the night-guard, were of the party. We afterwards went also for Shah Hassan. After dinner, about afternoon prayers, we embarked on a raft. We sent for Langer 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 Hafiz.  3 Some of the Mira.
Marching early in the morning from the banks of the river, in execution of the plan which had been formed, and passing Jānu, we halted on reaching the mouth of the river of Ali Mēsid. Ābū Hāshem Sultan Ali, who had followed us, reported, that on the eve of Arīf, he had, at Jārī Shāh, met with a person who was come from Badakhshān, and who had informed him, that Sultan Sa'd Khan was marching against Badakhshān, which had induced him to hasten to me with the intelligence. I immediately sent for the Bega and consulted them, when it was resolved to resuscitate our plan of garrisoning the fort, and to set out on an expedition into Badakhshān. I bestowed a dress of honour on Lēngur Khan, and appointing him to reinforce Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, gave him his leave. That night we had a drinking party in Khvājeh Muhammed Ali’s tent.

Early next morning we set out on our march, and crossing the Khelher Pass, halted at the foot of it. The Khizā-Ḳhālī 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-Gholāmān. About noon-day prayers we fed our horses, and dispatched Muhammed Hussain Korchi to Kābul, with orders to seize all the Khizā-Ḳhālī 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 Badakhshān. That night we continued marching till midnight, and halted a little beyond Sultānpūr; from which place, after having taken a short sleep, we mounted again. The quarters of the Khizā-Ḳhālī extended from Dehūr and Masīkh-kerkān as far as Karash. 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.

Next morning we encamped at Khān-gū, where we took some Gher Jhāwelo. The baggage which had been left behind joined us to-day at this station.

The Veazār Afgāns 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.

Next morning the chiefs of the Khirolchī and Shamī-Ḳhāl arrived, accompanied by a body of Afgāns. The Dīlazāk 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

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1. Now Jānu.
2. This appears to be a mistake or oversight of Baber. The slab or eye of Arīf was not till the evening of the 2d December 1516. He probably meant to say, the Masūr, which had occurred only five days before, on the 23rd September.
Having settled these affairs, on Thursday the 18th we marched, and halted at Bebbiy and Moulah-kurran. 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, laden 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 stayed at the Garden, all the people in the camp had pomegranates in abundance.

On Monday we marched from the Garden; I stayed till the first watch, and bestowed the oranges on different persons. I gave Shah Hussen the oranges of two trees; to several Beggars I gave one tree, and to several two orange trees. As I had an intention of travelling through the Lenghikan in the winter, I desired them to save about twenty trees; around the piece of water, for my use. This day we reached Gendemek.

Next morning we halted at Jadeellig. Towards evening prayers we had a drinking party; many of my courtiers were present. About the end of the party, Gedai Mohammed, sister's son of Kasim Beg, became very noisy and troublesome; and, when he got drunk, placed himself on the pillow on which I reclined, whereupon Gedai Taghi turned him out of the party.

Marching thence, before break of day, I went to visit the country up the Birk-i of Kozuk-aali. Many Terek trees were in excellent bearing. We halted at that place, and, having dined on a dish called Yulkerin, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them kill a sheep which was picked up on the road, cause some man to be dressed, kindled a fire of oak branches, and entertained ourselves. Mulla Abdal Malek Dawkher having petitioned to be allowed to carry to Kabul the news of my approach, I accordingly dispatched him for that city.

Hassan Nebigh, who had come on the part of Miran 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 Kahan 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 Muhammad Bakir was so far gone, that Amin Mohammed Terkhan, 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 Afghans appeared in sight. Amin Mohammed Terkhan, 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.
We reached Kâbul at midnight. Next morning Kûli Beg, who had been sent to Oude on an embassy to Sultan Saîd Khan, returned and waited on me in the hall of audience. Besghâ Bîrî Amârî*, who had been sent along with Kûli Beg on an embassy to me, brought with him a few of the mirths of that country as presents.

On Wednesday, the first of Zîkâlit, I went alone and had an early cup close by Kûli 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-i-Bennishâli,† and sat down to our wine by the side of the place 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 Temûrî Kûli Beg and Mendib, which I had never before done. At bed-time prayers I reached Hemân, and staid there that night.

On Thursday, I bestowed dresses of honour on the merchants of Hindustân, who on the 27th were under the guidance of Yâftî Lâhînu, and gave them leave to depart.

On Saturday, the 4th of the month, I granted audience of leave to Besghâ Bîrî, whom I had come from Kâshghâr, when I gave him a dress of honour, and made him some presents.

On Sunday, I had a party in the small Picture-cabinet1 that is over the gate. Although the apartment is very small, our party consisted of sixteen.

On Monday, I went to Ištâli, to see the harvest. This day I took a manjîn, under the guidance of Istaflî, and I took a manjîn on the road. It was about noon-day prayers before I reached Besghâ. 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 manjîn, 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. Mûlîn Momâd Khalîfâ having arrived, we invited him to join us. Abdalla, who had got very drunk, made an observation which affected Khalîfâ. Without recollecting that Mûlîn Momâd was present, he repeated the verse,

(Perlen.)—Examine when you will, you will find him suffering from the same wound.

Mûlîn Momâd, who did not drink, reproved Abdalla for repeating this verse with levity. 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 manjîn in the Bagh-i-Bennishâli, and embarked in the

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* Warehouse keeper.
† Violet garden.
‡ The Bath.
§ Stûr-sîrkhâ.

This verse, I presume, is from a religious poem, and has a mystical meaning. The precise application of it is the ground of offence.
18.-1519. A boat with several of my more intimate associates. Hāmā'ūn and Kāmūn also joined us. Afterwards Hāmā'ūn shot a water-fowl in a very handsome style.

Sec 12. On Saturday the 18th, we rode out from the Chehrulagh about noon, and, after dismissing our groom and attendants, passed Mulla Bāba's bridge, and, mounting the street of Dīwarin, reached the subterraneous water-rooms of Kush-Nāder and Bāshirūn. We then passed behind Khir-kañch, and came late, about the time of the first sleep, to Terci Beg Khākṣār's subterraneous conduit. Terci Beg, on hearing of our arrival, ran out in great hurry to wait on us. I well knew Terci Beg's thoughtless profuse turn, and that he did not dislike his glass. I had taken with me a hummir shahre-khish, 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. Terci Beg set out for Bāshūlā to bring wine. I sent my horse with one of Terci 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 Terci Beg came back with a pitcher of wine, and we set about drinking it. While Terci Beg was bringing the wine, Mūhammed Kānim Birles and Shahzādah, who had guessed at the object of his errand, but had no suspicion that I was concerned, had dogged Terci Beg on foot. We invited them to be of the party. Terci Beg said, that Kūl-kūl-anḵāh 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 kulemir, called Shāhī, and a man connected with the conduit, who played on the ribeck. We sat drinking wine on the eminence behind the water-run till evening prayers; after which we went to Terci Beg's house, and drank by candle-light till after bed-time prayers. It was a wonderfully amusing and gallant party. I lay down, and the party went to another house, where they drank till the kettle-drum beat. Kūl-kūl-anḵāh 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 Istārālā, without letting them know. They discovered my design, however, so that it did not succeed. At length, when the kettle-drum beat, I mounted. Having desired Terci Beg and Shahzādah to accompany me, we all three rode on towards Istārālā. About early morning prayers we reached Kūl-kūl Hassan, below Istālīf. We halted for a little, and I took a manjān, and made a circuit of the crops. Towards sunrise, we halted at the garden of Istālīf, and ate grapes, and finally halted and slept at Kūl-kūl Shāhāb, in the territory of Istārālā. The house of Aṭa Mīr Akhār 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 Istārālā, and had a merry party. In a little time Kūl-kūl Mūhammed Amin joined us. We continued drinking till night prayers. During the course of that night and day, Abdalala Assā, Nūr Beg, and Yāḥīf Ali, arrived from Kābul.

Next morning, we breakfasted, and rode round the Bagh-e-Padshāh, which is

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1. Or Devran.
2. Kānim.
3. Bear-house.
4. About £3 sterling.
5. A kulemir is a religious mendicant of a particular class.
7. Of the night-guard.
8. Royal Garden.
below Isfaghān. 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 portray. From Isfaghān we rode to Khwājeh Hassan, where we dined. About evening prayers, we came to Behzādī, and drank wine in the house of one of Khwājeh Muhammed Amin’s servants named ‘Isa Muhammed.

Next morning, being Tuesday, we arrived at the Charbagh of Kābul. On Thursday Nov. 16, the 23d, I entered the fort.

On Friday, Muhammed Ali Haider Rikādīr, having taken a Tāqghān, brought it Nov. 16 in and presented it to me.

On Saturday the 25th, I had a party in the Bagh-e-Chinār.2 About bed-time prayers Nov. 19 I mounted. As Šyed Kāsim had taken offence at something, I alighted on coming to his house, and drank a few glasses.

On Thursday, the 1st of Zilhajjeb, Tājeddīn Mahīmund, who had come from Kandahār, waited on me.

On Monday the 16th, Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng arrived from Nihāb.

On Tuesday, Šangar Khan Jenjūheh, who had come from Behreh, waited on me.

On Friday the 23d, I finished my extracts from the four Divāns of Ali Shir Beg, the Guzvāla of which I had selected and arranged according to their measure.

On Tuesday the 27th, I had a party in the citadel. In this party, the rule was, Dec. 20 that every person who got drunk should leave the place, and another person be invited to supply his room.

On Friday, the 30th of Zilhajjeb, I set out to make a circuit of La’mghān.

THE OCCURRENCES OF 926.

On Saturday, the 1st of Moharram, I reached Khwājeh Seyfī, and had a drinking party upon the mound, which had been thrown up by the Jelū-nūs (or new river). Dec. 22

Next morning, I mounted, and rode to visit Zarghūnum.1 I alighted at the Khāneh Būlāhl, belonging to Syed Kāsim, where we had a party.

Next morning, I mounted, and continued my tour. I took a manjūn, 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 Darmāneh, where we halted, and had a drinking party. Before break of day, we had a morning draught. Dec. 21

Hak-dād, the chief of Darmāneh, presented me with his garden as a peshkosh.

On Thursday, we mounted, and rode on to Deh-Ta‘ījkūn, in Nīrrow, where we halted. Dec. 29

On Friday, we hunted the hill which lies between Kullāsh and the river Bārīn, and Dec. 30

1 The plane-tree garden. 
2 Moving sand. 
3 Nightingale-hall. 
4 Darmāneh is a little valley that joins that of Nīrrow from the north-west.
A.D. 1819. 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.

Jan. 21. Next morning, the tribute of the inhabitants was fixed at sixty misskals of gold.

Jan. 22. On Monday, I set out again on my tour in Leaghân. I had intended to have carried Himâlian along with me on this journey, but he preferred staying, and I took leave of him at the Pass of Koreh; after which I went on, and halted at Bedrây. The fishermen take great quantities of fish in the river of Pârân. 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 tank. Hâddar Alemâdî had been sent by me to Kufurâ. 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 Chikirs.

Jan. 23. Next morning, I went on board of a raft, and ate a mânjûn. Landing below Lûlân, I returned to the camp.

Jan. 27. Marching again on Friday, I halted at Dâmânch below Mirdân. At night, we had a drinking party.

Jan. 27. On Saturday, I embarked in a raft, and passing the strait of Deroûtâ, landed higher up than Johân-nâmâh. We went to the Bagh-e-Vâhâ, which is opposite to Aâdinâpûr. Khan Urâshâm, the Hakim of Nangâshâr, received us as we landed from the raft, and paid us his respects. Lâger Khan Nîkâr, who had long been in Nikhâh, waited on me on the road, and offered me his duty. We alighted at the Bagh-e-Vâhâ. Its oranges were well advanced in their yellow hue, and the verdure of the green plants was beautiful. We stayed five or six days in the Bagh-e-Vâhâ. As I intended, when forty years old, to abstain from wine, and as now I wanted somewhat less than one year of being forty, I drank wine most copiously.

Jan. 28. On Sunday the 16th, I took an early draught; and when sobered, as I was taking a mânjûn, Mâllâ Yârâk played an air which he had composed in the Penjikâh 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 Châragh measure, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

Jan. 11. On Wednesday, while taking an early glass, I and in sport that every person who sang a Tajik air should receive a goblet of wine. In consequence of this, many persons drank their goblets of wine. About nine in the morning, some persons who were sitting in our party under a Taj tree, proposed that every one who sang a Türkâ air should have a goblet of wine, and numbers sang their songs, 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.

Note: This passage on wine tributes. It is only about 400 reposer, or L. 40.

Note: A kind of the partridge kind. A district is was at Sheebâb, up the river.

Other unfortunately did not adhere to this resolution.
MEMOIRS OF BAHADUR.

Next morning I left Dutul, embarked on the raft, and passing Mir Sháhi, reached January 12. Ater. At Ater we mounted on horseback, and rode through the valley of Núr, till we had reached and passed the village of Susán. We halted at Amãk.

Khvájeh Kílân 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 Mir Hussain the charge of Bajour. On Saturday the 22d, I gave Shah Mir Hussain his audience of leave. This day, likewise, I had a drinking party at Amãk.

Next morning it rained heavily. I went from Kumer to Kíleh-Kerám, where Málk Kâl 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 Múllah 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.

The following morning I went on board of one raft, and some young men embarked in another. In Sewád, Bajour, and the neighbouring countries, they make a peculiar kind of liquor (or beer). There is a substance which they call hám, 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 hám is the essence from which the liquor (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 hám, but, from its extreme bitterness, was unable to swallow it; I then took a little manjún. I desired Aás, Hassan Ikerék, and Músí, who were in the other raft, to drink some of the potion, which they did, and became intoxicated. Hassan Ikerék immediately began to play a number of unpleasant pranks. Aás, also, became perfectly drunk; and performed so many disgraceful 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.

I have mentioned that I had bestowed Bajour on Shah Mir Hussain, and recalled Khvájeh Kílân. Having a high opinion of Khvájeh Kílân 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 Mir Hussain, as he was on his way to Bajour, at the passage over the river of Kumer, sent for him, and had some conversation with him: after which I gave him one of my own cordets, and he took leave. When we came opposite to Núrgil, 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 midway the raft struck on some bad ground. We were much afraid; but though the raft did not sink, Mr. Muhammad, who guided it, was pitched into the water. We passed that night near

\[ qá is the name used by kâmil. \]
MEMOIRS OF BAKER.

January 17. Ater. On Tuesday we came to Mendrâr. Kûlak 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. Gidger is a district dependent on the Tâman of Mendrâr. In this district alone, all the Lenghamats are there any dates. The village stands higher up than the Damânkoh (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 barricade of stones, for retaining the water for the purpose of bathing. The water is made to run over this basin 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 Mir Mirân. About evening prayers we had a party.

January 21. On Saturday we hunted the hill which lies between Aliasheng and Aliungar. On one side the men of Aliasheng, and on the other the people of Aliungar, made a ring, and drove in the deer from the hill; numbers of deer were killed. On leaving the chase we halted at Aliungar, in the Bagh-e-Milkâ, 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 for fish. It was noon before I went to a garden at Aliasheng, where we drank wine.

January 23. Next morning Khamach Khan, the Malek of Aliasheng, having been guilty of many crimes, and spilt innocent blood in murder, I delivered him up to the avengers 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-bâîliq. About afternoon prayers we passed the river at Alghatâ. At evening prayers we came to Karanghun, where, having fed our horses and taken a hearty dinner, we remounted the instant our horses had finished their barley.

1 In this excursion, Baker seems to have gone north-east till he got into Kamer, then to have floated down the river to the junction, and either tracked or rode up to Mendrâr.
2 Kûlak, in the Persian copy.
3 The Tâmi is a fishing-net.
4 This right of private revenge, which forms a part of the law of most rude nations, exists in a modified form under the Muhummedan law. The criminal is condemned by the judge, but is delivered up to the relations of the person murdered, to be remounced or put to death as they think fit.
5 The Persian has alos-nâr, perhaps alos-nâr.
SUPPLEMENT.

CONTAINING

AN ABRIDGED VIEW OF BABER'S TRANSACTIONS.
FROM A. H. 926 TO A. D. 932.

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 Hindustan, 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. 1508. Konak, passed through Bānū, went down the Sind as far as the territory of Multān, and returned to Kābul by Choutiali and Ab-īstādch, as the first; the expedition on the Cheghanserni, or Kāshkār 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 Hindustan, an intention which he did not accomplish; and the expedition to Behreh in 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 Hijra, 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 unnecessary.

1 From the end of January 1529, to the middle of November 1532. This interval, in the west, was distinguished by the progress of the Reformation under Luther; the taking of Belgrade and Nàples by Seliman the Magnificent; and by the battle of Pavia. In America, Cortez conquered Mexico.

2 See Akbernarnah, vol. I. MS.
It is plain, however, that Baber regarded his expedition into Bhira, or Behrech, in A.H. 925, not as his third, but as his first expedition into Hindustan; so that the ignorance of Abulfazl was greater than he himself supposed.

The expedition against the Yenczais and refractory Afghans, which is described by Baber in the end of the year 926, and from which he was recalled by the events in Badakshân, is regarded by Ferishta as his second expedition into Hindustan; but Baber himself does not intimate that he had any intention at that time of crossing the Indus. It appears, however, that Peshawar, or Bekrüm, 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 Hindustan, may perhaps in part proceed. Indeed, Baber himself informs us, that Kandahar was formerly regarded as the boundary between Hindustan and Khurasan. I am not, however, convinced that Baber reckoned this as one of his invasions of Hindustan.

Baber's third expedition against Hindustan appears to have been made A.H. 928. He gives an account of his march, and the punishments inflicted on the insurgents. He advanced to Shâlikot, the inhabitants of which submitted and saved their possessions, while the inhabitants of Shâlikot, who resisted, were put to death and their wives and children carried into captivity and all their property plundered.

While Baber was thus occupied in the destruction of Kandahâr, which was a place of great strength, he appears to have trusted more to the effects of his annual invasion in wasting and ruining the country than to the operations of an active siege.

The events which had occurred, proved to him the necessity of having his own territories protected, before he ventured upon foreign conquests. In the course of the year 927 of the Hijra, having received information of the death of Khan Mirza in Badakshân, he bestowed that country on Humâûn Mirza, his eldest son. The same year, he again entered the territories of Shah Beg, and reduced him to great distress.

The following year, 928, seems to have been marked by the final reduction of Kandahâr. Shah Beg had retired towards Shâlik, Shour, and Siwistan, and in the end con-
quered the kingdom of Sind. Baber pursuing his successes, occupied the country of Germeir along the Helmedh; which had been part of the dominions of Shah Beg. In the year 939 he occupied in various expiditions within his own territories, in checking the refractory Afghans, and in introducing some degree of order and arrangement into the affairs of his government. The invasion of Hindustan had long been the favourite object of Baber's ambition. The Uzbeks had established themselves in two great forces in Maweralmah to leave him any hopes of expelling them. Khorasan had been occupied by the Selvi dynasty of Persian kings, who were now in the height of their power and glory; while the provinces of Hindustan, which in all ages have been an easy prey to the capacity 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 Auber or Aurungzeb, nor even what it had been under Muhammad Ghori or Alaudin Khilji. For some time past, it had been in the hands of Afghan invaders. The reign of Ibrahim had been an unvaried scene of confusion and revolt. His haughty andernel temper, joined to the impolitic arrogance which he had treated the Afghan 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 Rohim to Behar, were in the hands of rebels, who occupied Behar itself. So extensive had the defection become, that his dominions did not extend much beyond Delhi, Agra, the Doab, Bunn, and Chanderi. Bengal had still its own sovereign, as well as Malwa and Guzerat. The Rajput Princes, from Mewati to Udipur, had joined in a confederacy, of which Rana Suhman, the Prince of Udipur, was at the head. The Punjab was held by Doulat Khan, and his sons Ghori Khan, and Dilawar Khan, who, Afghans themselves, were alarmed at the fate of the Afghan 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 union with his wishes. He made instant preparations for the expedition, and entered Hindustan for the fourth time.

He marched by the country of the Gakars, whom he reduced to obedience. Behar Khan Lodi, Mobarek Khan Lodi, and some other Afghan Amiris, who were still in the interest of Ibrahim, or who disliked the arrival of a foreign enemy, collected a large body of Afghans, and gave him battle as he approached Lahore, the capital of the province. The Afghans were defeated, and the conquerors, elated with their success, and enraged at the obstinacy of the resistance, plundered and burned the town and castle of Lahore. He next advanced to Dehulpur, the garrison of which holding out, the place was stormed, and a general massacre ensued.
At Dehálpur he was joined by Doulet Khan, and his sons Ghuzi Khan, and Diláwar Khan, who, after their revolt, had been compelled to seek refuge among the Baluchis. They informed him that Ismaél Jíshání was lying on the side of a rising ground near Sáhí, 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 Díláwar 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 concurrent circumstances, of the truth of this information, and threw Doulet Khan and Ghuzi Khan into prison. He was soon, however, prevailed on to release them, and gave them in Jagir1 the town of Sultánpur, 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 Penjáb. Baber, on receiving the news of this event, sent for Díláwar Khan, gave him possession of their estates, and loaded him with favours. This revolt of a man of such influence in the Penjáb 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 Sálej and proceeded as far as Sírhend. He soon after found it necessary to return to Kábul. 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 Alláiddin, a brother of the Emperor Ibáílm. On him Baber bestowed Dehálpur, and probably flattered him with hopes of the succession to the empire of Hindustán. He now left with him Bába Kishkhet, one of his favourite officers, to watch him, and retain him in his duty. He appointed Mir Ablaládzí to the charge of Lahore, Khoáró Gokulásh to Sájkot, and Múhmmad All Tájik to Kílánóz.

Scarcely had Baber recessed the Indus, when Doulet Khan and Ghuzi Khan issued from their retreat in the hills, resumed possession of Sultánpur, by vigorous exertions, succeeded in making Díláwar Khan prisoner, and detained him in close custody. Their army rapidly increased, and they advanced to Dehálpur, where they defeated Sultan Alláiddin, who escaped and fled to Kábul. Bábá Kishkhet repaired to Lahore, which was the head-quarters of the Turki army. Doulet Khan, encouraged by his first successes, sent five thousand Afghánis against Sájkot, in hopes of reducing the place; but Mir Ablaládzí having marched from Lahore, with a detachment of Baber’s troops, encountered the Afghánis, and completely defeated them.

Sultan Ibáílm 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.

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1 A Jagir is a grant of lands to be held immediately of the sovereign, often with extensive privileges.

2 See Territorial and Khalí Khan.
The crafty old politician soon after learned that Sultan Alâeddin had been favourably received at Kâbul by Baber, who being himself obliged to march to the relief of Balkh, which was besiegéd by the Uzbekks, had sent Alâeddin 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 Alâeddin, 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 Alâeddin, 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 Alâeddin 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. Alâeddin made a treaty with Doulet Khan, ceding to him all the Penjâb; while it was agreed that Alâeddin should have Delhi, Agra, and the other dominions of the empire in that quarter; and that Haji 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 Alâeddin. Feridhta 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 Alâeddin, in whose name he appears at first to have marched against Ibrahim. He probably imagined that Alâeddin's breach of faith, and subsequent treaty with Doulet Khan, had cancelled all their engagements.

Alâeddin's army, in its advance, was joined by many Amirs of rank, and, by the time it reached Delhi, could muster forty thousand horse. The siege of Delhi, the defeat of Alâeddin, 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, note 373, the Akbarnânah of Allahâlî, the Tarikh Khâf Khan, and Feridhta.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 832.

On Friday, the 1st of Sefer, in the year 832, when the sun was in Sagittarius, I set out on my march to invade Hindustan. Having crossed the hill of Yul-length, we halted in a valley which lies west of the river of Deh Yákūk. At this place Abdul Maluk Korchi, who, seven or eight months before, had gone on an embassy to Sultan Said Khan, returned to me, accompanied by Yangi Beg, a foster-brother of the Khan. He brought me privately letters from the Khatuns, as well as the Khán, 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 Bādām-Cheshmeh. At this station I took a māzjūn.

On Wednesday, when we were coming to our ground at Bārīk-āb, the brothers of Nūr Beg, who had remained behind in Hindustan, arrived, bringing to the amount of twenty thousand shahrokkhor, in gold, in ashrafis and tankis, which Khwājeh Husain, Diwan 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.

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.

On Saturday, I halted at the Bagh-e-Vafa. Here I was forced to wait some days for Hāmālīn 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 hill on the way to Bāshkūh.
2. The chief of Khatunah.
3. A small silver coin of the value of about fivepence. The name of Ashraf is applied to the gold coubre, which is worth about a guinea and a half. It is applied, however, to gold coins of various magnitude and value.
4. Hindustan was now in his eighteenth year.
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, I had maqam parties. In consequence of Hammân'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 Safer, I had taken my morning draught, when Hammân arrived. I spoke to him with considerable severity on account of his long delay. Khwâjah Kîlûn too arrived this day from Ghâni. 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 Khwâjah-Rustâm.

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-Ghâmbe, where I landed and joined the camp.

Next morning, after putting the troops in motion, I again embarked on a raft, and took a maqam. We had always been accustomed to halt at Kerîk Arik. On coming over against Kerîk Arik, 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-Cheshme, 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-Cheshme, 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-Arik, 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 Zin, Mulla Ali Jan, Terdî Beg Khâkshîr, and several others. During the party, the following verses of Muhammad Sallikh was repeated:

Persian.—What can one do to regulate his thoughts, with a memory possessed of every blunderment?
Where you are, how is it possible for our thoughts to wander to another?

It was agreed that everyone should make an extempore couplet to the same rhyme and measure. Every one accordingly repeated his verses. As we had been very merry at Mulla Ali Jan's expense, I repeated the following extempore satirical verses.

What can one do with a drunkard so like you?
What can be done with me foolish as a sheep?

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

Babar unfortunately did not give up the use of wine at forty, as he had once vowed.

The maqam, it will be recollected, is a meditated composition, which produces iteration.

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.
A.D. 1536. These lines, my mind led me to reflections, and my heart was struck with regret, that a tongue which could repeat the sublime 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 despoticable 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.

A day or two after, when we halted at Bekrām, I had a delusion and fever; the delusion 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.)—There every one who falls and breaks his promise, that promise avenges its breach on his life; and he who abandons his promise to God, God bestows on him boundless blessings.

(Tr. into En.)—What can I do with you, O my tongue?
On your account I am covered with blood within:
How long, in this state of shame, will you delight in composing 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 dost not bountifully 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 chastenings, has cause to regard them as overflowing mercies.

Marching thence, I halted at Ali-Meṣjīd. 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.

I took a maajūn before sunrise, and we continued our march. That day I fasted. We confirmed our march till we came near Bekrām, and then halted. Next morning we continued halting in the same station, and I went out to hunt the rhinoceroses. We crossed the Siāh-Abū, in front of Bekrām, and formed our ring lower down the river. When we had gone a short way, a man came after us with notice, that a rhinoceros had entered a little wood near Bekrām, and that they had surrounded the wood, and were waiting for us. We immediately proceeded towards the wood at full gallop, and casting a ring round it. Instantly, on our raising the shout, the rhinoceros issued out into the plain, and took to flight. Hūmmām, and those who had come from the same quarter, never having seen a rhinoceros before, were greatly amused. They followed

*Peshāwār.*

*Black river.*
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 Bekram, I sent for several Begs and noblemen who were about my person, as well as for the paymasters and Dwayne, and having nominated six or seven of them as superintendents, appointed them to attend at the Nilah 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 delusion and fever. The delusion 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 Bekram; and after the third, on Thursday, the 20th, we encamped on the banks of the river Sind.

On Saturday, the 1st day of the first Reh, we passed the Sind; and having also crossed the river of Keok-koit, halted on its banks. The Begs, paymasters, and Diwan, 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.

This year there was a deficiency of rain in the lower ground, 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 Sialkot. 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 Hindustan such ice is uncommon. We met with it here; but, during all the years that I have been in Hindustan, I have in no other instance met with any trace of ice or snow.

Advancing five marches from the Sind, the sixth brought us close by the hill of Jed, below the hill of Balinat-jogi, on the banks of a river, at the station of Bakalwa, where we encamped.

Next morning we halted in the same encampment, for the purpose of allowing the troops to procure grain. That day I drank spirits. Mulla Muhammad Parghar told us a great many stories. I have seldom seen him so talkative. Mulla Shems was generally riotous in his cups, and, when once affected, he continued noisy and troublesome from morning till night.

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 Gichginoh Tumfitir and some others of our men were cut off.

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1 The Hatze, or Harree.
2 Sialkot lies on the east of the Chamb river, below the mouth.
3 This passage must have been written not long before Riber's death.
Marching thence, we halted, after passing the river Behat, below Jilem, by the ford. Wall Kuzzul, who held the Pergamaus of Binarargir and Akordhupur, and who had been ordered to assist in the defence of Siakkot, arrived and waited on me at this place. I was displeased, and chid him for not remaining in Siakkot. He excused himself by informing me, that he had left it in order to repair to his Pergama, and that Khwaren Gokulnab, on leaving Siakkot, had given him no intimation of his intention. I listened to his excuse, but asked him, "As you did not remain in Siakkot to defend it, why did you not repair to Lahore, and join the rest of the Beggars?" 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 Tufan and Syed Suchin, 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 Siakkot or Perserur. The general report was, that Ghazi 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 Amirs, and at the second march reached the banks of the river Chenab, where I encamped. I rode on towards Behlupur, which is an imperial domain, and surveyed it on every side. Its castle stands on the banks of the Chenab, upon an elevated ravine. It pleased me extremely, and I formed a plan of transferring the population of Siakkot to this place. God willing, as soon as I find leisure, I will complete my project. I returned from Behlupur to the camp in a boat, and had a party: some drank akh, some brandy, and some took masjun. I landed from the boat about bedtime prayers, and we drank a little in my pavilion. I halted one day on the banks of the river to rest our horses.

On Friday, the 14th of the first Rebi, we arrived at Siakkot. Every time that I have entered Hindustan, the Jats and Ghigers 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 exacted. 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 Siakkot to the camp, hungry and naked, indigent and in distress, they were fallen upon by the
road with loud shouts and plundered. I sought out the persons guilty of this outrage, discovered them, and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.

At this same station a merchant arrived, who brought us the news of the defeat of Alim Khan by Sultan Ibrahim. The particulars are as follows. Alim Khan, 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 Unbaks had advanced and blockaded Balkh; so that, immediately on his departure for Hindustan, I was obliged to set out for that city. Alim Khan, on reaching Lahore, insisted with such of my Beggs as were in Hindustan, 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 Beggs 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 Haji 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 expectations of this nature they employed, in order to dissuade Alim Khan from prosecuting his plan, were all ineffectual. He sent his son Shik Khan to confer with Doulot Khan and Ghazi Khan, and the parties themselves afterwards met. Dilawer Khan, who had been in confinement very recently, and who had escaped from custody and came to Lahore only two or three months before, was likewise associated with them. Mahmud Khan Khan-Jehum, to whom the custody of Lahore had been intrusted, was also pressed into their measures. In a word, it was in the most definitive manner arranged among them, that Doulot Khan and Ghazi Khan should take under their orders all the Beggs who had been left in Hindustan; and should, at the same time, themselves assume the government of all the adjacent territories; while Dilawer Khan and Haji Khan were to accompany Alim Khan, and occupy the whole of the country about Delhi and Agra and in that neighbourhood. Ismael Jilovani and a number of other Amirs, waited on Alim Khan, and acknowledged him. He now proceeded towards Delhi without delay, by forced marches. On reaching Indore, Sulman Shamshideen 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.

Sultan Ibrahim, 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 Afghan, from regard to their

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1 The people alluded to were probably the Turk garrison of Sialkot.
2 Alim Khan is Alidhukh Khan.
3 That is, in the Punjab, or near Lahore.
reputation with their countrymen, would not flee; but that if the attack was made by night, the night was 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 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 further. 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 Jigbet, and several other Amirs, came over, and acknowledged Alim Khan. Sultan Ibrâhîm, 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 Ibrâhîm'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 Doab side of the river, and again crossed it towards Panipat, on reaching which place he contrived by a stratagem to get three or four lakes from Mir Sulman, and went on his way. Tamkîl Jîlîwan, Batin, and Jilâl Khan, the eldest son of Alim Khan, separating from him, took themselves to the Doab. A small part of the army which Alim Khan had collected, such as Siâfêdîn Dîrâ Khan, Mîhràb Khan Khan-Jelân, Sîleh Jemâl Ferûmî, and some others, deserted before the battle and joined Ibrâhîm. Alim Khan and Dîlâwer Khan, with Haji Khan, after passing Sahrîn, heard of my approach, and that I had taken Milwat; whereupon Dîlâwer 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 Sultânpur and Kach, and waited upon me in the neighbourhood of Milwat, three or four days after the taking of that town. Alim Khan and Haji Khan having passed the river Satlat, at length reached Kinkîtch, 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 Afghâm and Hazâras, happening to come up, dislodged 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 Ghâzi 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. Ghâzi Khan did not give Alim Khan a very friendly reception, which induced him to wait

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1 Perhaps nine miles.
2 £120 or £100; but perhaps they were lakes of copper.
3 Probably a rich shtoff or bankers.
4 The Satlat.
on me, below Dün, in the neighbourhood of Pelbûr, where he came and tendered me his allegiance. While I was at Sâlihor, 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 Perserâr, where Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang, Khwâjah Hûsain, and some others, accordingly came and waited on me. As the enemy's camp was on the banks of the Râvi, towards Lahore, I sent out Buljesh 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.

On the following morning, leaving Shah Mir Hûsain, and some other officers, to guard the camp and baggage, I separated from them, and pushed on with all possible speed. We reached Kilanîr about the middle of afternoon prayers, and halted. Muhammad Sultan Mîrâz, Aâdî Sultan, and the other Amirs, came here and waited on me.

Marching before day-break from Kilanîr, we discovered on the road certain traces that Ghûzî Khan and the fugitives were not far off. Muhammad and Ahmedî, 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 Milvat, that the garrison might not be able to effect their escape. Ghûzî Khan was the object that I principally aimed at in these instructions. Having sent forward this detachment under the Begs, we crossed the river Râhî opposite to Kârwâhû, and there halted. From thence, after three marches, we encamped in the mouth of the valley in which lies the fort of Milvat. The Begs, who had arrived before us, and the Amirs of Hindustân, were directed to encamp and lay close siege to the fort. Isma'il Khan, who was Doulî Khan's grandson, (being the son of Ali Khan, Doulî 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 took 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.

Doulî Khan now sent a person to inform me, that Ghûzî Khan had escaped and fled to the hills; but that if I would excise his own offences, he would come as a slave and deliver up the place. I therefore sent Khwâjah Mir Mirân to confirm him in his resolution, and to bring him out. His son Ali Khan accompanied that officer. In order to expose the rashness and stupidity of the old man, I directed him to take care that Doulî 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,
he still contrived frivolous pretexts for delay, but 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. Then made him sit down before me, and desired a man who understood the Hindustani 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 Balochis. I delivered your tribe, your family, and women, from the bondage of Darahim. The countries held by Tahar Khan, to the amount of three crores! 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 stupefied, 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 sequestered: They were directed to encamp close by Khwajah Mir Mirun.

January 8.

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 Milbrat. Ali Khan came up and presented me with a few Asbrenches as a Peshkesh. Towards afternoon prayers they began to remove their dependents and women. Abdul-Azeem Ali Jeng-Jeng, Kutlekh Kedum, Muhemed and Ahmad, with several others 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 trusted 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 Humail’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 barber, and found in it a number of valuable books. Some of them I gave to Humail, and some I sent to Kaniun. There was also a number of theological books, but I did not, on the whole, find as many books of value as, from their appearance, I had expected. 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

About 14,600,000 zollos. The Emperor of Hindustan, from a love of pomp and show, has always used large numbers in reckoning their revenues, and in bestowing presents. Their revenue accounts were kept in diaries, of which forty go to a volume. Hence their taxes and rents 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 sum of an English gentleman’s estate.
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 faithful man, for ever:
Shall he see the face of good fortune,
He takes care of his own comforts.
Yet leaves his wife and children in misery.

On Wednesday, I marched thence towards the hill to which Ghazi Khan had fled. After advancing one kos from the station at the gorge of Milwat, we halted in a valley. It was here that Dillawer Khan came and tendered his allegiance. Doulet Khan and Ali Khan, with Ismael Khan, and some other leading men, were delivered as prisoners to Kitteh, to be carried to the fort of Milwat, in Behreh, there to be detained in custody. The rest were delivered to various persons, for the purpose of levyling contributions on them; and their ransoms were fixed, after Dillawer 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 Sul-tanpur when Doulet Khan died. I gave the fort of Milwat to Muhammad Ali Jeng, who left his elder brother Arghun in the place, on his part, with a body of troops. About two hundred or two hundred and fifty Hazaras and Afghans were also left, to assist in the defence of the fort.

Khurajeh Kilan 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 Ah-kend by Milwat, we reached Doum. In the language of Hindustan, they call a Julga (or dale), Doum. The finest running water in Hindustan is that in this Doum. There are many villages around the Doum, which was a Pargana of the Jeswal, who were the maternal aunts of Dillawer Khan. This Doum is a very pleasant dale, and there are meadows all along the stream. In several places they saw 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; in some places it is even three kos. 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 Tardikh with Berim Doo 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 Doum, there are some wonderfully strong castles.

To the north-east is a castle called Koldla. It is surrounded by a rock seventy or eighty feet.

1 From the Balistan of Sool.
2 Doum—running water, is said to be used in Persia for a canal or aqueduct. It may, however, mean a stream of water; and the expression, the only ab-ruwan, probably may mean, one of the four abruwan, or the front of them. The expression again recurs.
3 About.
4 Two or three miles.
5 Four or five miles.
eighty gez in perpendicular height. At its chief gate, for the space of about seven or eight gez, there is a place that admits of a draw-bridge being thrown across. It may be ten or twelve gez 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 Dūn is another strong castle called the Fort of Kinkutel, the country around which is all hilly, but it is not so strong as the former. Aīm Khan, in his flight, had thrown himself into this fort, as has been already mentioned.

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 Bahā'īm, the son of Sultan Iṣkandar, the son of Sultan Behlāl Lodi Afghān, in whose possession the throne of Delhi and the dominions of Hindustān at that time were; whose army in the field was said to amount to a hundred thousand men, and who, including those of his Aurīs, had nearly a thousand elephants. After one march I bestowed Dehālpūr on Bāqī Shaghāwel, and sent him to reinforce Balkh. I sent a great part of the gold and effects found in the Fort of Miloẕ, to strengthen my interest in Balkh, and to Kābul, as presents to my relations and friends, and to my children and dependents.

A march or two below Dūn, Shah Emād Shirāzi came with letters from Aḥā-themed Khan and Mūlla Muhammad Mezebey, 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 Miloẕ, advanced against Herār, Kīhlār, 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 Aīm 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.

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 Mir Husayn, 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 Dūn, two or three letters had come from Ismāʿīl Miloẕ and Bīhan.

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1 That is, 140 or 160 feet.
2 Fourteen or sixteen feet.
3 Twenty or twenty-four feet.
4 Dehālpūr lies between the Bari and Bīlāh, about forty miles south-west from Lahore.
5 These were lords of Bahā'īm's court.
6 From this time forward three seem to have been an end to Aīm or Aḥā-themed Khan's pretensions to the throne of Delhi.
7 These were also noblemen of great rank and power among the Afghāns in Hindustān.
I sent them gracious answers from this place, to retain them in their favourable sentiments.

After marching from Dûn we came to Rûpur. While we staid at Rûpur, it rained incessantly, and was so extremely cold, that many of the starving and hungry Hindustânis died. After marching from Rûpur, we had halted at Kerîl, opposite to Schrinâl, when a Hindustânî presented himself, assuming the style of an ambassador from Sultan Ibrâhîm. 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 along with him. These poor men had no sooner arrived in Ibrâhîm’s camp than he ordered them both to be thrown into prison. The very day that we defeated Ibrâhîm, the Sewâdi was set at liberty, and waited on me.

After two more days, we halted on the banks of the stream of Banîr and Sunûr. This is a running water, of which there are few in Hindustân, except large rivers. They call it the stream of Kagar. Chîter stands on its banks. We rode up this stream to view the country. Three or four kos above Chîter, 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 Samâuch and Singâm. At this station, we had information that Sultan Ibrâhîm, who lay on this side of Delhi, was advancing, and that the Shekâr of Hissâr-Firuzâkh, Hamîl Khan Khâna Châlî, had also advanced ten or fifteen kos towards us with the army of Hissâr-Firuzâkh, and of the neighbouring districts. I sent on Kitîch Beg towards Ibrâhîm’s camp to procure intelligence, and despatched Mumâs Atkeh towards the army of Hissâr-Firuzâkh to get notice of its motions.

1 Rûpur lies about a march south of the Satlaj.
2 Schrinâl or Srinâl is situated in latitude 30° 15’, and longitude 76° 20’. 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 few soared, but the walls still stand. The city contains a fort now in ruins, a fine stone mosque, and many other handsome temples 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 surrounded by extensive and beautiful groves of mangoes; and altogether presents a very grand and pleasing spectacle. There is a raised garden and palace near the town, which is splendidly yields to no garden in India, except the Shalimar at Lahore.
3 The office of the Tinketâr is not well ascertained. He seems to have been a confidential servant, perhaps connected with the Tow or private treasury.
4 Al-e-gawâm. 5 This is the Kagar that is passed between Srinâl and Thînâsîr.
6 Six or seven miles.
7 Samâuch lies about north lat. 30° 33’, east long. 76° 41’. It is situated west from Thînâsîr.
8 Hissâr-Firuzâkh lies rather more than a degree and a half west of Delhi, a little to the north. The Shekâr is a military collector of the revenue, and has often the chief authority in a district.
On Sunday, the 13th of the first Jumādī, I marched from Amīlā, as I had halted on the margin of a Tank, when Mum’m Alī and Kitb Beg both revolted on the same day. The command of the whole right wing of my army was accompanied by Khājah Kīlā, Sultan Muhammad Daud Ali, Wali Khān, with some of the Begs who had dwelt in Hindustān, such as Kheerun, Hindu Beg, Alī, Zulfiqar, and Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang. I also strengthened this force by adding to it several of the inferior Begs, and of my immediate dependants from the centre, such as Moḥammad Bīrā, Kitteh Bēg, Moḥīb Allī, with a large body of troops, and directed him to march against Hamīd Khan. It was at this station, too, that Bīsūn came and made his submission. These Afghāns are provokingly rude and stupid. Although Dilāwūr 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 Alī Khan stood, though they were princes, this man asked to be allowed to sit, and expected me to listen to his unreasonable demand.

Next morning, being Monday the 14th, Hūmāīn set out with his light force to attack Hamīd Khan by surprise. Hūmāīn dispatched 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 encounters, till the troops of Hūmāīn appeared in sight following them. No sooner were they perceived than the enemy took 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 Mirāk Mōghul brought the news of this victory of Hūmāīn to the camp at this station on Friday, 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.

On Monday the 21st, Hūmāīn 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 Uṣūl Allī Kālī and the Mughal men to shoot all the prisoners as an example. This was Hūmāīn’s first expedition, and the first service he had seen. It was a very good omen. Some light troops, having followed the fugitives, took Hissār-Fīrozeh the moment they reached it, and returned after plundering it. Hissār-Fīrozeh, which, with its dependencies and subordinate districts, yielded a kror, I bestowed on Hūmāīn, with a kror in money as a present.

Marching from that station, we reached Shahsāhād. I sent fit persons towards Sultan Ibrahīm’s camp to procure intelligence, and halted several days in this station. From this place also I dispatched Ruhmat Piāḑeh to Kāhīb, with letters announcing my victory.

At this same station, and this same day, the razor, or scissors, were first applied to Hūmāīn’s beard. As my honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time

A. D. 1527.

Hūmāīn defaces Hamīd Khan.

March 2.

March 6.

Hissār-Fīrozeh.

Hūmāīn’s men on the Mughals.

Shahsāhād.

A. D. 1528.

About L. 25,000 sterling.
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 Himâtilîn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting.)

In this station, on Monday the 25th of the first Jumâdî, the sun entered Aries; we now began also to receive repeated information from Ibrahim'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 Shâhâbâd, encamped on the banks of the Jumna, opposite to Sîrâsâwâth. Haider Kâcli, a servant of Khwâjeh Kâliâni, was sent out to procure intelligence. I crossed the Jumna by a forti, and went to see Sîrâsâwâth. That same day I took a musjid. At Sîrâsâwâth, there is a fountain, from which a small stream flows. It is rather a pretty place. Terdi Beg Kâksâr praised it highly. I said,—"Yours be it," and in consequence of these praises, I bestowed it on Terdi Beg Kâksâr. 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.

From this station we held down the river for two marches, keeping close along its banks, when Haider Kâcli, who had been sent out to collect intelligence, returned, bringing information that Daûd Khan and Hâlitim Khan had been sent across the river into the Dehâb with six or seven thousand horse, and had encamped three or four kos in advance of Ibrahim's position on the road towards us. On Sunday the 18th of the second Jumâdî, I dispatched against this column Chân Ta'mûr Sultân, Mâdhî Khwâjeh, Sultan Mîrzâ, Adîl Sultân, with the whole left wing, commanded by Sultan Jûmustân, Shah Mir Hassân, Kûtûk Kadem; as well as part of the centre under Yânîs All, Abdallah, Ahmed, and Kîttâh 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, they arrived close upon the enemy, who put themselves in some kind of order, and marched out to meet them: but our troops an sooner came up, than the enemy fled, and were followed in close pursuit, and slaughtered all: the way to the limits of Ibrahim's camp. The detachment took Hâlitim 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.

Marching thence, I arranged the whole army in order of battle, with right and left wing and centre, and after reviewing it, performed the rim. The custom of the rim 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.

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1 This is not of Hâlitîn's must have been made about A.D. 1328, during his residence in Shâhâbâd, before his last return to Husainâbâd.

2 This river the Persians call the Jum. It is always so written in the Memoirs.

4 Five or six miles.

5 The Parsi prayers are repeated when there is light enough to distinguish one object from another.
At this station I directed that, according to the custom of Rum, the gun-carriages should be connected together with twisted bullock hides and chains. Between every two gun-carriages were six or seven turas, or breast-works. The matchlock-men stood behind these guns and turas, and discharged their matchlocks. I halted five or six days in this camp, for the purpose of getting the apparatus arranged. After every part of it was in order and ready, I called together all the Amirs, 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 turas, or covered defences, and cannon, and that the matchlock-men and infantry should be placed in the rear of the guns and turas.

With this resolution we moved, and in two marches, on Thursday, the 30th of the last Jemadi, reached Panipat. On our right were the town and suburbs. In my front I placed the guns and turas 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 distances 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. Temptation 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.

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 Hindustan, in situations similar to that in which the enemy now were, to expend sums of money in bringing together troops who engage to serve for hire. These men are called Bedhimi. 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 self? 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 Turas, here, and in several other places, is merely conjectural, founded on Petit de la Croix’s explanation, and on the meaning given by Memlukko to Tor, viz. redoubt. The Turas 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 instances.
3 Panipat, which lies about fifty miles N.W. from Delhi, is famous for several very important battles fought near it. In the last, in 1761, the Marathas were totally defeated by the Afghans or Afghans, under Ahmad Shah.
fortifying their position in Panipat and its vicinity, with guns, branches of trees, and ditches, Derwish Muhammed Sarban 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 Hissár, a body of the Uzbek Khans and Sultans having collected and united together, set out from Derbend 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 Hissár to the last drop of our blood, and had fortified it under that idea; and seeing no hope of succeeding in their enterprise, fell back by Bunder Cheghanim. 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 forces, discharged arrows upon them. They did not, however, move or make any demonstration of sallying out. At length, induced by the persuasions of some Hindustani Amirs, in my interest, I sent Mehdi Khwajeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Abdal Sultan, Khoiro Shah, Mir Hussain, Sultan Jumld Birlas, Abdal-aziz, the master of horse (Mir Akhur), Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, Kutlak Kedem, Wali Khazin, Mohib Ali Khilfeh, Muhammed Bakhashi, Jum Beg, and Kurukzi, 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 Himaûn with his division a kos or a kos and a half 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 Himaûn, 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 Gari 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.

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 patrols that the enemy were advancing, drawn up in order of battle. We too immediately

\[1\] The celebrated pass of Kambah, or Kohkughch, in the hills between Hissár and Shaker Sehra.

\[2\] A mile and a half, or two miles.
braced on our helmets and our armour, and mounted. The right division was led by Hāmūrī, accompanied by Khwājeh Kilān, Sultan Muḥammad Daldai, Ḥindi Beg, Wāli Khāżīn, and Pir Kālī Sūstānī; the left division was commanded by Muḥammad Sultan Mīrza, Muḥālī Khwājeh, Aʿṣūl Sultan, Shah Mīr Ḥussain, Sultan Jūmbī Bīrbās, Khāṭīb Kāmīnī, Jān Beg, Muḥammad Bahshā, Shāh Ḥussain Bārgā, and Mūḥābī Ghanī. The right of the centre was commanded by Chīn Tāsimūr Sultan, Muḥammad Gūkaltāsh, Shāh Maqṣūr Bīrbās, Yūnīs Ṭāli, Darwīsh Muḥammad Ṣārībāns, and Ḥabīlā Ḥabīlā, the left of the centre by Khwājeh Mīr Mīrī, Aḥmādī Fārūḵī, Taʿdī Beg, ʿUṯmān Khālīfī, and Mīrza Beg Tarkhānī. The advance guard was led by Khosrow Gūkaltāsh, and Muḥammad Ṭarīq Jannāt-Bārkī, master of horse, and the command of the reserve. On the flank of the right division I stationed Wāli Ḥāzīl, Ḥāfeẓ Kāshmi, Bāba Kūshkī, with their Mughuls, to act as a Tughlūkānī (or flanking party). On the extremity of the left division were stationed Kār-Kūzī, ʿUṯmān Muḥammad Nezīj-Bāzī, ʿAlī Shāhi, ʿAlī Jāmāl Barīn, Mīḥdī, Tāqūlū Mūḥābī, to form the Tughlūkānī (or flanks), with instructions, 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 Ḥabīlā, who was stationed with the reserve, to reinforce the right. Sultan Ḥārīm'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 flanks 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 flanks accordingly wheeled on the rear of the enemy, and began to make discharges of arrows on them. Mīḥdī Khwājeh 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 Aḥmādī Fārūḵī, Taʿdī Beg, ʿUṯmān Khālīfī, and Mūḥābī Khwājeh, to the assistance of the left division. The battle was likewise obstinate on the right. I ordered Muḥammad Gūkaltāsh, Shāh Maqṣūr Bīrbās, Yūnīs Ṭāli, and Ḥabīlā, to advance in front of the centre and engage. ʿUṯmān Khālīfī also discharged his gun many times in front of the line to good purpose. Miṣṭafā, the cannonner, 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 busily pouring in discharges of arrows on them.

1 Tarākhī.
2 Furtiāṅga.—The size of these artillery at the time in question is very uncertain. The word is now used in the Dehkan for a curl. In common usage, a furtiāṅga, at the present day, is a small species of insect. Both words, in the time of Baber, appear to have been used for field cannon.
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 Ibrahim. 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 Hindustan, 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 Amils and Afghans as prisoners. They brought in a very great number of elephants with their drivers, and offered them to me as pesakhsh. Having pursued the enemy to some distance, and supposing that Ibrahim had escaped from the battle, I appointed Khushal Mirza, Baba Chihreh, and Bajkash, with a party of my immediate adherents, to follow him in close pursuit down as far as Agra. Having passed through the middle of Ibrahim's camp, and visited his pavilions and accommodations, we encamped on the banks of the Siāh-ah.

On reaching the banks of the Siāh-ah, I found Ibrahim lying dead amidst a number of slain, cut off his head, and brought it in.

That very day I directed Hámid Mirza, Khwājeh Kilān, Muhammed, Shah Mansur Birla, Yamin Ali, Abdulla, and Wall 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 Mahdi Khwajeh, Muhammed Sultan Mirza, Amdel Sultan, Sultan Jumāl Birla, and Kutluq Kedem, to leave their baggage behind, to push on by forced marches, to enter the Fort of Delhi, and seize the treasuries.

Next morning we marched, and having proceeded about a kos, halted on the banks of the Jumna in order to refresh our horses.

After other two marches, on Tuesday I visited the mausoleum of Nasīm Aulīa, and at the end of the third march encamped near Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna.

* Black River.
* A mile and a half.

The mausoleum of Nasīm Aulīa is within four or five miles of Delhi, on the north. It is surrounded by numerous remarkable buildings, chiefly tombs, among which are those of the great Maghūl Muhammed Shah, and of the famous poet Amir Khoso. The tomb of Khwājeh Khosrow 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 Alhad. It is a very handsome column of red sand, 200 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.
That same night, being Wednesday, I circumambulated the tomb of Khwâjeh Khâbeddin, and visited the tomb and palaces of Sultan Ghâshâddin Bâlban, of Sultan Alâeddin Kilij, and his minaret, the Shems tank, the royal tank, the tombs and gardens of Sultan Behbûd 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 Shâdâr (or military collector) of Delhi on Wâli Kâzîl; I made Dost the Divân of Delhi, and directed the different treasures to be sealed, and given into their charge.

On Thursday we moved thence, and halted hard by Toghlaqâbâd, on the banks of the Jumna.

On Friday we continued to halt in the same station. Moulâm Mahmûd, Sheikh Zin, and some others, went into Delhi, to Friday-prayers, read the khâbûd in my name, distributed some money among the Fakirs and beggars, and then returned back.

On Saturday we marched from our ground, and proceeded, march after march, upon Agra. I went and saw Toghlaqâbâd; after which I rejoined the camp.

On Friday, the 22d of Rejeb, I halted in the suburbs of Agra, at the palace of Suleiman Fegmuli. As this position was very far from the fort, I next morning moved and took up my quarters at the palace of Jâlî Kâhân Jîgâhat. The people of the fort had put off Hûmânî, 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.

Birkermâjî, 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 Ibrâhîm, Asim Hûmânî Sirwânî 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 Ibrâhîm was defeated, Birkermâjî was sent to hell. Birkermâjî's family, and the heads of his clan, were at this moment in Agra. When Hûmânî arrived, Birkermâjî's people attempted to escape, but were taken by the parties which Hûmânî had placed upon the watch, and put in custody. Hûmânî did not permit them to be plundered. Of their own free will they presented to Hûmânî a peshkesh, consisting of a quantity of jewels and precious stones. Among these was one famous diamond, which had been acquired by Sultan Alâeddin. 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 miskuls. On my arrival, Hûmânî 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 Malak Dâd Kânûnî, Millî Sirdeis, and Firoz Khan Miswânî, who, having been convicted of some frauds, were ordered for punishment. When Malak Dâd Kânûnî was carried out, much interest 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

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1 Toghlaqâbâd stood to the south of Delhi, between the Kuh Alânâr and the Jumna. Its many fortifications still testify its former greatness, but it is now totally deserted.

2 The charitable mode in which a good Musalîm signifies the death of a friend.

3 Or 220 miles.
even conferred on him some marks of favour; I also permitted all his adherents to retain their property.

A "Pergana of the value of seven laks" was bestowed on Ibrahim's mother. Perganas were also given to each of her Amirs. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace which was assigned for her residence, about a kos below Agra.

On Thursday, the 28th of Rejab, about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took up my residence at Sultan Ibrahim's palace. From the time when I conquered the country of Kabul, which was in the year 920, till the present time, I had always been bent on subduing Hindustan. Sometimes, however, from the misconduct of my Amirs 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 over run. 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 Kabul. From that time till the year 932, I attached myself in a peculiar degree to the affairs of Hindustan, 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 Ibrahim, and made me the master and conqueror of the powerful empire of Hindustan. 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 Hindustan. One of these was Sultan Mahmud Ghazi, whose family long continued to fill the throne of that country. The second was Sultan Shahabbuddin Ghuri, 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 Mahmud, at the time when he conquered Hindustan, occupied the throne of Khwarizm, and had absolute power and dominion over the Sultana of Khwarizm 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 Hindustan 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 Shahabbuddin Ghuri did not himself enjoy the sovereignty of Khwarizm yet his elder brother, Sultan Ghiasuddin Ghuri, held it. In the Tabakat-e-Nasiri it is said, that on one occasion he marched

1. Probably of 1493, or about 4170.
2. The Tabakat-e-Nasiri is an excellent history of the Murshidian world down to the time of Sultan Nasir of Delhi, A. D. 1335. It was written by Abu Qasim Mubdi al Jerjali. See Stewart's Catalogue of Tippecanoe's Library, p. 7.
into Hindustán with one hundred and twenty thousand cataphract horse. His enemies, too, were Rais and Rajas; a single monarch did not govern the whole of Hindustán. 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 Ibrahim, and subdued the empire of Hindustán, 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, Kabul, and Kandahar; 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 Merveralinaher was occupied by the Khans and Sultans of the Uzbecks, whose armies were calculated to amount to about a hundred thousand men, and who were my ancient foes. Finally, the whole empire of Hindustán, from Behreh to Behár, was in the hands of the Afgháns. Their prince, Sultan Ibrahim, from the resources of his kingdom, could bring into the field an army of five hundred thousand men. At that time some of the Amirs 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 Amirs, 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 Uzbecks, who had an army of a hundred thousand men, I advanced to meet so powerful a prince as Sultan Ibrahim, 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 Hindustán. 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.

The empire of Hindustán 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 lies Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar. The capital of all Hindustán is Delhi. From the time of Sultan Shahábeddin Ghúri, to the end of Sultan Firóz Shah's time, the greater part of Hindustán was in the possession of the Emperors of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country, five Musulman Kings and two Págháns exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable Rais and Rajas in the hills and woody country, yet those were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afgháns, whose government included the capital, and extended from Behreh to Behár. Jounpúr, before it fell into the power of the Afgháns, was held by Sultan Hussain Shérki. This dynasty they called the Púrehi (or eastern). Their forefathers had been cup-bearers to Sultan Firóz Shah and that race of Sultans. After Sultan Firóz Shah's death, they gained possession of the kingdom of Jounpúr.

* Págháns, in Hindustání, has the same meaning with Šérki in Arabic or Persian, Eastern.
Delhi was at that period in the hands of Sultan Alâeddin, whose family were Syeds. When Timur Beg invaded Hindustân, before leaving the country, he had bestowed the government of Delhi on their ancestors. Sultan Behâl Lodi Afghan and his son Sultan Sekandar, afterwards seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Junapâr, and reduced both kingdoms under one government.

The second prince was Sultan Muhammad Mozaffer, in Gujrat. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahim's defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the Hadis (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Korán. They call this race Tung. Their ancestors were cup-bearers to the Sultan Firuz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Firuz Shah they took possession of the throne of Gujrat.

The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis 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 Amir.

The fourth King was Sultan Mahmud, who reigned in the country of Malwa, which they likewise call Madnâ. This dynasty was called the Kizji. Rana Sansa, 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 Firuz Shah, after her demise they occupied the kingdom of Malwa.

The fifth Prince was Nasrat Shah, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been King of Bengal, and was a Syed of the name of Sultan Alâeddin. 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 Amirs, Vazirs, and Mainadilers. 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 stations. 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; all the Amirs, Vazirs, soldiers, and peasants, instantly obey and submit to him, and consider him as being as much their sovereign as

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\* He reigned from A. D. 1307 to 1329. His father is called by historians in general Humain Shah, the son of Usmaul Humain.

\* Strange as this custom may seem, a similar one prevailed, down to a very late period, in Mahrâb. There was a jubile, every twelve years, in the Samoori's country; and any son who succeeded in forcing his way through the Samoori's guards and show him, reigned in his stead. A jubile is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the end of twelve years, and a taint is pitched for him in a spacious plain, and a great feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with music and pills, guns firing night and day; at the end of the feast, any four of the plumes 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 Samoori in his tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his empire. See Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. I. p. 270. The attempt was made in 1889, and again a very few years ago, but without success.
they did their former prince, and obey his orders as implicitly. The people of Bengal
say, "We are faithful to the throne—whosoever fills the throne, we are obedient and
true to it." As, for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shah's father, an Abyssi-

anian having killed the reigning King, mounted the throne, and governed the king-
don for some time. Sultan Aláeddín killed the Abyssanian, ascended the throne, and
was acknowledged as King. After Sultan Aláeddín's death, the kingdom devolved by
succession to his son, who now reigned. There is another usage in Bengal; it is rec-
knowledged 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 Pergamnms
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.

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 Bijnor. 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 Châtur. During the confusions that prevailed
among princes of the kingdom of Mau, he seized a number of provinces which had de-
pended on Maun, such as Rantipur, Sárangpur, Bhalen, and Chânderi. In the year

3. D. 1332, 934, by the divine favour, in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chânderi, which
was commanded by Middau Roj, one of the highest and most distinguished of Rana
Sanka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of lustility
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 Hindustán; many of whom, on account of their remote-
ness, or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Mus-
ulman kings.

Hindustán is situated on the first, second, and third latitudes. 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 hills 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 Germales (or hot districts), in the territory of Kâbul, bear, in many re-
spects, some resemblance to Hindustán, while in other particulars they differ, yet you
have no sooner passed the river Sînd than the country, the trees, the stones, the wan-
dering tribes, the manners and customs of the people, are all entirely those of Hind-
ustán. The northern range of hills has been mentioned. Immediately on crossing
the river Sînd, we come upon several countries in this range of mountains, connected
with Kashmir, such as Pakhál and Shameng. Most of them, though now independent
of Kashmir, were formerly included in its territories. After leaving Kashmir, these

1 This was Mouselar Shah Habebi, who reigned three years.
2 In the Bekhan.
3 The famous fortress of Ramnambor, situated in latitude 26°, and longitude 79° 37'
4 The limits and Ulises.
hills contain innumerable tribes and states, pargannahs 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 Hindustān, 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 Kās. It struck me, that, as the Hindustānis frequently confound skin and skin, and as Kāshmir 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. The chief trade of the inhabitants of these hills is in musk, tigres, the tails of the mountain-cow, saffron, lead, and copper. The natives of Hind call these hills Sewālik-Pūrtūt. In the language of Hind, Sewālik means a lak and a quarter (or one hundred and twenty-five thousand), and Pūrtūt means a hill, that is, the hundred and twenty-five thousand hills. On these hills the snow never melts, and from some parts of Hindustān, such as Lahore, Sīrāznī, and Sambir, it is seen white on them all the year round. This range of hills takes the name of Hindī-kūsh, near Kābul, and runs from Kābul eastward, but including a little to the south. All to the south of this range is Hindustān. To the north of these hills, and of that unknown race of men whom they call Kās, lies Tibet.

A great number of rivers take their rise in these mountains, and flow through Hindustān. To the north of Sīrāznī, six rivers, the Sīnd, the Behat, the Chināb, the Rāvi, the Bāh, and the Setleq, take their rise in these mountains, and all uniting with the Sīnd in the territory of Mīlīān, take the common name of the Sīnd, which, flowing down to the west, passes through the country of Tatta, and disembogues into the sea of Oman. Besides these six rivers, there are other rivers, such as the Jumna, the Gangas, the Behat, the Gīltī, the Gagan, the Sirkh, the Gandak, and a number of others, that all throw themselves into the Gangas, 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 Sewālik mountains. There are, however, several other rivers, such as the Chambal, the Banās, the Oor, the Betwa, and the Sūn, which rise from ranges of hills that are within Hindustān. In these ranges, it never snows. These rivers likewise fall into the Gangas.

There are several ranges of hills in Hindustān. Among these is a detached branch that runs from north to south. It rises in the territory of Dehlī, at the Jehān-Nūma. The Persian adds, *sūr* signifying a hill, and *hīd* being the name of the natives of the hill country.

The Behat, or Behat, as here written, is a fringed knot made of the hair of the tail or mane of the mountain-cow, often seen in gold, and hung round the necks of horses by way of ornament, or as a defense against fascination. It appears also to have been used as a beggar.

The name of Sewālik is usually confined to the hills north and east of Punjab. Baber extends it to the great northern range. His etymology of the name is not happy.

The Indus, Hyphasis, Alexicurus, Hydraspes, Himācras, and Hyphaspes.

The Tarka has Rajab. Probably the Rajab, which joins the Gangas from Nepāl.

By the Persians called Gāng, by the Hindoos Gangā.

The Banās, Tānt or Tānt, rises to the north-west of Tānt, and runs into the Chambal near Bazamal. It is distinct from the Gangas. The latter river is joined by the Behat, which Banās seems by mistake to have called the Banās. "I find," says my informant, "in my old journals, that they called it Behat, or Behwas, at Sagar.

The Behat rises in Nepāl, passes Chāndī and Shahī, and falls into the Jumna below Kābul.

Mirror of the world.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

a palace of Sultan Fidhel 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 Meewat, the hills rise in height; and when it leaves Meewat, it enters the country of Bia
d. The countries of Sikri, Ban, and Dhipul, are formed by this range, although not comprehended within it; and the hill-country of Ghaliur, which they also call Galihur, is formed by a detached offset from it. The hill-country of Rautambur, Chitbar, Maund, and Chanderi, is formed by branches of this same range. In some places it is interrupted for seven or eight kos. This hilly tract is composed of very low, rough, rugged, stony, and je
gly hills. In this range, it never snows; but several of the rivers of Hindustan originate among the hills of which it is composed.

Most of the districts of Hindustan are plain and level. Though Hindustan contains so many provinces, none of them has any artificial canals for irrigation. It is watered only by rivers, though in some places, too, there is standing water. 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 bucket; after that time it is not at all necessary to water them. Some vegetables they water. In Lahore, Dehulpur, Shind, 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 axle-tree 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, Bia
d, Chandwur, 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 de
ded with urine and dung, and in this filthy condition falls into

1 Ten or twelve miles.
2 Kori-saller, literally black waters. These are chiefly large tanks.
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 Hindustan 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 roasting 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 brushwood, to such a degree that the people of the Pergamas, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and, treating to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustan, if you except the rivers, there is little running water. 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 Hindustan, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, day 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. 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-mills, their crops being produced without irrigation, and the population of Hindustan 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.

As for the animals peculiar to Hindustan, one is the elephant, the Hindustanis call it Hatha, 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 Karah and Manipur that are occupied solely in this employment of taking elephants.

In Persia there are few rivers, but numbers of artificial canals or water-rams for irrigation, and for the supply of water to towns and villages. The same is the case in the valley of Sooght, and the lower parts of Minawaliher.

This is the subject, or state, as well described by Colonel Wilks in his Historical Sketches, vol. 1, p. 390, note. *On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunates inhabitants of India bury under ground their most numerous 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 grains proportioned to their strength, issued from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the vicissitudes of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfavorable 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.

The improvement of Hindustan since Baber's time must be predacious. The wild elephant is now mustered to the forests under Hoodia, and to the Ghats of Malabar. A wild elephant near Karah (Currah), Manlipor, or Kalpi, is a thing of 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 Hindustan in remote times? 2 n.
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 ells. I have never, in these countries, seen one above four or five ells. 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 tights 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 Hindoos. The elephant is not covered with hair or wool like other animals. The natives of Hindostan 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 pass 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.

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 five spans in length, but I never saw one of two spans. Out of one of the largest of these horns I had a drinking-vessel made, and a dice-box, and about three or four fingers' breadth 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. As the horse has a large stomack, so has this; as the pustet of the horse is composed of a single bone, so also is that of the rhinoceros; as there is a gusset 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 Parsehower and Hashanaghur, as well as between the river Sind and Behreh in the jungles. In Hindostan too, they abound on the banks of the river Sirwin. In the course of my expeditions into Hindostan, in the jungles of Parsehower, and Hashanaghur, I frequently killed the rhinoceros. It strikes powerfully with its horn, with which, in the course of these hunts, many men, and many horses,
were gored. In one hunt, it tossed with its horn, a full spear's length, the horse of a young man named Maksud; whence he got the name of Rhinoceros Maksud.

Another animal is the wild buffalo. It is much larger than the common buffalo. Its wattled 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.

Another is the nilgai. Its height is about equal to that of a horse. It is somewhat taller. The male is bluish, whereas it is called the nilgai. It has two small horns, and on its neck has some hair, more than a span in length, which bears much resemblance to the mountain-sow tendons. Its tail is like that of the gawain deer. The female is like that of the gawain deer; she has no horns, nor any hair on the under part of her neck; and is plumper than the male.

Another is the kotah-pachchel. Its size may be equal to that of the white deer. Its legs shorter, its hind legs as well, its thighs are short, whereas its name—short-legged. Its horns are branching like those of the gawain deer, but less. Every year too it casts its horns like the stag. It is a bad runner, and therefore never leaves the jungle.

There is another species of deer that resembles the male hunch or jirah. Its back is black, its belly white, its horns longer than those of the hunch, and more crooked. The Hindustanis call it kilherah. This word was probably originally hulhara, that is, black deer, which they have corrupted into kilherah. The female is white. They take deer by means of this kilherah. They make fast a running-net to its horns, and tie a stone larger than a football to its leg, that, after it is separated from the deer, it may be hindered from running far. When the deer sees the wild kilherah, 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 each other with their horns, in the course of their moving backwards and forwards, the net which has been fastened on the same 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. As in this way they take a number of deer, 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.

There is on the skirts of the mountains of Hindustan another deer which is smaller. It may be equal in size to a sheep of a year old.

Another is the gah-kinti; it is a small species of cow, like the larger koskhar (or kosh-khar), about the size of our country. Its flesh is very tender and savoury.

The monkey is another of the animals of the country. The Hindustanis call it Mewar. 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.

1 Bala ox.
2 Of 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 Kittha.
4 Short-legged.
5 This way of catching the antelope is still in constant use in India.
6 Tugh grish.
of the Deore (or valley of) Nūr, on the Koh Sefīd, in the skirts of the hills in the neighborhood of Khaibar, and from thence downward throughout all Hindustān. 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, Sewāl, 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 kōpur, and it is met with in the hills and woods of Hindustān. 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 color 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.

Another is the nīl (or mongoose). It is a little smaller than the kōsh. It mounts on trees. Many also call it the māo-khāmīra. They reckon it lucky. There is another of the mouse species, which they call gillīr (the squirrel); it always lives in trees, and runs up and down them with surprising nimbleness.

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 peahen, there may be about twenty or thirty feathers, rising two or three fingers' breadth in height. The peahen 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 tail, are red. It is found in Bajour and Sewāl, and in the countries below, but not in Khiār or Lālanghāt, or in any place higher up. It flies even worse than the kergāhvel (or pheasant); and cannot take more than one or two flights at a time. 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 Hindustānis call them mor. According to the doctrines of Imām Abu Hanīfah, this bird is lawful food. Its flesh is not unpleasant. It resembles that of the quail, but it is eaten with some degree of leathering, like that of the quail.

1 The Bābūm.
2 Bābūm adds,—it is singular; quod perdss ejus semper sit cresta, et unguum non ad columnas bene.
3 A son on the Tuski copy calls the nīl, Bāra, which is the sound of Tusky. Sewāl is still the Hindustāni name for the mongoose.
4 The palm-cat.
5 The kergāhvel, 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.
Another is the parrot, which also is found in Hauzur and the countries below it. In summer, when the mulberry ripens, it comes up into Nanginābād and Lenghanāt, 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 Hauzur, Siswād, and the neighbouring districts, inasmuch, 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 Kashmir 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 sharak, only repeated what it had been taught, and that it could reduce nothing into words from its own reflections. Abul Kāsin Jillār, 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 relation! 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, as if you rubbed a piece of broken china on a copper plate.

Another of the birds of Hindustān is the sharak, which abounds in the Lenghanāt, and everywhere lower down, over the whole of Hindustān. The sharak is of different species. One is that which is found in great numbers in the Lenghanāt. Its head is black, its wings white; its size rather larger than the sharak; and slenderer. It learns to speak. There is another sort, which they call Pindāwālī. They bring it from Bengal. It is all black. It is much larger than the other sharak. Its tail and foot are yellow. In its two ears are two yellow feathers, which hang down, and look very ugly. They call it the Meza1. It learns to speak, and speaks well and fluently. There is another kind of sharak, a little slenderer than this last.2 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 Pullow, Oud, and these countries, a species of sharak, which had a white breast, and a black back. I had never seen it before. This species probably does not learn to speak at all.

1 Perhaps the Loopy.
2 The Persian has ()Lω, which Wilkins says is a species of singing-bird.—Richardson’s Dictionary.
Another is the bajah. This fowl they also call the bidalemaun. 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 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. 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, and is taken. God knows the truth! Its flesh is very savoury.

Another bird is the durrij (or partridge). It is not peculiar to Hindustân. It is found everywhere in the countries of the Germai. 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-dalshiti (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 Sboot tareen, Shehehek. From its cry it gets its name. It pronounces Shir short, tareen Shehehek it pronounces distinctly. The partridges of Asterhâl are said to cry Bast eun, têiti kâr. The cry of the partridges of Arabi and the neighbouring countries is: Bil shiker tidam at noun. The colour of the hen bird resembles that of the young kergahawel (or pheasant). They are found below Nijrow. There is another fowl of the partridge kind, which they call kejel. It is about the size of the partridge. Its cry is very like that of a kepki, but shriller. There is little difference in colour between the male and female. It is found in the country of Peshawar, Hoshanggar, and in the countries lower down, but in no district higher up.

Another bird is the palpekar. 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 palpekar inhabits the hill-country of Hindustân.

The murgh-e-shihra (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 kergahawel (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.

Another is the cheki, which is like the palpekar, but the palpekar has finer colours. It inhabits the hill-country of Bajour.

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.

Another is the bidineh (or quail), which is not peculiar to Hindustân, but there

1. The Persia has bidineh.
2. The kepki deri, or derri, is much larger than the common kek of Persia, and is peculiar to Khiristan. It is said to be a beautiful bird. The common kek of Persia and Kâbul is the hill shiker or Tidam.
3. The bajah may perhaps be the chikir of the plains, which Hunter calls Bartavelle, or Greek partridge.
5. See Note p. 445.
6. I have milk and eggs.
7. God grant that happiness may always continue.
8. Perhaps the common jungle fowl.
are four or five species of it peculiar to that country. There is one species that visits our countries. It is larger, and more spreading than the common budich. There is another species, which is less than the budimes that visit us. Its wings and tail are reddish. This budich goes in flights like the Chir. There is still another species, which is smaller than the budimes that visit our country. They are generally black on the throat and breast. There is another species which seldom visits Kabul. It is small, somewhat larger than the kacheh; in Kabul they call it kafani.

Another is the kherjl (or bastard), which may be about the size of the tughdak, and is in reality the tughdak of Hindustan. 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 kherjl is delightful.

Another is the chere (or floriken). Its size is somewhat less than the tughdier. The back of the male is like that of the tughdier; its breast is black. The female is all of a single colour. The flesh of the chere is very delicate. As the kherjl resembles the tughdak, the chere resembles the tughdier.

Another is the baghri-kara (or rock-pigeon) of Hindustan, which is less than the baghri-kara of the west, and slenderer; its cry, too, is sharper.

There are other fowls, that frequent the water and the banks of rivers. One of these is the ding (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 Kabul. One year they caught and brought me a ding, 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.

Another is the sara. The Turks who are in Hindustan call it curch-disc. It is a little less than the ding. The neck of the ding is longer than that of the sara. Its head is red. They keep it about their houses, and it becomes very tame.

Another is the minkat, which is nearly of the height of the sara, but its size is less. It resembles the stork, but is much larger. Its bill is longer than the stock's, and is black. Its head is polished and shining, its neck white; its wings partly coloured. The edges and roots of the feathers of its wings are white, and the middle black.

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

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1 That is, the country north of the Oxus.
2 The budich is common in the Dehkan, where it is larger than a turkey, and is called toghdak; probably corrupt from toghdak.
3 A sort of harem; Oudh Bengalese.
4 On the margin of the Turk, it is explained as signifying the Balkh.
5 The Hindustani name of the adjutant is Pice-Ding.
6 A kind of harem; the Arbut Antigone.
7 Camellilke.
8 Lakhis.
9 This answers the description of the janghal or janghal called daka in the Dehkan, which furnishes the cane as the Arbut Index.
common stork. This stork the Hindustanis call yakding. 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.

Another is the large râbâz (or curlew). Its bulk may be about that of the stork. Its head and two wings are white. It has a loud cry. Another is the white râbâz. Its head and bill are black. It is considerably larger than the râbâz of our countries, but less than the râbâz of Hindustan.

There is another water-fowl, which they call gheret-pâh. It is larger than the same larchin. The male and female are of the same colour. It is always found in Hasnagar, and sometimes visits the Lomghaât. Its flesh is very delicate.

There is another water-fowl which they call shah’murgh. 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.

Another is the sumoj, which is about the size of a burkât (or falcon). It is of a black colour.

Another is the storry. Its tail and back are red.

Another is the ala-kârghâ (or magpie) of Hindustan. It is slender, and less than the ala-kârghâ (or magpie) of my native country. It has some white on its neck.

There is another bird, which bears some resemblance to the carrion crow. In Lomghaât they call it the wood-fowl. Its head and breast are black, its wings and tail red, its eyes a very deep red. 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.

Another is the great bust; they call it chengudri. It is about the size of the owl; and its head resembles that of a young swan. 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.

Another is the nakh of Hindustan; they call it mitt. It is a little smaller than the common nakh, which is party-coloured black and white, while the mitt is party-coloured brown and black.

There is another bird whose size may be equal to that of the sandbôjh-mahîla. It is of a beautiful red, and on its wings has a little black.

1 The yak ding is probably one of two kinds of storks common in India. The largest is called bâbî, and the smallest bâlûk. Baber appears to reverse this. The bâlûk, 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 Perhaps the spoonbill, called, in India, Chamach finch.

4 Ghazin-pâh—Taqûl. There is a kind of water-fowl called gârpa, which seems to be a reddish.

5 The bird called nakh, a sort of duck, but nearly as big as a wild goose; it has a black beak, with a high knob on it.

6 Murgâh-jenûl.

7 This is the new-phantom, or Malabar pheasant, the Cuculus Cucullatus.

8 Yāpalûgh.
Another is the gorchah. It resembles the khirughchah, but is much larger than that bird; it is entirely of a black colour.

Another is the koel, which in length may be equal to the crow, but is much thinner. It has a kind of song, and is the nightingale of Hindustan. It is respected by the natives of Hindustan as much as the nightingale by us. It inhabits gardens where the trees are close planted.

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. It dwells in standing waters, and resembles the crocodile. They say that it carries off men, and even buffaloes. Another is the aqar, another species of alligator. This, too, is like the crocodile. It inhabits all the rivers of Hindustan. One was caught and brought to me. It may be about four or five gez in length, and some are even larger. Its snout is upwards of half a gez long. Both its upper and lower jaw it has several very small ranges of teeth. It comes out and sleeps on the edge of the water.

Another is the water-hog, which is also found in all the rivers of Hindustan. 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. 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-hog. The water-hogs that are in the river Sirêh, while sporting, leap right out of the water. This animal, too, resembles a fish in never burrowing the water.

Another is the gurâl, which is a large fish. Many of the army saw it in the river Sirêh. It carries off men. During the time that we remained on the river Sirêh, one or two slave boys were seized by it and carried down. Between Ghaksipur and Râvers was also carried off two, three, or four of our men. In that vicinity I saw the gurâl from a distance, but I could not get a distinct view of it.

The goken is another fish. On a line with its two earsissue 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 goken.

The flesh of the fishes of Hindustan 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 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 treeshyark.
2. Ochardia. The koel is something like a sparrow-hawk; the female black, the male brown like a hawk.
3. Eight or ten feet.
5. Ghek. This description agrees with the appearance of the parrot, which is common in the Ganges.
6. The Sêrên, or Gergl. The Sêrên is one of the two kinds of crocodile; the other is called waheer. The latter has a long, sharp mouth; the snout of the former is round.
7. About a couple of feet.
are, besides, in many rivers of Hindustan small fishes, which, if they hear a harsh sound, or the trampling of a foot, instantly leap a gaz, or a gaz and a half, out of the water.

The frogs of Hindustan are worthy of notice. Though of the same species as our own, yet they will run six or seven gaz on the face of the water.

Of the vegetable productions peculiar to Hindustan, one is the mango (ambak). The natives of Hindustan generally pronounce the ॐ in it, as if no vowel followed; but as this makes the word difficult to articulate, it is sometimes called naghaz, as Khwaja Khoorun says—

My mango (my fruit) is the embellisher of the garden,
The most lovely fruit of Hindustan.

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 Hindustan. 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 cashew-pearch, 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-pearch. They take off its skin, and cut it. Its leaf somewhat resembles that of the peach. Its trunk is ill-looking, and ill-shaped. In Bengal and Gujerat the mangoes are excellent.

Another of their fruits is the plantain. The Arabs call it mazuz. 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. Its leaf bears some likeness to that of the Amsi-ban, but the plantain leaf is two gaz 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 surrounds 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 plantain 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 binnal. It is not very sweet. The plantain 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.

Another is the umbil, which name they give to the Indian date. It has small indented leaves, precisely like the bina, 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.

Twelve or fourteen feet.  
That is, in herbaceous.—D. W.  
Tamarindus indica, so called from Tamarind, the Indian date.

Kich.  
About four feet.
Another is the melbeh, which is also called the gal-chokan. This also is a very wide-spread tree. The houses of the natives of Hindustan are chiefly constructed of the timber of this tree. They extract a spirit from the flowers of the melbeh. They dry its flowers, and eat them like raisins. It is from them likewise that they extract the liquor. They bear a great resemblance to the kishmish, 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.

Another is the kurnil. This, though not so wide-spread, tree, at the same time is not a small one. Its fruit is of a yellow colour. It is smaller than the jujubes. 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.

Another is the jaman. Its leaf perfectly resembles that of the til, but is thicker and greener. It is on the whole a fine-looking tree. Its fruit resembles the black grape, but has a more acid taste, and is not very good.

Another is the kermesh. It is fluted with five sides. In size it may be equal to a Keresch-glamah, 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.

Another is the khudal (or jack). This has a very bad look and flavour. It looks like a sheep’s stomach stuffed and made into a huggis. It has a sweet sickly taste. Within it are stones 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 lump round with huggises.

Another is the khudal, which may be about the size of an apple. It is not bad smelling, but is very insipid and tasteless.

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1 A description of the melbeh, or mooma, may be found in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 1, p. 500, by Lieut. Charles Hamilton.
2 In Bombay this liquer is well known by the name of Mousa, or Farnes 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 kurnil is a tall tree with a small yellow fruit, with a stone. It is very common in Guzerat. (It is the Mimosus hexandra of Roxburgh; fruit oblong, pointed, covered with a soft yellow husk.
5 pulp.—D. W.)
6 This, Dr Hunter says, is the Eugenia jambolana, the rose-apple. (Eugenia jambolana, but not the rose-apple, which is now called Eugenia jambos.) The jaman has no resemblance to the rose-apple; it is more like an oblong sloe than anything else, but grows on a tall tree.
7 M. McCall’s copy has, but leaves a disagreeable flavour upon the palate, and has,” Scel.
8 According to Dr Hunter, the Arachis cornicula.
9 The Turk has ghatal, Mr. McCall’s copy ghala, and the Persian ghalm.
10 The cips is the sheep’s stomach stuffed with rice, minced meat, and spices, and boiled in a pudding.
11 The resemblance of the jack to the huggis as it hangs on the tree is wonderfully complete.
12 The stones of the jack, when roasted, resemble the chestnut in taste.
Another is the ber, which in Persian they call kumār. It is of various kinds, and is rather longer than the alíchak (or plum). There is another species of it, of the bulk and appearance of the Husseini grape; but this last sort is seldom good. I have seen a ber in Bandir which was very excellent. This species casts its leaves under the constellations of Taurus and Gemini; 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.

Karāna. Another is the karāna, which grows on shrubby bushes like the jikāh of my native country. The jikāh grows in the hill country; this grows in the plain. Its flavour is like that of the marmalade, but is sweeter and less juicy.

Pomelo. Another is the pomelo, 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, whose fruit springs from the trunk of the tree. It resembles the fig. The guler is a very tasteless thing.

Amla. Another is the amalak, which is likewise fitted with five sides. It is like the unblown cotton pod, and is a wretched hard-tasted fruit. When made into marmalade it is not bad, and is very wholesome. Its tree is handsome, with very small leaves.

Chirumbar. Another is the chirumbar. 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.

Ras. Another is the date, which, though not peculiar to Hindustān, yet is described here, as it is not found in our country. The date-tree is found likewise in Leugam. 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 reach for the truth of these remarks. The top of the date-tree which has been mentioned is called its cheer. The choice of the date is that place where its branches and

1 By the Zizyphus jujube. Jujubes—Hunter’s Hind. Dict.
2 The alíchak is the wallace plum. It is small, not more than twice as big as a shad, and not high-flavoured. It is generally yellow, sometimes red.
3 The eighteen months' periods going round the solar year, those concerned in agriculture, or in operations dependent on the seasons, are ruled to direct themselves by the appearance of the constellations.
4 The podex, or corries ceramides.—Hunter.
5 The chironia caucastica.—Hunter.
6 From guler. Hort. Bengal.-D. W.
7 Perhaps the Hindustān gooseberry, called hara keraś.—(It is doubtful whether this be the cross fruits of phyllanthus emblica, the description being too general.—D. W.)
8 Palash and bālūsh. The palash is a sweet preparation from wheat flour, like a custard. The bālūsh is any kind of sweat or confectionery.
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 path 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; the 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 drunk 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 Chamal, 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. A great quantity of it must probably be taken, as its intoxicating powers are very small.

Another is the coconut-tree, or nargil, which the Arabs call nargil, and the Hindustanis nalle 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 gheshek (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 cuticle of all the chips and bones of the rivers are made of this outer covering of the coconut, and the joinings of the shells of the nuts 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.

Another is the lee, or palm-tree. The branches of this tree are on its top. They tie a pot on the palm as they do on the date-tree, and so extract and drink its palm juice. This juice they call suva. It is more intoxicating than the liquid of the date-tree. There is no leaf on the branches of the palm like a las or a las and a-half 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 yard in length. Hindi letters are often written hookwise on these leaves. The peoples of Hindustan, also, at the times when they do not wear car-rings, put into the large open holes in their car, slips of the palm leaf, which are sold in the Bazar, ready made for the purpose. The trunk of this tree is handsome, but that of the date, and more stately.

They have, besides, the mirnij (or Seville orange), and the various fruits of the Nangal or orange species. The orange grows in Lompa物体, Bajnar, and Sewíd, where it is

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1 Barber must have drunk it fresh and unfermented, as the date wine or mul is very strong.
2 The common Hindustani name for it isuril.
3 Two or three feet.
both plenty and good. The orange of Lamghanat 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 of Khurasan. Its delicacy is such, that in carrying from Lamghanat to Kâbul, which is only thirteen or fourteen farsangs, many of them are spoilt by the way. They carry the oranges of Asterghid to Samarkand, which is two hundred and seventy or two hundred and eighty farsangs 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. They are very juicy, and their juice is more acid than that of other oranges. Khwâjâ Khîlân 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 naranj (orange) was accented in the Arab fashion; and I found that it really was so; and the men of Bajour and Siwâl call naranj, nârânkh.  

Another is the lime, 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.

Another fruit resembling the naranj (or orange) is the taranj (or citron). The inhabitants of Bajour and Siwâl call it balagh. On this account, marmalades of citron-peel are called balagh marmalades. The Hindustânis call the taranj, 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 Lamghanat are all of this sickly sweet. The other is the citron of Hindustan and Bajour, which is acid, and its sherbet is very pleasant and tasteful. The size of the citrus may be about that of the Khoerâvî musk-melon. Its skin is rough, rising and falling in knobs. Its extremity is thin and knobbled. The citrus is of a deeper yellow than the orange. Its tree has not a large trunk. It is small and shrubby, and has longer leaves than the orange.

The saughrash (or orange) is another fruit resembling the naranj (or Seville orange). In colour and appearance it is like the citrus, but the skin of this fruit is smooth, and without any unevenness. It is rather smaller than the small citrus. Its tree is large, perhaps about the size of the small apricot-trees. 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 citrus.

Another fruit of the orange kind, is the larger lime, which, in Hindustan, they call the kilâl lime. In shape, it is like a goose’s egg, but does not, like the egg, taper

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1 Between fifty and sixty miles.
2 About fifteen hundred miles.
3 Dehi.
4 Otherwise, rather naranj.
5 Lima.
6 The same quality is ascribed to the citrus by Virgil in the Praises of Italy—

Media fert tristes aurum, tamarinaque saporem,
Vulnus mall, qua non prescuti ille
Pecula si quando securus infeceris novercas,
Miserumque herbam ut in unio exerta venosa,
Auxilia venas, as montibus agit atro ventura.

7 Khânch is the name by which it is now gone.

Georg. II. v. 126.
away at the two extremities. The skin of this species is smooth, like that of the sengereh. It has a remarkable quantity of juice.

Another fruit resembling the orange is the jamhiri. 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.

Another of the orange kind is the salaphal, which is shaped like a pear, and in salaphal colour resembles the quince. It has a sweet taste, but not so mawkih as the sweet orange.

The marmalade is another of the fruits resembling the orange. Another of the orange kind is the kimich, which may be about the size of the kilm limo. This too is tart.

Another resembling the orange is the semil bid. I have seen it first during this voyage.

1 Or Jabiri.
2 A kind of lemon—lemon. Its name seems to mean everlasting fruit.
3 Literally, what is sweet, is probably the Mandarin orange, by the natives called Naringi. The name <i>mandarin</i> or pear, in India, is applied to the Guava or Puddling fruit—(Spathius mangiferus. Hort. Rend. D. W.)

4 In this note of the marmalade, there is the Turki say, the following note of the Emperor Humayn. It is not found in either of the Persian translations:

5 His Majesty whose abode is in Paradise, may Heaven exalt his splendour! has not attended sufficiently to the marmalade. As he observed that it was sweet and mild-tast, 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 marmalade's mild sweet, called it like the orange. At that time, particularly on his first coming to Hindustan, he had been long and much addicted to the use of strong drinks, whither he naturally did not like such things. The marmalade is, however, an excellent fruit. It is juicy, though not extremely sweet, yet it is very pleasant. At a later period, in my time, we discovered its nature and excellence. Its acidity, when ripe, resembles that of the orange. While very acid, its sweetness afflicts the stomach; but, in the course of time, it ripens and becomes sweet.

6 In Bengal there are either two fruits which have an acid flavour; though they are not of equal excellence with the marmalade. One is called kimkith, and grows to the size of an orange (narma); many hold it to be the larger orange (narma); but it is much pleasanter than lemon. It has not an elegant appearance or shape. The other is the kimith, and is larger than the orange, and is not sour, savoury, and is not as tasteless as the marmalade, nor is it very sweet either. Indeed, there is no pleasant fruit than the kimith. 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 pulp may be taken off by the hands, and however many you eat, you are not surfeited, but desire more. It does not dirty the hand by its juice. Its pulp is easily separated from the pulp. It may be eaten after food. This kimith is seldom met with. It is found at Bengal at one village called Semugram and, when in Semugram, it is found in the greatest perfection only in one place. In general, among this class of fruits, there is no fruit more pleasant than the kimith; nor indeed is there among any other.

* Harwir Pasteur. Index. Every Emperor of Hindustan has an appellation given him after his name to distinguish him, and prevent the necessity of repeating his name too frequently. Hence, Parvati is called the Hindu, Hindustan is Jamshet-e-chesht-i—he whose seat is in Harwir; Meghdoot Stab, Parvati-stab—he whose place of seat is Harwir, Pete.

† The kimith and kimith are the real oranges (nimra and semugra), which are now common all over India. Dr. Hunter enumerates that the orange may be borrowed from China, in Persia. This early name of it is by Baber and Humayun, may be supposed as authorities of that supposition. (This description of the kimith, vulgar as it is, applies closely to the citrus deloniana or pummelos, than to any other. D. W.)

‡ Probably the kirmi, a kind of citron. <i>Citrus, Hunter's Dict.</i>

§ Lit. the and willow.
from its extreme acidity, or from some other of its properties. Its acidity may be about equal to that of the orange and lime.

In Hindustan there is a great variety of flowers. One is the jasmin, which some Hindustanis call the *gurbi*. 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 jasmin 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 blooms 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.

Another is the *kanir*, which is sometimes white, and sometimes red; and is five-leaved, like the flower of the peach. The red kanir resembles the peach-flower, but fourteen or fifteen kanir-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 jasmin. The smell of the red kanir, though weak, is pleasant. This also blossoms incessantly, and in great beauty, during the whole three or four months of the rainy season; and it, besides, to be met with during the greater part of the year.

Another is a *sack*, which has a very sweet smell. The Arabs call it *khir*. 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 gheray. This flower, too, is prickly, like the rosebud, when unbloomed; 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. It has a sweet smell. It resembles a new-blow 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.

Another is the white jasmin, which they call *shambel*. It is larger than our jasmine, and its perfume stronger.

1. *Dekhan* is a province of India, latitude in the west of the native, of all the citrus kind; which are hence called in the Dekhan min-gal (male-tree).
2. It is from the Arabic term *gurbi*, which means a fruit tree; and the people of skill were invited from Persia and Turkestan to attend to their cultivation. It is cultivated for its turmeric, pepper, narcissus, peach, plum, pomegranate, and similar flowers. It is one of the native introductions. Its amount of the district is brought to the district from Anbal, Kandahar, and Kalkator, at the season. I am informed that the annual importation of fruits from Kandahar and Hindustan is still carried on, to a great extent, though daily declining.
3. *Jasminum grandiflorum.*

4. Called also *gurbi*.
5. "Not knowing what this is, I have written it in the same way. The Persians translate it as *shambel*; but the Persians have gheray, probably a half or clue, while the Persian has its original word.
6. *Jasminum odoratum*.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

In other countries there are four seasons; in Hindustan 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. Chait, Bisah, Jasht, and Asad, are the summer months, corresponding to Pisces, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini; Sawan, Bhadun, Kewar, and Katik, form the rainy months, corresponding to Cancer, Leo, Virgo, and Libra; Aghan, Pas, Mal, and Phagun, are the winter, and include Scorpion, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius. The natives of Hindustan, 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 Jasht and Asad, they separate from the others, calling them the period of the heats. The two first months of the rainy season, Sawan and Bhadun, they regard as the period of the rains; the two middle months of winter, which are Pas and Mal, they consider as the period of winter. By this arrangement they have six seasons.

They also assign names to the days of the week; Sanie is Saturday; Aitwar or days of the Sunday; Saimwar, Monday; Mangla war, Tuesday; Budhwar, Wednesday; Bisepwar, Thursday; and Sukawar, Friday.

As by the usage of our country, the day and night are divided into twenty-four parts, the 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 Fatih (or first chapter of the Koran), with the Bismillah (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 Hindustan 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 Fahai (or Watch), which the Persians call a Pas. In our country I had heard of Pas and Fakhan, though I did not understand the custom. In all the principal cities of Hindustan, there is a sort of people called Gheri, 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 Gherial. The Gherial is suspended from a high place. They have another vessel like an hour-cup, which has a thin Gherial in its bottom. One of these is filled every hour; and the Gherialis, 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 Gherial 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-

1 The names of the months, as pronounced and written by the Musulmans, differ considerably from the notice Hindustan. In Europe the summer months are called Geeta, Vascha, Jash, Aghun; the rainy month, Sawana, Bhadupala, Ascie, Kritah; those of winter, Mitraka, Pascha, Magh, and Phalguna. The Hindustan have most of these names by writing consonants.
3 Watch and watchman.
nal that the first watch is past, is their striking very fast for a number of times on the Gheri 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. Formerly, the Gheri, 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 inquired, 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 two 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 Gheri, he knows with certainty how many Gheris of a particular watch are past. 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 Kal-bowwah 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.

The inhabitants of Hindustan have a peculiar method of reckoning as to measures; they allow eight ratis to one mashal; four masha to one tang, or thirty-two ratis to one tang; five mashas to one mishkal, which is equal to forty ratis; twelve mashas make one tola or ninety-six ratis; fourteen tolas make one dir; and it is fixed that everywhere forty dir is one man, and twelve manis one mini, and one hundred mini one mishkal. They reckon jewels and precious stones by the tang.

The natives of Hindustan have a distinct and their mode of reckoning. They call a hundred thousand a lak, a hundred lak a kror, a hundred krons an arb, a hundred arbs a karb, a hundred karbs an ill, a hundred illas a padum, a hundred padums a sang. The fixing such a high mode of calculation is a proof of the abundance of wealth in Hindustan.

Most of the natives of Hindustan are Pagans. They call the Pagan inhabitants of Hindustan, Hindus. Most of the Hindus hold the doctrine of transmigration. The officers of revenue, merchants, and work-peoples, 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, who for generations have all practised the same trade.

1 This refers to the institution of castes.
Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. 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 muskmelons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their houses, 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 Deebas, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, if it be wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the top of a candlestick; they fasten a plant, wick, of the size of the middle finger, by an iron pin, to another of the legs. In their right hand they hold a spool, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring oil in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this spool. Their great men keep a hundred or two hundred of these Deebas. 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 Deebas bring in their lamp, which they carry up to their master, and there stand holding it close by his side.

Besides their rivers and standing waters, they have some running water in their ravines and hollows; they have no aqueducts or canals in their gardens or palaces. In their buildings they study neither elegance nor grace, nor appearance, nor regularity. Their penants and the lower classes all go about naked. They wear a thing which they call a lungoti, which is a piece of cloth that hangs down two spans from the navel, as a cover to their nakedness. Below this pendant modesty-cloth is another slip of cloth, one end of which they fasten before to a string that lies on the lungoti, and then passing the slip of cloth between the two legs, bring it up and fix it to the string of the lungoti behind. The women, too, have a liny—one end of it they tie about their waist, and the other they throw over their head.

The chief excellency of Hindustan 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 your 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
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 Anjil. It gets warm during Taurus and Gemini, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Bulkh and Kandahār. It is not above half so warm as in these places. Another convenience of Hindustān 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-Nāmeh of Mulla Sherif-ed-din All Yazdi, it is mentioned as a surprising fact, that when Taimūr Beg was building the Sangin (or stone) mosque, there were stone-cutters of Azerbaijan, Fars, Hindustān, 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, Sikri, Bāna, Dhuṣpāur, Guzāīr, 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 Hindustān.

The countries from Būreh to Behār, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two kroors, as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, Persians to the value of eight or nine kroors are in the possession of some Rais and Rajas, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these Persianas for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.

I have thus described the particulars regarding the country of Hindustān, 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.

On Saturday, the 28th of Rejeb, I began to examine and to distribute the treasure. I gave Hūmāūn seventy laks from the treasury, and, over and above this treasure, a palace, of which no account or inventory had been taken. To some Amirs I gave ten laks, to others eight laks, seven laks, and six laks. On the Afghāns, Hazāras, Arabes, Balūches, 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 the...
MEMOIRS OF BABAEB.

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, especially 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. Khān Samhali was in Sambal, Nisām Khan in Bāna, the Raja Hassān Khan in Mewāt. It was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections. Muhāmmad Zeitūn was in Dīlpūr, Taḫūr Khan Sarang-khan in Gādlī, Hassan Khan Lohāni in Rāberī, Kūnī Khan in Bāna, and in Kālpī Ali Khān. Kumāraj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of the refractory Afghans, such as Naṣr Khan Lohāni, Mārūf Ferozī, and a number of other Afghans, who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Ḫurshād. At the period when I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kumāraj and the countries in that quarter, and had advanced, and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kumāraj. They elected Behār Khan, the son of Dervis Khan, as their king, and gave him the name of sultan Muhāmmad, Margibā, a slave, was in Mīhāwān. 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, theft, 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 Purgānas and stations. It happened that the heat was this year uncommonly oppressive. Many men about the same time dropped down, as if they had been affected by the Simān wind, and died on the spot.

On these accounts, not a few of my Beggars began to lose heart, objecting to remaining in Hindūstān, and even began to make preparations for their return. If the older Beggars, 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...

1 Askari and Hindal were sons of Baber; Muhāmmad Zeitūn Mirza was a son of Bahādur Mirza, the late Sultan of Khurasan.
2 Muhāmmad Zeitūn was a son of Baber; Muhāmmad Zeitūn Mirza was a son of Bahādur Mirza, the late Sultan of Khurasan.
3 The Persians read Māhāwān.
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 drags, giving their stupid and unformed opinions? It is singular, that, when I set out from Kabul 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, where I would. It never surely entered my imagination, that they were to be the persons who were to arrange 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 Ahmed Pârâbâsh and Wâli Khâzîn behaved still worse. From the time we left Kabul, till we had defeated Bâhîm and taken Agra, Khwâjah Kilân had behaved admirably, and had always spoken gallantly, giving such opinions as fitted a brave man; but a few days after the taking of Agra, all his opinions underwent a complete change. Khwâjah Kilân was now, of all others, the most determined on turning back.

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 hold: And now, what force remanet, 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 Kabul with every symptom of disappointment and discouragement. 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 sedition purposes. Khwâjah 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 Kabul and Ghazni, 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 Masûdî Hâzarâ; I also gave him the Purganna of Kehram in Hindustân, yielding a revenue of three or four lacs. Khwâjah Mîr Mirân was likewise directed to proceed

1 This sum, at forty days to the rupee, and taking the rupee as two shillings, would be L.800 or L.1000 Sterling.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

The presents were intrusted to his charge, and put into the immediate custody of Mulla Hassan Sirdar, and Noukeh Hind. Khwajeh Killan, who was heartily tired of Hindustan, at the time of going, wrote the following verses on the walls of some houses in Delhi:

(Then) — If I see the Sind safe and sound,
May Allah take me if I ever again with you. Hind.

When I still continued in Hindustan, there was an evident impropriety in the 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.

(Then). — Requiem a albae thosque O Baber! for the beauty of the merciful God

He has given you Sind, Hind, and numerous kingdoms;

If unable to stand the heat, you long for cold;

You have only to recollect the first and cold of Ghazni.

At this period I sent to Koel, Mulla Apak, 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 Uriage and of several Afghan tribes on the borders of the Sind. I sent him firmans containing assurances of safety and protection, to the bowmen and soldiers about Koel. Sheikh Babur's Kuree, availing himself of these assurances, came voluntarily and entered into my service. He brought with him two or three thousand bowmen from the Delhi, who all joined my army.

The sons and clansmen of Ali Khan Farnahi fell in with Yonis Ali, between Delhi and Agra, at a time when he had mistaken the rival and separated from Humain; but, after a short engagement, were defeated, and the sons of Ali Khan taken prisoners, and brought to the camp. At this juncture, I dispatched Mirza Moghul, the son of Doulet Kadam the Turk, accompanied by one of the sons of Ali Khan, who had been taken prisoner, with firmans containing assurances of protection and honour, to Ali Khan, who, during these convulsions, had gone to Mewat. That nobleman returned back in his company. I received Ali Khan with distinction and kindness, and bestowed on him one of the most desirable Parrangan worth twenty-five lacs.

Sultan Durabin had sent Mustafa Ferrani and Firuz Khan Sarungkhan, with several other Ambars, against the rebellious lords of the Purah (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 Durabin, and Sheikh Bayazid, his younger brother, had assumed the command in his room, while Durabin was yet on the throne. Firuz Khan, Sheikh Bayazid, Mahammad Khan Lashai, and Kazi Jia, now entered my service. I bestowed on them honours and rewards beyond their expectations. To Firuz Khan I gave a grant of upwards of a kror out of Jonpur; on Sheikh Bayazid one of a kror from Oud; on Mahammad Khan, nine lacs and thirty-five thousand dama out of Ghazipur, and on Kazi Jia twenty lacs from Jonpur.

*This seems to be the Ali Khan who held Kali. * Probably about £23,350.
*A kror may be about £25,000; nine lacs and thirty-five thousand dama, about £34,450; twenty lacs, nearly £200,000.*
A few days after the Id, or festival of Shavval, 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 Ibrahim's private palace. On that occasion, I presented Humain with a char-kob, a sword with the belt, and a tipchakh horse with a gold saddle. To Chin Tajmun Sultan, to Mehdi Khwajah, and Muhammad Sultan Mirza, I gave a char-kob, 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 dress of honour; so that on the whole there were given one tipchakh horse with the saddle, two pairs of swords with the belt, twenty-five sets of enamelled daggers, sixteen enamelled kishkehs, two daggers (jamshider) set with precious stones, four pair of char-kobs, and twenty-eight vests of purpule. 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.

I had at first bestowed the country of Samdul on Muhammad Gokultash, and sent him on a plundering expedition into Sambal. I had bestowed Hisam Firozeh on Humain by way of gift, and now gave him Sambal likewise. As I had placed Hind Beg in Humain's service, I, therefore, in the room of Muhammad, sent Hind Beg, accompanied by Kitch Beg, Malek Kasim, and Baha Kishkheh, with their brothers and relations, Mulla Apak, Sheikh Kuren, and the bowmen from the Doogh, with orders to proceed on duty to Sambal. Intimations had come three or four times from Kasm Sambal, that the traitor Bihan had laid siege to Sambal, and reduced him to the last extremity, so that it was desirable that they should advance by forced marches. Bihan, 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 Afrus, and, founding the place, had garrisoned it. During these troubles, had gone and laid siege to Samal. Hind Beg, Kitch Beg, and the whole detachment that had been dispatched to the relief of the place, on reaching the Atar-ford, while busy in passing the river, sent on Malek Kasm, and Baha Kishkheh with his brothers, in advance. As soon as Malek Kasm had crossed the river, he pushed on with great expedition, accompanied by a hundred or a hundred and fifty of his brethren, and reached Sambal about the time of noon-day prayers. Bihan, on his side, drew out his men from his camp, and ranged them in order of battle. Malek Kasm and his party having advanced rapidly, and got the fort in their rear, began to engage him. Bihan, 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. Kasm Sambal came out and had an interview with them, but made some difficulties as to giving up the fort, always contriving reasons. One day, Sheikh Kuren, having concerted measures with Hind Beg and the rest of the generals,

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1 The Id of Shavul, it will be remembered, is celebrated at the conclusion of the Roxzan, or within the first few moons of Shavul. In A.H. 932, it must have fallen about 14th July 1525.
2 Heran-khali.
3 A square shawl, or napkin of cloth of gold, bestowed as a mark of rank and distinction.
4 The kishkeh, kisheh, and jamshider, are peculiar kinds of daggers.
5 Samul is a division of Rolidkan.
6 The Atar-ford is on the Ganges, a little above Amadphaler, or Amadpur.
7 That is, their clamour.
8 Classmate.
brought Kāsim Sambal before them by stratagem, and introduced my men into the fort of Sambal. This family and dependants of Kāsim Sambal were suffered to leave the place in safety, and were conducted to Bīāna.

Kalender Pālōn was now sent to Muhammed Khan with letters, in which threats were mingled with promises. I wrote extempore, and sent the following fragment:

Caused out with Turks, O Muhammed sheik! The spoil and bravery of Turks are surpassing. Now is the time to present your self, and to lead an ear to counsel. What is the use of selling a son, of what to blind his eyes?

The fort of Bīāna is one of the most famous in Hindostān; and the foolish man, confiding too much in his strength, had cherished expectations, and instructed his convoy 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 Bāba Kūlt Beg to Muhammed Zulkānī with letters, in which menaces were mingled with conciliation. He likewise made excuses to waste the time, and practiced a variety of artifices.

Although Rana Sukhī, the king, when I was in Kābul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinities of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agra; yet, when I defeated Baktān, and took Delhi and Agra, the pagans, during all my operations, did not make a single movement. After some time, he advanced and laid siege to Kandār, the name of a fort which was held by Hasan, the son of Mako. Hasan Mako had several times sent me envoys, though Mako himself had not waited on me with the submissions. The forts around, such as Etkāwa, Dākhān, Gāhī, and Bīāna, 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 Kandār towards Agra, and had then encamped and fortified their position. I was by no means assured of the fidelity of the country immediately about us. It was impossible for me, therefore, to send any detachment to his relief, and Hasan, in the course of two or three months, having been reduced to extremity, entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the fort of Kandār.

1 Bīāna, which lies south-west from Agra, was formerly one of the most important places in India, from its vicinity to the capital, which is signalised on the side of the Rājrāj state.
2 Muhammed Zulkānī held Dākhān, which lies south from Agra, on the Chandī, and is a very strong place.
3 Rana Sukhī, the Raja of Kandār, had made the principal Rājrāj state dependant 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 Babur had to dread.
4 Kandār is a strong hill-fort, a few miles east of Ramchānūr.
5 These are the chief forts to the south of Agra. Etkāwa lies on the Jumna, between Agra and Rājīpur. Gāhī is a celebrated hill-fort, well known as the prison of the princes of the house of Talmūr, and the chief place in Gohīn.
Hussain Khan, who was in possession of락, being seized with fear, abandoned the place, and made his escape. I bestowed it upon Muhammad Ali Jung-Jung.

Lohul several times summoned Kuthub Khan, who was in Etawa, to come out and wait upon me; but he neither waited upon me nor surrendered the fort. I now bestowed the fort of Etawa on Mehdi Khwajah, and sent along with him Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Sultan Muhammad Dooli, Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang, Abdul-aziz, 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 Kunnat on Sultan Muhammad Dooli; but, in the mean-while, I ordered him also to march against Etawa, accompanied by Firuz Khan, Mahmoud Khan, Sheikh Bayazid, Kazi Jia, and the Begs of their party, to whom I had shown great favour, and given Parganas on the side of Purab.

Muhammad Zulfiqar continued in Dholpur, and, under various false pretences, would neither leave the place nor make his submission. I bestowed Dholpur on Sultan Jumil Birlas, and appointed Adil Sultan, Muhammed Gokala Khan, Shah Munsir Birlas, Kutub Kedem, Wali Jan Beg, Abdullah, Pir Koll, and Shah Hussain Barga, to proceed against that place, giving them instructions to assault and take it by storm, and to deliver it into the custody of Sultan Jumil Birlas; after which they were to march against Budaun.

Having appointed these armies to proceed in execution of their various objects, I sent for the Turkii nobles and those of Hind, and held a consultation. I stated to them that the rebellious lords in the east, Nasir Khan Lohani, Murti Fermani, and their adherents, had passed the Ganges, to the number of forty or fifty thousand men, had occupied Kumari, and advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of it; that the Pagans Ram Sanka had taken Kumari; 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 those formidable enemies; that then they would cast no trouble; that Ram Sanka was not, upon the whole, a very formidable enemy. All unanimously answered, that Ram Sanka was not nearly 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 replace them should be our first object; and they therefore begged to be led against that enemy. Husaini 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 Turkii Begs, as well as those of Hind, being pleased with the arrangement, it was settled that Husaini should march towards the east, with the armies

1 Ram Sanka was a place of importance on the Jumna, below Chandelere.
2 Siwa, or Sama, a famous city on the Jumna, about the 47th 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 still to be conquered.
that had been appointed to proceed against Dhaulpur; and Kabool Ahmed Kaseem was
in consequence despatched with all speed, to make the armies change the course of
their march, so as to meet Humayan in Chandwari. Mohdi Khwaje, Muhammad
Sultan Mirza, and the armies that had been sent against Ehausen, were likewise ordered
to march, and form a junction with Humayan.

On Thursday, the 13th of Zilkaadah, Humayan marched to the village of Jihara,
sixteen kos from Agra, where he encamped. Having halted there one day, he pro-
cceeded march after march towards the enemy. On Thursday, the 30th of the same
month, Khwaje Kells took leave on setting out for Kabool.

(If it always appears to me, that one of the chief defects of Hindustan is the want of
artificial water-sources. I had intended, wherever I might fix my residence, to con-
struct water-wheels, to produce an artificial stream, and to lay out an elegant and
regularly planned pleasure-ground.) 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 destitute, that I repulsed 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 umbilo (of Indian
tamarind) trees, and the rectangular tank; I then proceeded to form the large tank, and its
inclosure; and afterwards the tank and bachi (or grand hall of assembly), that are
in front of the stone palace. I next finished the gardens 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 suit-
able gardens; in every garden I sowed roses and narcissuses regularly, and in beds
corresponding to each other. We were annoyed with three things in Hindustan: one
was its heat, another its strong winds, the third its dust. Baths were the means of
removing all these inconveniences. In the baths 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 tile or ettan,
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 Bhurra. Khalilah, Sheikh Zin,
Vusus 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 Dhaulpur; 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

1 Chandbelle lies on the Jumna below Agra, and above Ehausen.
2 There are several places of this name. The one in question is below Agra, on the Jumna.
3 Ab-cawn may be returning water.
4 In Persia and India, a house or palace is always understood to be comprehended under the term
of ordan.
5 This is an apartment open in front, and supported on pillars. It is frequently a hall of audience.
much elegance, gave the name of Kábul to the side of the Jumna on which these palaces were built.

There was an empty space within the fort of Agra, between Ibrahim's palace and the ramparts. I directed a large wall to be constructed on it, ten gow by ten. In the language of Hindúmán, they denominate a large wall, having a staircase down it, wall. This wall 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 wall was completed. In the inside of the wall 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 subsided, 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 is a dome, in which the form that turns 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 name 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 rises from the well, they have built a house of stone; and beyond the enclosure that surrounds the well, a stone mosque has been built; but it is ill built, and after the style of Hindúmán.

By the time that Húmáín had made some progress in his march, Nasir Khan, Lobání, and the rebel lords, had assembled and encamped at Bijnúr. Húmáín, when about fifteen kilós from Bijnúr, sent Múmín Aitkha 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. Húmáín sent out Kasímí with Billa Cháhrí and Búkhárí, after Múmín Aitkha, in order to get intelligence. They brought news of the panic and flight of the enemy; whereas, Húmáín advanced and occupied Jánár, from whence he proceeded onward. When he arrived near Dilmán, Pásh Khan Sirekhí came and made his submission. He sent that nobleman to me, accompanied by Mohád Khán and Muhammed Sultan Mirza.

This same year, Abdúl Khan raised an army, and advanced from Bakshára against
MEMOIRS OF BABAER.

Marr. Ten or fifteen peasants, who were in the citadel of Marr, were taken and put to the sword. Having settled the revenue of Marr, he, in the course of forty or fifty days, proceeded against Sirakhs. In Sirakhs he found about thirty or forty Kizelbashis, 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 Uzbekis entered, and put all the Kizelbashis to the sword. Having taken Sirakhs, he moved upon Taz and Meshhid. The inhabitants of Meshhid, having no means of defense, submitted. Taz 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.

This same year Beha'ur Khan, the son of Sultan Mozaffer of Gujrat, succeeded his father in the throne of Gujrat, of which country he is now king. Upon some differences with his father, he had fled to Sultan Thirham, by whom he was treated with great slight; during the time that I was in the vicinity of Punnat, 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 Thirham's army, took the road of Gujrat. His father, Sultan Mozaffer, having died at this very crisis, his older brother Sekander Shah, the eldest son of Sultan Mozaffer, succeeded him in the throne of Gujrat. As a consequence of his bad conduct, one of his slaves, Emad-al-Mulk, conspired with some others, and put him to death by strangling him. They then sent for Beha'ur Khan, who was still on the road, and on his arrival, placed him in his father's throne, under the name of Beha'ur Shah. This prince acted rightly in enforcing the law of retaliation, by putting to death Emad-al-Mulk, who had behaved so treacherously; but unfortunately, besides this, he put to death a number of his father's Aufirs, and gave proofs of his being a blood-thirsty and unseemly young man.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 935.

In the month of Moharrum, Beg Wali arrived with news of the birth of Parakh, although a messenger on foot had previously brought me the news, yet Beg Wali came this month for the purpose of communicating the good tidings. He was born on Thursday, Friday was the 23rd of the month of Shawwal, and named Parakh.

I had directed Usat Ali Kuli to cast a large cannon, for the purpose of battering Binas, and some other places which had not submitted. Having prepared the forge and all the necessary implements, he sent a messenger to give me notice that everything was ready. On Monday, the 25th of Moharrum, we went to see Usat Ali.
Kühl 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. Ústád Ali Kháli 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. Ústád Ali Kháli, 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 himself set to completing the powder chamber.

Mehdi Khánum, who had received the charge of Fath Khánum Sırwání from Hámmún, brought him to court. He had parted from Hámmún at Dilmán. I gave Fath Khánum a favourable reception, and bestowed on him the Begamna of his father, Aziz Hámmún, with some place in addition, to the value of a thousand and sixty talàs. In Hámmún it is customary to bestow on the Ambas who are in the highest favour certain titles. One of these is Aziz Hámmún; another is Khan Jahan, another Khan Khánum. His father's title was Aziz Hámmún. As I scarce propriety in any one's bearing that title except Hámmún himself, I abolished it, and bestowed the name of Khan Jahan on Fath Khánum Sırwání.

On Wednesday, the 28th of Safar, I seated myself on the banks of the tank, on the side above the temarind trees, and had a feast, when I invited Fath Khánum Sırwání to a drinking party, made him drink wine, invested him within turban, and a complete dress of honour from head to foot, 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 Mehmúd Khan should always remain at court.

On Wednesday, the 24th of Muharram, Muhammad Ali Haidar Rikáblí, was despatched with all speed to Hámmún, to desire him, as the army of the rebel of the Pūsh (east) had been put to flight and dispersed, that, immediately on Muhammad Ali's arrival, he should proceed to Jumpur, leave in the place some Ambas adequate to the trust, and then immediately set out with his army in order to rejoin me; that the Pagan Rana Sunka 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.

It would appear, from this account, that cannon were sometimes made of parts bound by clamped metal. They were frequently formed of iron bars strongly compressed into a circular shape. The description, however, is not very distinct.

About 240,000 standing.

These titles equal the Mighty August, the Lord of the World, and the Lord of Lords.

In the original Fath Ali Sırwání.

30th November is a Monday. The text should probably be 1st Safar, (29th November.)

The Širpa was a complete dress of honour, consisting of a robe, and some other articles.

Jumpur, Jumāpur, or Jumpar, a considerable city north-west of Benáras.
After the army had marched to the eastward, I had ordered Tercil Beg, Khur Beg, with his younger brother, Shirkahan, and Mohammed Khalil Akbar Khan, with his brothers and Akhmedan, Rustem Turkaman with his brothers, as well as other chiefs of Hindustan, and Rao Madl Sirva, to proceed to plunder and lay waste the country about Biama; 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 as to great distress as possible.

Alim Khan, who was in the fort of Tehanger, was an elder brother of Nizam Khan of Biama. 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 rulers of Biama to listen in terms of capitulation, and to deliver Biama into my hands. I gave instructions to the troops who had been sent on the plundering expedition along with Tercil Beg, that as Alim Khan, who was a Zemindar, had undertaken this duty and service, they should be guided by his advice and opinion in whatever regards the reduction of Biama. Though many of the men of Hindustan are brave sworidmen, 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 Biama. The detachment consisted of two hundred and fifty, or nearly three hundred Turks, and somewhat above two thousand Hindustanis, and men from different quarters. Nizam Khan, with his Afghans, and the troops of Biama, amounted to above four thousand horse, with upwards of ten thousand infantry. Observing the weakness 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 at a moment. Alim Khan Tehanger, who was Nizam Khan's elder brother, was taken prisoner, with five or six others. In spite of this, I still consented to overlook Nizam 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 Baha, 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 Pargana of twenty lakes in the Dohb. Dost Iskander had been sent to take the temporary command of Biama till a governor was appointed. A few days after, I appointed Meldil Khwajah to the charge, with an allowance and appointment of seventy lakes, and sent him to his government.

Takhtar Khan Sarangdib, who held Gujlar, had repeatedly sent messengers with humble professions of submission and attachment. After the Pagan had taken Kandahar, and

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1 D’Herbeufh explains akhbat to mean a vassal who holds lands of a superior lord. In vass Adbab.
2 Tirkishmehr.
3 This is probably the Meldil Khwajah, who married a daughter of Bevans, and who afterwards ascended to the throne.
4 About 187,900.
when he was approaching Bûnâ, one of the Rajas of Gujûlâr, Derauâkâr, and one Khan Jehû, a Pagan, came into the vicinity of Gujûlâr, and began to attempt, by raising an insurrection and gaining a party, to produce a defection and seize the fortress. Tââr Khan finding himself in considerable difficulty, was willing to deliver up the fort to me. My Bega 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 Rahîmâdâd with a party of Behrâc-men and Lahrûs, and made Imâmî Khân Tûkîrâr with his brothers accompany them, having previously assigned Perguúmas to Gujûlâr to the whole party. I likewise sent along with them Mîhâs Aţâk and Sheikh Kûrân, who were directed to return after establishing Rahîmâdâd in Gujûlâr. When they got near Gujûlâr, Tââr Khan had changed his mind, and would not suffer them to enter the fort. At this period Sheikh Muhammad Ghânû, well known as a Dervish, and celebrated for his piety, and whose followers and disciples were very numerous, rode up to the fort to Rahîmâdâd, to advise him to procure admission any way that he could, that Tââr Khan’s intentions were changed, and that now he was resolved to hold out. Rahîmâdâd, on receiving this information, sent in notice that he was afraid to remain without, from dread of the Pagûmas; and proposed that he should be allowed to enter the fort with a few of his men, while the rest stand without the walls. After much entreaty, Tââr Khan assented to this arrangement. Rahîmâdâd 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 Humâpâk, or Elephant-gate. That very night he introduced the whole of his men by that gate. In the morning Tââr 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 Perguúmas of Dhuâl, with twenty lakes.\footnote{Abot 2,000.}\footnote{The Sheikdâr was a kind of military collector of the revenue.}

Muhammad Zâmî, likewise, seeing that nothing could be done, surrendered Dhuâl, and came and waited on me. I bestowed on him also a Perguúma of several lakes, and made Dhuâl an imperial domain, bestowing the Sheikdâr (or military collectorship) of it, on Abû Kâch Tûrkûmân, whom I sent to Dhuâl.

In the neighbourhood of Hisâr Tûrkûmân, Hamîd Khan Sarangâhâni, and a party of the Puri, Afghãns, having collected a number of Afghãns and others from the countries around, to the number of three or four thousand men, were in a state of open and active revolt.

On Wednesday the 15th of Sefer, I ordered Chin Tâmar to take with him Sultan Ahmed Pirwânû, Abû Fath Tûrkûmân, Malekûdâd Kûrâni, and Majâlûd Khan Mûlûfû, and to press on with a light-armed force against these Afghãns. They accordingly set out, and advancing by a circuitous road, fell upon the Afghãns, whom they completely routed, and killed a number of men, whose heads they cut off, and sent to me.

In the end of the month of Sefer, Khwâjâghí Aasûd, who had been sent into Irân, ee.
a mission to the Prince Tahmemp, returned accompanied by a Tadjik man, named Sullivan, bringing several curiosities of the country, as presents. Among these were two Circassian female slaves.

On Friday the 18th of the first Rabia, a strange occurrence happened. As the particulars are circumstantially detailed in a letter which I wrote to Kabul, the letter itself is inserted here, without adding or taking away. It was as follows:

"A very important incident happened on Friday the 16th day of the first Rabia, in the year 925. The circumstances are these:—The mother of Ibrahim, an ill-fated lady, had heard that I had eaten some things from the hands of natives of Hindustan. It happened in this way. Three or four months ago, never having seen any of the dishes of Hindustan, I desired Ibrahim's cooks to be called, and out of fifty or sixty cooks, four were chosen and retained. The lady, having heard the circumstances, sent a person to Enjwah to call Ahmed, the taster, whom the Hindustanis call Beckwell, and delivered into the hands of a female slave* of poison, wrapped up in a folded paper, desiring it to be given to the taster Ahmed. Ahmed gave it to a Hindustani cook who was in my kitchen, seducing him with the promise of four Pergaus, 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 Hindustanis, and they had tasted the food in the pot while it was cooking. When they were dishing the meat, my two tasters were instigative, 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 in above the fried meat, or into the cooking pot, it would have been still worse; but in his confusion, he spat the better half of it on the fire-place.

On Friday, when afternoon prayers were past, they dished the dinner. I was very fond of mutton, and ate some, as well as a good dish 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 to a particular part of it. I ascribed my nausea to that incident. The nausea again returned, and I was seized with such 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-room. While on the way to it my heart

* Chestor or Circassian.

The plate is about the weight of a silver penny.

The amount of the new conquest of the imperial kitchen as contained in the Abject Abject, 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 take up the paves of the sheets 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 servants Beckwell touch them, after which they are touched by the Mr Beckwell, and then put into dishes.

The Mr Beckwell puts his seal upon every dish," Re—Abject Abject, vol. 1, p. 68, where the whole arrangement may be seen.
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 stoned 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.

(Pers.)—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.

(Turk.)—I was broken and dead, but am again raised to life. Now, in the salvation of my life, I recognize the hand of God.

"I ordered Sultan Mohammed 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 grantees and chief men, the Bega and Vazir, to attend the Diwan. 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 meat was ordered to be cut to pieces. I commanded the cook to be killed 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, harried and mixed in spirits. On Monday I drank the makhtum flower, and Teriaku Furuk, mixed in milk. The milk scorched my inside extremely. On Saturday, as on the first day, a quantity of extremely black substance, like parched rice, was voided. Thanks be to God, there are now no remains of illness! I did not fully recoup myself before that life was so sweet a thing. The poet says,

(Turk.)—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 marshalling might find its way among you, I have written this on the 20th of the first Rabia, while in the Churbagh."

A.D. 1338.
When I had recovered from this danger, I wrote and sent this letter to Kumbat. As the ill-fated princess had been guilty of so enormous a crime, I gave her up to Yonis Ali, and Khwajah Asad, to be put under contribution. After seizing her ready-money and effects, her male and female slaves, she was given to Abderrahman's charge, to be kept in custody. Her grandson, the son of Ibrahim, had previously been girdled with the greatest respect and dalliance. When an attempt to so basing a nature was discovered to have been made by the family, I did not think it prudent to have a son of Ibrahim in this country. On Thursday the 29th of the first Raba, I sent him to Kameck, along with Mulla Sirah, who had come from that prince on some business.

Humin, who had preceded against the rebels of the East, having taken Jumpur, marched expeditiously to Ghasipur, for the purpose of attacking Shah Khan. The Afghans in that quarter, on getting notice of his approach, passed the river Sirh. The light detachment of the army, that had advanced, marched back again after plundering the country. Humuin then arranged everything as I had directed. He left Sultan Juned to keep a body of his best troops to support Shah Mir Husain in Jumpur. He also ordered Kazi Jia to remain behind, and left Sherif Boyezul in Out. Having left these posts well fortified, and with every means of defence, he crossed the Ganges at Kursh-Manikpur, and marched by way of Kalpi to join me. Alim Khan Jalal Khan Jiglat, who was in Kalpi, had sent letters of submission, but had not himself come to court. Humuin, on arriving opposite to Kalpi, sent a person who removed all distrust from his mind, and Alim Khan accompanied Humuin and was introduced to me. On Sunday the 3rd of the last Raba, Humuin waited on me in the garden of the Haath-Beniwa. That very same day Khwajah Dast Khan went arrived from Kumbat.

At this time messengers began to come close upon each other from Maleri Khwajeh to announce that the Rana Satka was undoubtedly on his march, and had been joined by Hassan Khan Mowati: 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 Buna. In order, therefore, to harass the Rana's army, I pushed on before me towards Buna, a light force, under the command of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Yonis Ali, Shah Munaf Bibee, Kitcha-Beg, and Kiani Boiye. Nahir Khan, a son of Hassan Khan Mowati, had fallen into my hands in the battle with Ibrahim; I had kept him as a hostage, and his father, Hassan Khan, had ostentatiously maintained a correspondence, and constantly asked back his son. Many importuned, that if I granted Hassan Khan by sending his son to him, I would be extremely sensible of the obligation, and
MEMOIRS OF BÁBER

exert himself actively in my service. I therefore invested his son, Naheer 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 Affer, and went to join Rana Salmah. I was certainly guilty of a piece of imprudence in dismissing his son at such a crisis.

A great deal of rumour fell about this time, and we had several parties at which Hámilíin-tey was present; although he did not like wine, yet during these few days he drank it.

One of the most remarkable incidents of this period occurred at Balkh. When Hámilíin was on his way from the fort of Zefar to Hindustan, Mulla Bába Beshíghéri and his younger brother Bába Sheikh deserted from him by the road, and went and joined Kith Kama Sultan. The troops in Balkh being hard pressed, that place fell into Kith Kama 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, Kandín, and Sarabagh.

Shah Sulandí, being confounded by the fall of Balkh, surrendered the fort of Ghür to the Uzbekíes, and Mulla Bába and Bába Sheikh, with some Uzbekíes, took possession of it. As Mir Hamshí’s fort was close at hand, he saw nothing left for it but to declare for the Uzbekíes. A few days afterwards, the Mir and his party were ordered to Balkh, as a place of safety, while Bába Sheikh, with a body of Uzbekíes, proceeded to occupy his castle. Mir Hamshí introduced Bába Sheikh himself into the castle, and appointed the rest of his party their quarters in different parts, at some distance from each other. Mir Hamshí having wounded Bába Sheikh, and made him and some of the other prisoners, dispatched messengers to Tengrí Bardi at Kandín, to give him notice of what had happened. Tengrí Bardi immediately sent Yar Ali, Abdur Lutfí, and a party of his best men, to his assistance. Before their arrival, Mulla Bába had reached the castle with a party of Uzbekíes, intending to have attacked it; he was, however, unable to effect anything, and the garrison having succeeded in joining the detachment sent by Tengrí Bardi, reached Kandín in safety.

Bába Sheikh’s wound was very severe; they cut off his head, which Mir Hamshí 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 Bêki Shaghawé marched against these two old traitors, I had promised him a reward of a sea of gold for each of their heads. In addition to all the other marks of favour which I showed Mir Hamshí, I gave him a sea of gold according to that promise.

Kbmí, who had proceeded at this time with a light force towards Biuma, had cut off and brought away several heads. Kbmí and Bábí, 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 Kbmí having gained authentic information,
that Hasan Khan Mewati had arrived and formed a junction with the Rana; he immediately returned back with the intelligence.

On Sunday the 8th of the month, I went to see Ustad Ali Kuli fire the same great gun, of which the ball-chamber had been uninjured at the time of casting, and the powder-chamber of which he had afterwards sent and finished, as has been mentioned. We went to see how far it would throw. It was discharged about afternoo prayer, and carried one thousand six hundred paces. I bestowed on Ustad Ali a dagger, a complete dress, and a Tipoo Beeche, as an honorary reward.

On Monday the 9th of the first Jemadi, I began my march to the holy war against the heretics. 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 Hindustan, I employed their Amirs in making desultory excursions in different directions. Alim Khan was directed to proceed with a light force to Gwalior, to carry assistance to Ruimad, while I appointed Makom Khan Sambali, Hamid with his brothers, and Muhammad Zelidin, to proceed with a light-armed party towards Sambal.

At this station we received information that Rana Sanka had pushed on with all his army nearly as far as Bliana. 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 Bliana had advanced too far from the fort, and with too little caution, and the enemy had unexpectedly fallen upon them in great force, completely routed them. Sanga Khan Jenjehil fell on this occasion. When the affair began, Kitteh Beg came galloping up without his armament, and joined in the motion. 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 remainder of the war against Rana Sanka. He, however, recovered long after, but never was completely well. Khan Shah Masur Birika, and every man that came from Bliana, I knew 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.

Marching hence, I sent forward Khan, the master of horse, with the pioneers, to open a number of wells in the Pergana of Medhakur, which was the place where the army was to encamp.

On Saturday the fourteenth of the first Jemadi, I marched from the vicinity of Agra, and encamped in the ground where the wells had been dug.

Next morning I marched from that ground. It occurred to me that, situated as I was, of all the places in this neighbourhood, Sikri" being that in which water was

1 Of the first Jemadi, which is the 10th of February 1552.
2 Sambali lies to the east of the Ganges, nearly in the latitudes of Tithal, and 200 miles N. W. of Delhi.
3 Bliana lies between Agra and Bursomber, but nearer the former.
4 Mr Akbur.
5 Sikri was a favourite place of Babur's; he built a palace and laid out a garden there. When his grandson Akbur made his progress to Fatehpur, from Agra to Ajmehr, on the road of Khwalkh Mian, he took back to purify the plain's insanitation for his having male children, he visited a Dervish named Soldier at Sikri, and learned from him that God had heard his prayers, and that he would have three sons.
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 Persians with Mohammed Šahman with Kismau, who had gone to Bāna 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 Sikri, and to look out for a good ground for encamping. On reaching my station, I sent a messenger to Mehlī Khwāja, to direct him to come and join me without delay, with the force that was in Bāna. At the same time I sent a servant of Šamīlūn's, one Beg Mirza Moghīl, 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 Bānawer. The same day Mehlī Khwāja, with Mohammed Sultan Mirza, and the right troops that had been sent to Bāna, returned and joined us.

I had directed that the different Beys should have charge of the advance and scouts to turn. When it was Abdal Aziz's day, without taking any precautions, he advanced as far as Kurraweh, which is five kos from Sikri. 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 Mulla Apak 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 Khāliel, with his followers, to reinforce them. Mulla Hüsamūn and some others were sent close after to their support, being directed to push on, each according to the speed of his horse. I then detached Muhammad Ali Jengh Jung to cover their retreat. Before the arrival of the first reinforcement, consisting of Mohib Ali Khāliel and his party, they had reduced Abdal Aziz and his demount to great straits, and taken and put to death Mulla Šamīlūn, Mulla Dāmil, and Mulla Apak's younger brother, besides a number of others. No sooner did the first reinforcement come up, than Tahir Tebe, 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 Balāh making a charge from behind, succeeded in bringing him off. They pursuaded our troops a full kos, but halted the moment they descried Mohammed Ali Jengh Jung's troops, a distance.

Messengers now arrived to report succession, to inform me that the enemy had advanced close upon us. We lost no time in buckling on our armour: we arrayed our
horsemens in their small, 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 bulk 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 ges, which was defended by a chain. Mustafa Rumi had disposed the guns according to the Rumi fashion. He was extremely active, intelligent, and skilful in the management of artillery. As Sulaiman Ali Khan was jealous of him, I had stationed Mustafa in the right with Dumali. In the places where there were no guns, I caused the Hindustani and Khurasani pioneers and spademens to run a ditch. In consequence of the bold and unexpected advance of the Pagan, joined to the result of the engagement that had taken place at Bikain, aided by the praise and imitations passed on them by Shah Mansur Khan, all those who had come from Bikain there was an evident alarm diffused among the troops; the defeat of Abdul-kadir 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 shadels to be made of wood, and the spaces between each of them, being seven or eight ges, 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, Kasim Husain Sultan, who was the grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza by one of his daughters, Ahmed Yassi, Syed Yassi, 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. Muhammad Sherif the astrologer, a rascelly fellow, came along with them. Bibi Dost Shachi, who had been sent to Kâbul for wine, came back with some choice wine of Ghazni, laden on three strings of camels, 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 Muhammad Sherif, instead of giving me any assurance, 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 further 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.

On Sunday the 21st, I sent Sheikh Jumali to collect as many bowmen of the Delhi and Delhi as he could, to proceed with them to plunder the country of Meewat, and to leave nothing undone to annoy and distress those districts. Mulla Turk Ali, who had come from Kâbul, was instructed to accompany Sheikh Jumali, and to see that every-
thing possible was done to plunder and ruin Mecca. Similar orders were given to Muchfūr Dīwān, who was instructed to proceed to ravage and desolate some of the bordering and more remote districts, ruining the country, and carrying off the inhabitants into captivity. They did not, however, appear to have suffered much from these proceedings.

On Monday the 22nd of the first Jumādī, 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 on one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a lingering after the remembrance of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart. I said to myself, O, my soul!

(Dervish Prayer)—How long will thou continue to take pleasure in sin? Repentance is not amissable. Taste it.

True (Yes).—How great has been thy delusion from sin—

How much pleasure thou didst take in sin—

How long hast thou been in the state of thy present—

How much of thy life hast thou thrown away—

Since thou hast set out on a Holy Way—

Then hast seen death before thine eyes for thy evil—

Hast thou resolved to sacrifice his life to save himself—

Shall he attain that exalted state which thou knowest—

Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyment.

Cleanse thyself from all thy sins—

Having withdrawn myself from such temptation—

I vowed never more to drink wine.

Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking purposes, I directed them to be broken, and remitted 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 Dervishes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Allah, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow. That night and the following morning, numbers of Amirs and courtiers, soldiers and men not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made some of reformation. The wine which we had with us was poured on the ground, for there that the wine brought by Bahā 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 wall to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the wall an alma-house to be erected. In the month of Moharram, in the year 918, when I went to visit Guldār in my way from Dhuspur to Sikri, I found this plan completed. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory over Bīna Sābi the pagan, I would rend the temple to stumps, as led from Musalmān. At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Dervish Muhammad Sābī and Shāh Zād put me in mind of my promise. I said, "You did right to remind me of this. I renounce the temple in all my dominions, so far as concerns Musalmān;" and I sent for my servants, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions Firmans, conveying intelligence of the two important incidents that had occurred.

* This vow was sometimes made by persons who set out on a war against the infidels. They cut not the beard till they returned victorious. Some vows of a similar nature may be found in Scripture.
The following is a copy of the Firman written by Sheikh Zeinuddin, and sent round my dominions.

The Firman of Zeinuddin Muhammad Biber.

Let us return praise to the Forgiver, for he holds in his hand the recompense, and such as have deserved themselves from their slumber, let us return thanksgiving to him who shows the right road to sinners, and blesses factions on such an illustrious path, and let us give praises to the best of created Beings, Muhammad, and in his family who are pure, and his friends who are pure, and let us come on 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 give the rectitude to 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 essential in Human passions are not far removed from evil desires, and I feel that my mind is not pure, since it occasionally desires 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 generousness of God, that he gives it to every one that asks it; and God is the Author of right and kindness. The purpose of writing these lines, and of enunciating these truths, is, that from the frailty of human nature, in compliance with the usage of kings, the sentiments 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 repentance shut on such criminal transactions by unfeigned repentance. But the renunciation of crime, 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 own sanction, and did not show itself until, in this blessed and auspicious hour, when exerting all our energies, and blinding on the height of a holy war, 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 prophets that cannot err, the blessed tidings of A. L. M. of O ye that have received the Faith, and whose hearts bend down at the mention of God, for the purpose of putting up the roots of sin, we knocked with all our might at the door of penitence; and the pointers of the axe assisting, in conformity to the saying, He who

7 There is a scrawl in the Paris copy from this place till the beginning of the year 943. Till then I therefore follow only Mr. Murchison, and my own Persian copies.
8 Mr. Murchison's copy reads, 'Abbas Ghani, the Emperor victorious over the Infidels,' but erroneously, as having not the name of Sultan till after the battle with them took place.
9 The passages in italics are added in the original.
10 Ekahe is properly the mule which pilgrims to round their snail's, when on the pilgrimage of Mecca. It is here used as the symbol of what may be called a Muhammadan reminiscence.
11 See the preface of the three letters, Ali, Lail, Mub; prefixed to several chapters of the Koran, as also *The Koran, Preliminary Discourse to that Work, Section 3.
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 ruine, and broken in pieces, the goblets, and vats, 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 able 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 into remission of sins, many of those near the presence, as the custom is that courtiers follow the king 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 at the door of good, that the blessing of these acts will terminate in the good fortunes and greatness of the Nawab 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 Firmans 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 vanity, 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, nor carry them out or bring them in. Abstain from intoxication; perhaps you may be intoxicated; and there is a blessing on this self-denial. 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 Firmans has issued, renouncing, as far as concerns the Musulmans, the tenguins 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 tenguins be received or levied; and that there shall be no delay or deviation in the execution of these commands. And if any one alter 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 Turks or Tatars, or Arabs or Ajams, or Hindus or Persians, of subjects civil or military, and of

Arabs, or our Arabs.
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 exalts 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 Firman that has been published, fulfill its intention. And as soon as it reaches the ear, that the great, the exalted, the lofty, obey it. Written by the High Command. May the great God exalt this Firman, and the Almighty always protect its inviolability. Dated the 24th of the first Jumadi, in the year 933.

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 Vazirs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amir, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of honor. During the whole course of this expedition Khalifah conducted himself admirably, and was unceasing 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 Amirs 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. Whosoever comes to the feast of life, must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the term of mortality, must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better it is to die with honour, than to live with infamy!"

With thee, even if I die, I am contented.
Let him be mine, since he is Death's."

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 ever think of turning his face from the 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 Koran 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, to friend and foe.

The danger and confusion on all sides were particularly alarming at this very moment. Hassein Khan Tobani had advanced and taken Haberi. Kath Khan's people had taken Chandwair. A man of the name of Rustam Khan having assembled a body of Doab bowmen, had come and taken Koecl, and made Kichek Ali prisoner. Zaldah had

These beautiful verses are from the Shamsunnah of Vermia.

Haberi, a city in the Doab, below Chandwair.
Chandwair lies on the Jumma below Agra.
Koecl, Coocl, or Koecl, is in the Doab, between Agra and Ahospur.
been compelled to evacuate Sambal, and had rejoined me. Sultan Muhammad Daulai had retired from Lumbuj, and joined my army. The Pagans of the surrounding country came and blockaded Ghullar. Ali Khan, who had been sent to the succour of Ghullar, 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 Hindus began to desert from the army. Huibet Khan Gurg-endar fled to Sambal. Hassan Khan Hussein fled and joined the Pagans. Without minding the fugitives, we continued to press on under our own force. On Tuesday, the 9th of the latter Jemadi, 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 Usbud Ali Kuli, with a body of his musilim 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 Bega and troops of the centre, right and left, giving each division special instructions on 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 koc, when we halted to encamp. The Pagans, on getting notice of our movements, were on the alert, and several parties drew out to face us, and advanced close up to our guns and rifles. 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. Manik Khan 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.

Next morning, I marched from that bivouac with the intention of offering battle; when Khulliff and some of my advisers represented to me that as the ground on which we had fixed for halting was near a hill, 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. Khulliff 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.

On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jemadi, having dragged forward our guns, and advanced our right, left, and centre in battle array, for nearly a koc, 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 beat, the order
of battle and arrangements of both the Mussulman and Pagan armies. I shall therefore subjoin the official despatch announcing the victory, as composed by Sheikh Zein, without adding or taking away.

The Firman of the Emir of Bukhara, Muhammad Bâher Ghâzi (victories over the Heathen.)

All manner of praise be to God, for that his promises are sure, and that he assists his servants, and exalts his name, and discovers the bands of those who give associate unto Him. He is one, and except Him there is nothing. O Thou who hast raised up the standards of Islam, by means of the friends of the faith, who walk in the right way, and who have dashed down the standards of idols, by dispersing in flight the armies of the Muhammads, who are rejected, and extenuates he casts down and destroys the race which practices oppression, all praise belongs unto God, who is the creator of the world; and may the blessing of God light on the breast of his created beings Muhammad, the greatest of holy ancestors, and of such as are wrapped in the mantle of Islam, and blessing be on his family and friends who are the parents of the true road, even till the day of judgment. The constant succession of God's mercies is the cause of the number of prayers bestowed on the Most High; and the number of the praises and glorifications 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 these heathen and sinners concerning whom revelation has been made, and that, in the sight of men of understanding, there can be no blessing more excellent, or all good and all blessing proceed from God. And that grand favour, that mighty gift (which, from the truth till the present moment, was the most ardent wish and most fixed desire of this heart that longs for the good of mankind, and to execute in persons 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 beautiful without cause, with the keys of victory has opened the doors of bounty before the face of the wishes of us the Nawabs, success adorned; and the illustrious names of our ever-succeeding armies have been inserted in the book of the illustrious warriors of the faith, while the standards of Islam, 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. Neither in the sense existing subject to the simple, order, and intelligent eye of nature himself, than the purpose of nature, itself, perforce of his necessity. Yet I have never heard the name of my native, Lycaon, or Buss, who did not become individually affectionate on the official accounts of Zeinoddin, while I have met with none but Turks who paid praise to the rest, simplicity of Peres. To day's fomiers are travelled, like the Memons themselves, with some more ability, perhaps in some places than with me scored.

2. The Hebrew character denotes the Arabic, many of the sentences of which are marks of the Greek, which, in some cases, gives the same a broken and imperfect appearance.

3. That is, the Ephthalites and Polyathites.
the glancing of the swords of our soldiers, who are the stay of the faith, illuminated the regions of Hindustán with the splendours of conquest and victory; and the bands of divine assistance exalted our victorious banners in the kingdoms of Delhi, and Agra, and Jumna, and Kherid, and Behar, 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 Nauvāl. When, according to what is written, the earth ceased rebellions and presumption, and became one of the heathen, some having raised up their heads in revolt like Satam, and having become the leaders of the array of the accursed, and the general of the soldiers of the rejected, were the cause of the gathering of those bands, composed of some who bore on their necks the yoke, of punishment; and of others who fixed their seats on the pangs of apostasy in the hem of their garments; now the array of the accursed Pagan, May the Almighty confound him to perish, at the day of judgement, was as extensive in the country of Hind, that before the setting of the sun of the imperial dominion, and before our attaining the Kha-iqan and empire, although mighty Raja and Rais, who, in this contest, have obeyed his mandate, and Hakims and rulers, glozing 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 enterprises, 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 these towns and cities have been made captives; and this strength had reached such a pitch, that, calculating according to the custom in Hind, by which a country yielding a lak' 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 like smoke the beast of revolt, and who in different quarters were the leaders of the Pagan hosts, and were like the chains and fetters on the limbs of these wretched Pagans; each of those ten infidels, who, unlike the ten blessed, unfetted the misery-straitened banners, which mark them out for future torment and nothing, possessed many dependents and allies, and wide-extended Pergamnas. As, for instance, Sibh-ed Din possessed thirty thousand horse; Ralif Uth Sing Nagari, ten thousand horse; Medini Rul ten thousand; Hassan Khan Mawat, twelve thousand horse; Bhaiyal Idri, four thousand horse; Nirpar Hud, seven thousand; Sitterri Kichi, six thousand; Dheram Deo, four thousand; Mirsing Deo, four thousand horse; Muhammad Khan, the son of Sultan Skander, though he possessed no country nor Pergamna, yet had gathered about him ten thousand horse, who adhered to him in the hopes that he might succeed in

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3 The yoke is the Bedhumad's tool.

4 A lak is one hundred thousand.
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 paraphernalia, 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, the one darkness coming upon another, advanced in hostile array, to war with the people of the Islam, and to destroy the foundation of the religion of the Chief of Men, as whom he proclaims and blesses. The holy warriors of the imperial army, coming like the divine mandarins on the head of the one-eyed Dejel,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 Koran, where it is written, Whoever engages in a holy war, of a truth pays 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 Month in Jumadi, in the year 992 of the good fortune of which day the sacred words, use God has given a blessing on your Saturday, are a proof, the encampment of the victorious army of the Islam was established in the neighbourhood of Karwah, one of the districts of Buza, hard by a hill which resembled the grave of the enemies of the faith. When the accounts of the glorious army and parade of the army of the Islam reached the ears of the accursed Pagans, the enemies of the faith of Muhammad, (who, like the warriors of the elephant, were eager to destroy the Koran of the people of the faith, and who made the mountain-formed, dragon-looking elephants their confidants,) all with one heart and mind drew out their armies, which marched under ill-starred standards.

In these elephants the wretched Muslims,
Wore emblem, like the warriors of the elephants
Like the evening of Death, the doated and exalted lands,
Darker than night, and more immense than the stars,

1 Dejel, or al Masri of Dajjal, the false or vybr Mosaloth, is the Mohammedan Antichrist. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters K. F. R., signifying King of kings. He is to appear in the latter days riding on an ass, and will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Jerusalem, 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 be wanting in all places, but will not come Makemur Medina, which are to be guarded by angels. He is to be finally slain at the gate of Laid by Jesus, for whom the Mussulmans pray great reverence, calling him the breath or spirit of God. — See Sale's Interpretative Dictionary to the Koran.

2 This alludes to the defeat of Alexander, a prince of Versas, who marched his army and some elephants to destroy the state of Mitha. "The Messiahs," says Sage, "at the approach of so formidable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend themselves. Hill took himself under the defence of Ismael. For when Ismael drew near to Mitha, and saw the elephant, it was a very large one, and named Messiahs, he sent one of his own elephant on his back, which was a very large one, and named Ismael, to advance to the town, but killed it whenever they encountered to force him to play, though he would rise and march briskly enough, if they offered against any other quarter; and while passing over in this posture, one a sudden 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 tail, and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Ismael's men, certainly killing every one they struck. The rest were swept away by a flood, or perished by a plague, Ismael alone reaching some, where he also died. — Sale's Notes to II. p. 210, 1819.
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 above their fir-like helmets and breastplates, that shone in the sun, even as the hearts of those that strive in the way of the Lord. Their array, like the barrier of Sekander, was of iron hide; and, like the road of the Mahomedan 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.

(Metrical) — In this story there was no rain occasioned by unaided minds; it was firm as the wish of the Emperor and the faith. Their standards all swept the sky; and the banners and flags were all of the truth we have given power.

The far-seeing guardians having concerted measures for the security of the matchlock-men and thunder-darters, 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 Islam finally displayed such array and firmness, that old Intelligence and our Heaven, poured down praises on their order and arrangement; 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, Nizâmeddin Ali Khalîfî, 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-kithness of the assistance-giving king, Chin Timurr Sultan; and the sun high in rank, who is distinguished by the gifts of the exalted majesty, Sultanul Shah; and he who is exalted by pointing the true road, the piety-adorned Khwâjah Dost Khâwend; and the trusty in the mighty empire, faithful to the exalted royalty, the confidential councillor, the chosen among persons of trust, Yânis Ali; the prop of the grandees, the perfect in friendship, Shah Manûr Behser; and the prop of the nobility, the chosen among the attached, Derwish Mahmûd Sarhûn; the prop of the nobles, the pure in attachment, Abdallah Khâbeddin and Dost Khâbeddin, were stationed in their places. And in the left of the centre, the sovereignty-adorned, the Khâled-decorated Sultan, Ash-din Alem

1 The barrier or breast-wall supposed to have been erected by Alexander the Great at the Derbend, on the west of the Caspian, to repulse the invasions of Yâsîj and Mînjîj (Gog and Magog).
2 Barkandar or Al Barkandar, the small war in India for a matchlock-man.
3 Kurîd, Intelligence, or the First Intelligence, was supposed to be the guardian of the emperial Heaven.
4 The different sphinges are each supposed to have a guardian angel to watch over them, and keep them strictly in their ordained courses.
Khan, the son of Sultan Bahlul Lodi, a prince who has near access to the royal majesty; and the Dostur, the most exalted among Saddars of the human race, the protector of mankind, the supporter of the faith, Sheikh Zain Khwāfī; and the prop of nobles, the perfect-in-friendship, Mohīb All; the son of him who has near access to the royal majesty above mentioned; and the chosen among nobles, Terī Beg, the brother of Kīch Beg, who has been received into mercy and purified. Sifr-īrān, the son of the said Kīch Beg, who has received the divine forgiveness; and the chosen among grandees and nobles, the mighty Khan, Arāfā-Khan; and the Vīhr, the greatest of Vīhirs among men, Khwājā Husain, and a band of grandees, 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 merciful Creator Majesty, the star of the sign of monarchy and success, the son of the sphere of Khilafat and royalty, the praised by slaves and free, the exalted of the emperors and empire, Muhammad Hūmaīn Bihādur, was stationed. On the right of that lofty prince, who is closely allied to good fortune, was his whose rank approximates to royalty, who is distinguished by the favour of the king, the giver of all gifts. Khāsim Hussain Sultan; the column of the nobility, Ahmad Yasir Aghānī; the trusted-of-royalty, the perfect-in-friendship, Hindo Beg Khānum; and the intrusted-of-royalty, Khwājā Gokulāsh; and the intrusted-of-royalty, Khwājā Khudher·; and the pillar of the royal retainers, the perfect-in-attachment, Wali Khāsim Kamānavī; and the chosen among attached adherents, Pir Kuli Sīstānī; and the pillar of virtu amongst mankind, Khwājā Pehlevan Bihādur; and the prop of the royal bands, Abdal Shakīr; and the prop of the nobility, Solomān Agha, the ambassador of Iraq; and Hussain, the ambassador of Sīstān, were stationed. On the victory-clothed left of the fortunate son who has been mentioned, of lofty extraction and Sohail race, of the family of Murtizada, Mir Hāneh; and the prop of the household troops, Muhammad Gokulāsh, and Khwājeh Isād Janābīr, were stationed. And in the right wing, of the Amir of Hind, the Umed-ul-Mulk (prop of the state), Khan Khāsim (Khan of Khāsim), Dilawer Khan; and the prop of the nobility, Manus Ṣulṭān; and the prop of the nobility, the Shekh of Sheikhs, Shekh Mustafa, were stationed, each in his fixed place. And in the left wing of the Islam-exalted armies, the lord of high rank, the protector of the majesty, the abode of greatness, the ornament of the family of Tala and Yusef, Syed Mehdi; and the exalted, the fortunate brother, he who is well regarded in the sight of the creating King, Muhammad Sultan Mīrza; and the personage near to royalty, the descendant of monarchs, Adil-Sultan, son of Mehdi Sultan; and the intrusted-in-the-state, the perfect-in-attachment, Abd-al-Mir-Mir Ali Akbar; and the intrusted-in-the-state, the pure-in-friendship, Muhammad All

Footnotes:
1 Family and Saddar, the former of which seems originally to have meant, one who remains where the ruler is, and the latter, one who holds an ancient seat, were both first applied to political functionaries, but afterwards to political ministers. Dostur, in the present day, is constantly used for a prince, except among the Parsis, who give the name of Dostur to their princes; and it is here used as a high title. The Saddar is a chief judge.
2 Murtizada is a name of All.
3 That is, of Muhammad.
4 Murtizada is a name of All.
Jeng-Jeng; and the prop of the nobility, Kutluk Kedam Kerawa; and Shah Hussain Yeregi, Moghul Ghanbal, and Jan Beg Atkeh, extended their ranks. And in this station, of the Amir of Hind, of royal race, Jilal Khan, and Kenal Khan, the son of the Sultan Alaeddin who has been named; and the selected among nobles, Ali Khan Shaikhzadeh Farmall; and the prop of nobles, Nizam Khan of Biama, were placed. And as a tuaghmeh (or flanking party), two persons of chief trust among the household retainers, Terdikeh and Malek Kasim, the brother of BABA Kishkhe, 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 Turkoman Bashlingh, 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 Mohammad Bakshah, 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 tezuchis to execute their orders, and despatched directions worthy to be obeyed, regarding the array and disposition of the army and troops, to the Sultan high in rank, and to the great Amir, 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 firmán, 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, 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 Iblinli, and made a desperate attack on Khorou Gokultash, Malek Kasim, and Baba Kishkah. Our brave and elevated brother, Chit 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 Rumi, 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, Mohammad Humailin Behleder, having brought forward the cannon, broke the ranks of the pagan army with matchlocks and guns like their hearts. And during the battle, Kialim Sultan Hussein, of royal race, and the pillar of the nobles, Ahmed Yasef and Kewam 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 Kochiu, and after him, the prop of the nobility, Mohammad Gokultash and Khwajahagi

1 A sort of adjutants and aid-de-camps.
2 About half past nine in the morning.
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, Yami Ali, and the prop of the nobles, the perfect-in-attachment, Shah Mansur Birzis, and the prop of the grandees, the pure-in-fidelity, Abdulla Kitabdar, and behind him, the prop of the nobles, Dost Ishak-Agha, Muhammed Khalil Akhtebegi. The heathen made repeated and desperate attacks on the left wing of the army of Islam, 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 Atteh and Ruslam Turkman, advancing in the rear of the dark and benighted bands of the heathen, who reposed on evil fortune; and the trusty among nobles, Mulla Mahmadali, Ali Atteh Bashligh, the servants of the counsellor of the imperial majesty, the trusty in the royal state, Nizam-ed-din Ali Khalifeh, 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, Abdul-sanir Mir Akhur, and Kadiuk Kedem Kersevel, and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, and Shah Hussain Yaregi, and Moghol Ghamehi, having engaged in action, maintained a firm position; and we sent the Vizir, the highest of Vizirs among men, Khwajeh Hussain, with a body of our household, to their support; and all the men devoted to holy warfare, exertsing every nerve, and straining all their means, entered into fight with desperate delight, and reflecting on the text of the Koran, 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 having 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 bloody carmine-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, Ustad Ali Kuli, who was stationed with his men in front of the centre, having exhibited great proofs of valour, discharged huge bullets, 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 so 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 traced wool. Such were the bullets he darted on the iron-clad lines of the heathen bands, and from the discharge of bullets and guns and matchlocks, many of the sons 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 Song means either a bullet or weight, whence the play on words in the text.
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 firmâ€”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 preeminence and glory, began to move forward on the pagans' troop; 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 crosses of that occasion 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 gleaming 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.

(รกree.)—On the day of combat, the dew of blood descended to the fish, and the dust rose above the moon.

From the heads of the conquerors in that spacious plain; so that the earth became six, and the Heavens eight.
great the Present; the vain. Hindus discovering their dangerous state, were scattered about like tossed wood, 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 raised of their heads. Hassan Khan Mewati was enrolled in the band of the dead by a matchlock shot, and in like manner many of those bewildered and misled rebels, the leaders of that army, were struck by arrows or musket-shot, and closed their lives; of the number, Hafiz Udi Singh, before named, who was Prince (Wall) of the country of Udupur, and had twelve thousand horse; and Rai Chandarshah Chuhán, who had four thousand horse, and Maniklal Chuhán, and Dulpat Rai, who were masters of four thousand horse, and Gangô, and Karm Singh, and Rao Bhoesi, 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 Islam 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 numbers of distinguished men lying mangled.

All the Hindus were scattered and confounded.
With some, like the sculls of the elephant.
Many hills of their bones were seen,
And from each hill flowed a rivulet of running blood.
From the tread of the arrows the mounds fell of grime,
They were lying and running to every field and hill.

Arabic.—They go backwards in flight. And the event happened as it had been ordained of Fate. And when 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 Jumâdi, in the year 932.

After this victory I used the epithet Ghâzî, in the imperial titles. On the Pachchâminâs (or official account of the victory), below the imperial titles (inscribed on the buck of the despatches), I wrote the following verses:

(Persian.)—For love of the Faith I became a wanderer in the desert,
I became the emissary of Fassan and Hindus,
I wrote to make myself a martyr;
Thanks be to the Almighty who has made me a Ghâzî, (victorious over the enemies of the Faith.)

* Hindi.
* Nagari.—Mr Masutti’s copy.
* This is again a play on the word gși, which means either a bullet or a stone. In the war of the elephant, the enemy’s army was destroyed by pebbles, mistraceously dropped on their heads by hindis.
* Or by a double meaning, “flies flying to every field and hill.”
* Ghâzî signifies victorious in a holy war.
Sheikh Zein discovered the date of this victory in the words *Fateh badshah Islām* (the victory of the Emperor of the Faith). Mir Ghāzī also, one of the men who had come from Kābūl, 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 Mir Ghāzī, in their best emblems. The very same words were contained in their quatrains. On another occasion, on my conquest of Dihālpūr, Sheikh Zein discovered the date in *Wāsit Sheker Rabba-ul arif* (the middle of the month of the first Rabba); and Mir Ghāzī hit upon the very same words.

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 Muhammadlī, Abdulazīz, Alikhan, 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 beyond the enemy’s camp when I turned back, the day being spent, and reached my own about bed-time prayers. Muhammadlī, the astrologer, whose perverse and sedulous 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 as a present, and dismissed him, commanding him not to remain within my dominions.

Next day we continued on the same ground. I despatched Muhammad Ali Jengh, Sheikh Kūrōn, and Abdul Malik Korchi, with a large force, against Elīs Khan, who had made an insurrection in the Doāb, surprised Koel, and taken Koochek 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, Elīs Khan was taken and brought in. I ordered him to be flayed alive.

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.

From this encampment, the third march brought us to Bāna. Immense numbers of the dead bodies of the Pagans and apostates had fallen in their flight, all the way to Bāna, and even as far as Elīwār and Mewāt. I went and surveyed Bāna, and then returned to the camp; and, having sent for the Türkī and Hindi Amirs, 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.

The country of Mewāt lies not far from Delhi, and yields a revenue of three or four lakhs. Hassan Khan Mewātī had received the government of that country from his
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 Mewār. 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 promotor 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 Mewār. I advanced four marches, and, after the fifth, encamped six leagues from the fort of Aīwār, which was the seat of government, on the banks of the river antim. Hassan Khan’s ancestors had made their capital at Tajārah. In the year in which I invaded Hindustān, defeated Pahār Khan, and took Lakhore and Dehālpur, being ever on the apprehensive of the progress of my arms, he had set about building this fort. A person named Kermandar, one of Hasan 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 Abul-Rahim Shāghāwī, with letters to quiet his apprehensions, and promising him personal safety; and they returned along with Nāhir Khan, Hassan Khan’s son. I again received him into favour, and bestowed on him a Perganna of several lakes for his support. I had bestowed on Khāserū an allowance and establishment of fifty lakes, and nominated him to the government of Aīwār, 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 an airs and refused the boon. I afterwards discovered that the service had not been performed by him, but by Chūn Taimūr Sultan. I bestowed on Sultan the city of Tajārah, which was the capital of Mewār, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty lakes. To Tardikān, who, in the battle with Rana Sanku, commanded the Tulughmār (or flankng division) on the right, and had distinguished himself more than any other, I gave an appointment of fifteen lakes, with the charge of the fort of Aīwār. I bestowed the treasures of Aīwār, with everything in the fort, on Hūmāīn. I marched from this station on Wednesday the first of Rejeb, and, having come within two kas of Aīwār, rested and examined the fort, where I staid all night, and returned back to the camp in the morning. Before engaging Rana Sanku 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 Hūmāīn’s servants were from Badakhshān and the neighbouring countries, and had never served in an army on any

\[1\] Nine or ten lakhs.

\[2\] Perhaps Khosrow Gokulīsh. The Persian has Khāserū.

\[3\] About £12,000.

\[4\] About £12,300.

\[5\] About £27,300.
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 Hümâûn to Kâbul. Having come to this resolution, I marched from Alwâr on Thursday the ninth of Rejeh, and having moved four or five kos, encamped on the banks of the Munjaâli. Mehdi Khwâjah appearing also to be very uncomfortable, I gave him liberty to return to Kâbul. The sheikdâri of Bînâ, I conferred on Dost Ishâk-agha. As Mehdi Khwâjah held the nominal government of Etâwa, I now bestowed it on Jwaftar Khwâjah, the son of Kuth Khan, who had fled from Etâwa and joined me. I halted three or four days in this ground, previous to taking leave of Hümâûn. From this station, I dispatched Momin Ali Tawâchi to Kâbul, with letters giving an account of the victory.

I had heard much of the fountain of Pirózpur, and of the great tank of Kotliah. On Sunday, I mounted and rode out from the camp, for the double purpose of seeing the country, and of conducting Hümâûn to some distance on his way. That day I went to visit Pirózpur and its fountain, and took a maqâm. 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. We halted that night in the valley, and next morning rode to visit the tank of Kotliah. One of its banks is formed by the side of a hill, and the river Munjaâli 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 Hümâûn's camp, where I rested and dined, after which I invested the Mirza and his Bega with dresses of honour, and towards had-time prayers, took leave of Hümâûn, mounted, and slept at a place on the road. I afterwards mounted again, and, towards dawn, passed the Pergana of Kâuli, where I took a little more rest, after which I continued my journey and reached the camps which I found at Tulah.

Having marched from Tulah, when we alighted at Sûniger, 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 Bostuwer and Khuseh, where we halted. There erected an awning, and had a maqâm. When the camp passed this way, Tirdi Beg Khâskâl 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 washing and conducting the water are not to be looked for. What few fountains there are come out, as if distilling from the ground; but do not burst forth like the
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 masjūn, Tordi 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, Tordi Beg's delight. This proposal furnished us with great subject for merriment. Dost Ishuk-Agha, who came from Bāhā, waited on me at this fountain.

Setting out from this place, I again visited and surveyed Bāhā, 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 Rajab, I pursued my way and reached Agra.

I have mentioned that, during the late disturbances, the enemy had made themselves masters of Chandwār and Rāberi. I now sent Muhammad Ali Jung-Jung, Tordi Beg, Kuch Beg, Abdalmulik Korchi, Hūsain Khān, with his Daria Khānīs, against Chandwār and Rāberi. They no sooner reached Chandwār, than the garrison in the place, who were Kuth-Khan's people, on getting notice of their arrival, deserted and joined them. After taking possession of Chandwār, they proceeded against Rāberi. Hūsain Khān Lohāni's people advanced beyond the suburb-fence, intending to skirmish a little; but our men had no sooner come close upon them and began the attack, than the enemy, unable to stand their ground, took to flight. Hūsain Khān, mounted on an elephant, reached the river in company with some others, but was drowned in crossing the Jumna. On receiving intelligence of this, Kuth-Khan surrendered Etawah, and joined me. As Etawah had at first been given to Mehdi Khwājeh, his son Jalāl Khwājeh was now sent to take charge of it, in his father's room.

During the war with the Pagan Sanka, a number of Hindustānis and Afghanīs had deserted, as has been mentioned; in consequence of which all their pargāns and governments had been seized. Sultan Muḥammad Duldūl, who had abandoned Kūnānj and rejoined me, was now unwilling, whether from fear or from shame, to return thither, and, in exchange for the government of Kūnānj, which was thirty lakes, took that of Sīrhind, which was only fifteen. Kūnānj was bestowed on Muḥammad Sultan Mirzā, with the allowance of thirty lakes. bedānī was given to Kūsān Husain Sultan, who was ordered to accompany Muḥammad Sultan Mirzā. Several others of the Turkī Begs, Malek Kāsim, Bāhā Khishk, with his brothers and Moghulūs, Abū Muḥammad Nezābūz, Moṣūrū, with his father's followers, Sultan Muḥammad Duldūl, and Hūsain Khān, with his Deṣkhānīs, as well as several Amir of Hind, Ali Khan Ferri, Malek-Dalī Keraṇj, Shāhī Muḥammad, Shāhī Behīk, Tāhir Khan, and Khan Jemān, were ordered to accompany Muḥammad Sultan Mirzā against

This place is in Rohilkund, below Samhāl.
Biban, who, during the confusion occasioned by the war against Sanka the Pagan, had besieged and taken Lucknow. When this army passed the river Ganges, Bibain, having information of its approach, packed up his baggage and fled. The army pursued him as far as Khairabad, halted there many days, and afterwards returned.

The treasures had been divided, but I had not hitherto found leisure to make any arrangement as to the pergunnas 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 pergunna, to prepare his accoutrements and arms, and be in readiness to join me again when the rains were over.

At this time I received information that Hāmāīn 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 reproachfulness.

Khōnjuhgi Asad had formerly been sent by me as ambassador to Irāk, and had returned accompanied by Suleimān Turkomān. On Thursday the 15th of Shabān, I sent him back a second time, accompanied by Suleimān Turkomān, on an embassy to the Prince Tuhmāsp, with some suitable rarities and curiosities as a present.

Terdī Beg Khāksar, whom I had formerly withdrawn from the life of a Derwīsh, 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 Derwīsh, and asked his discharge, which I gave him. I sent him on a sort of mission to Kāhirkhān, to whom I made him carry three laks of treasure. Last year I had written some Türkī verses, with a view to those persons who had returned home. I now addressed them to Mūslīm Ali Khan, and sent them to him by Terdī Beg. They are as follows:

(Turk.)—O ye who have left this country of Hind,
From experience of its hardships and sufferings
Filled with the remembrance of Khālīd and its delicious climate,
You deserted the valley Hind;
但现在 have seen and enjoyed your country,
In pleasure and delights, in enjoyment and jollity;
Yet praise be to God, we have not perished,
Though exposed to many hardships and great impossiiblities,
Yet I have escaped from pain of mind, and from bodily suffering.
And have purified myself, reciting all the asated prayers (of Hawai).

From the eleventh year of my age till now, I had never spent two festivals of the Romans in the same place. Last year's festival I had spent in Agra. In order to keep

1. Bibain was an Afghan chief of great power.
2. Lucknow, or Lucknow, is a large city on the Goomel or Goomet. Khārīshār or Cairoshār, stands higher up on the same river to the north.
3. About 27,000; yet it may be laks of rupees, which would be £20,000.
4. Hāsh Shabān signifies the Right Haven.
5. This gives a lively idea of the unsettled life of Baber.
up the usage, on Sunday night the thirtieth, I proceeded to Sikri to keep the feast there. 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, Mir Ali Korchi was sent to Tatta to Shah Husain. He was extremely fond of cards, and had asked for some, which I sent him.

On Sunday, the 5th of Zilhajah, I was taken very ill. My illness continued seventeen days. On Friday, the 24th of the same month, I set out to proceed to Dholpur. 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 Ustad Shah Mahomed, 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 Dholpur I went and visited Bari. Next morning I mounted and left Bari, and passing a hill that lies between Bari and the Chambhal, rode as far as the river Chambhal, and returned. In this hill, between the Chambhal and Bari, I saw the ebony tree. Its fruit is called Timdo. 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.

About this time I heard disagreeable accounts of Sheikh Bayzi's proceedings. I sent Sultan Ali Turk to arrange a truce of twenty days with him.

On Friday, the 2d of Zilhajah, I began to read the texts, which were to be repeated forty-one times. At this same period I composed the verses,—

(Teesti.)—Let me celebrate thine eyes, thine eyebrows, thy countenance, thy nose—
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 Zilhajah, I set out on horseback to visit Koel and Sambhal.

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EVENTS OF THE YEAR 994.

On Saturday, the first of Mohurrum, we encamped at Koel. Derwish and Ali sires's Yamin, who had been left by Hamatun in Sambhal, had defeated Kuthi Shiraz and saw

This is the earliest mention of playing cards that I recollect, in any eastern author.

The head people of the engineers, artificers, &c. got the name of Qosim, which also means architect.

Bari lies between Bhunt and Dholpur.

Timdo, the name of a fruit (Dryophyllum Eleusmum.)—Hunt's Book Dac.

These texts were to operate as a charm, to produce his entire recovery.

Koel is in the Delhi; Sambul in the east of the Ganges, in Rohilpund.

In the Delhi.

Sambal is higher up, on the left of the Ganges.
A.D. 1527. vernal 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 Kuren I lighted at his house. After dinner he presented me with a Peshkosh.

October 2. Setting out thence, I halted at Atral.¹ On Wednesday, I crossed the Ganges, and encamped in the country of Sambal. On Thursday, I halted at Sambal, and having spent two days in surveying the neighbourhood, I left it on the morning of Saturday.

October 5. On Sunday, I halted in Sekandera,² at Rao Sirwati’s house, where he entertained and waited on me. Leaving that place before day-rise, I rode forward, and, separating from my people by a finesse, I galloped 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.

On Sunday, the 16th of Moharram, 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,—

(Tarbi.)—Every day a severe fever hags 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 Jehan Begum, and Khadijeh Sultan Begum, my paternal aunts, arrived. I went in a boat, and waited on them above Sekandaribad.

Nov. 24. On Sunday, Ustad Ali Kuli 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 mazjin.

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,³ and, marching three kos, halted at Jalasir, where, having stayed two days, in order to accoutre and review my troops, on Thursday I marched forward, and halted at Anvar. Leaving Anvar in a boat, I passed Chanderi, and landed. From thence we proceeded, march after march, and on Monday, the 25th of the month, halted at the ford of Kinar. On 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 Atral, Atralgy, or Atrawley, lies between the Kali-maddi and Ganges.
² This Sekandera must be the Secundra, or Secundrout, 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 Bundelkund. It lies on the Betwa river.
5 Chaudwar on the Jumna, below Agra.
During that time, I regularly went aboard of a boat, and indulged in a manjum. The junction of the Ganges and Chambal is a kos or two above the ford of Khâr. On the 25th of Friday, I embarked in the river Chambal in a boat, and passing over at the point of junction, went on to the camp.

Though I had no decisive proofs of Sheikh Bayezid's hostility, I was well assured, from his way of proceeding and general conduct, that he was most stiffly inclined. On this account I detached Muhammad Ali Jung-Jung from the army, and sent him to bring together at Kumaj, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, and the Sultanes and Amiris in that quarter, such as Kâsim Husain Sultan, Taimûr Sultan, Malik Kâsim Koki, Abul Mu'min Nezâkhâz, Manacheher Khan, with his brothers and the Derikhânis, and to march with them, under his command, against the hostiles Afghans. He was directed to summon Sheikh Bayezid 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. Muhammad Ali asked me for a few elephants; I gave him ten. After Muhammad Ali had been sent off, I directed Bâba Châkâh Reh to join them.

I advanced one march from Khâr in a boat. On Wednesday, the 8th of the last Reh, we halted within a kos of Kalpi. Bâba Sultan, the younger brother of the half blood of Sultan Said Khan, the son of Sultan Khâll Sultan, came and waited on me at this station. Last year he had fled from his elder brother, and came to my territories, but soon after, changing his mind, had gone off from the country of Anwarah. When he got near Kâshâhâr, however, Khan Hyder Mirza was sent to meet him, and to desire him to return back.

Next morning, I halted at Kalpi, at Ali Khan's bouse. He entertained me with a Jumay v. dinner, in which the meats were dressed after the Hindi fashion, and presented me with a Peshkash.

On Monday the 13th, I marched from Kalpi, and on Friday we encamped in Irj. On Saturday we reached Bandi.

On Sunday the 19th, 1 I sent forward in advance Chrî Taimûr Sultan, with six or seven thousand men, against Châmberi. The Beqis who went on this expedition were Bâki Ming-Begi, Tardi Beg, Kach Beg, Ashek Bekâvel, Muûla Apûk, Musâisin Dâdi, and of the Amiris of Hindustân, Sheikh Kâhâr.

On Friday the 24th, we encamped near Keчная. 1 I sent to assure the inhabitants of Keчная that they had nothing to apprehend, and bestowed the place on Bededdin's son. Keчная is rather a pretty place. It is surrounded by small hills. On a hill to the north-east of Keчная, they have constructed a mound for collecting the water, and formed a large tank, which may be five or six kos in circumference. This tank includes Keчная 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 fly, they

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1 Kalpi, a considerable place on the Ganges, in lat. 27° 40'.
2 Of Kâshâhâr.
3 Irj is a town on the river Bedewa.
4 The original has 14th, which must be a mistake.
5 Eight or nine miles.
A.D. 1525. betake themselves to their boats, and push out into the middle of the tank. Before coming to Kochwah, in other two places, we had met with similar mounds thrown up between hills, and tanks formed, but they were less than that at Kochwah.

Having halted one day at Kochwah, 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 Kochwah and Chandleri the country is freely. Leaving Kochwah, the second day's march brought us within three kos of Chandleri, where we encamped, having previously crossed the river of Behánpur.

The citadel of Chandleri 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 Behánpur, we passed a kos lower down than Chandleri, on account of our guns, and, at the end of the march, on Tuesday the 28th, encamped on the banks of Behájet Khan's tank, on the top of the mound.

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, Lakb Ali Kháli 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 ladders and scaling-ladders, and to serve the three which are used in attacking forts. Chandleri had formerly belonged to the Sultan of Mándu. After the death of Sultan Násir-ud-dín, one of his sons, Sultan Múllim, who is now in Mándu, got possession of Mándu and the neighbouring countries; another of his sons, Muhammad Kháli, seized on Chandleri, and applied to Sultan Sekandar for protection. Sultan Sekandar sent several large armies, and supported him in his dominions. After Sultan Sekandar's death, in Sultan Iráhir's reign, Muhammad Kháli died, leaving a young son of the name of Ahmed Kháli. Sultan Iráhir carried off Ahmed Kháli, and established one of his own people in his stead. When Sáhí advanced with an army against Iráhir as far as Dúbípur, that prince's Anurá rose against him, and, on that occasion, Chandleri fell into Sáhí's hands. He bestowed it on one Múd ibn Sâná, a Págan of great consequence, who was now in the place with four or five thousand Pagans. As Arísh Kháli had long been on terms of friendship with him, I sent Arísh Kháli to him, along with Sheikh Kísán, to assure him of my favour and esteem, and offering him Şemsáb in exchange for Chandleri. 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 without success. On the morning of Tuesday, the 6th of the first Jemáí, I marched from Behájet Khan's tank, for the purpose of attempting Chandleri by force, and encamped on the banks of the middle tank, which is near the fort.

That morning, just as we reached our ground, Khalíl Kháli brought me a letter or two. The tenor of them was, that the army which had been sent to the northward (to
MEMOIRS OF BAKER.

Punah), while marching in disorder, had been attacked and defeated; that it had abandoned Lucknow, and fallen back to Kunaaj. I saw that Khalfish 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 enterprise 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 plane, the resistance was not obstinate. They fled, and took shelter in the citadel.

Next morning, being Wednesday, the 7th of the first Jemāli, 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 battle-drum, every man should push on to the assault. I did not intend to display my standard, nor beat the battle-drum till we were ready to storm, but went to see Ustad Ali Khuli’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 Chahere 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 was assigned to the right and left of the centre, and to my own household troops, as the object of their attack. The citadel 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 Shaken Nur 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 in attack, 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 girls! I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my stan-
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 Chandergul, I erected a tower of the heads of the Pagans. The words, Fatah Dast-ul-Karb, (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 Chandergul
Full of Pagans, and stilled the town of hostility and strife.
I stormed and conquered its walls,
And the date is the Conquest of the city hostile to the faith.

Chandergul 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 Bitwé, there is a lake. It is three kos from Chandergul. In Hindustán the water of Bitwé 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. Chandergul lies south from Agra ninety kos by the road. It is situated in the 25th degree of north latitude.

January 30.\[213.15\]

Next morning, being Thursday, I marched round the fort, and encamped by the tank of Malik Khan. When I came, it was my design, after the capture of Chandergul, to fall upon Bai Sing, and Halheen, and Sarangpur, which is a country of the Pagans, that belonged to Silkád-din the Pagan; and intended, after conquering them, to advance to Chatur against Shah. On the arrival of the unfavourable news that has been alluded to, I convened the Beaks, 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 Chandergul to Ahmed Shah, who has been mentioned, the grandson of Sultan Nasir-ad-din, and fixed a revenue of fifty laks to be paid from it to the imperial treasury. I made Malik Aplak Shekkir (or military collector) of the territory, leaving him with two or three thousand Turks and Hindustanis to support Ahmed Shah.

Having made these arrangements, on Sunday, the 11th of the first Jumád, I set out from Malik Khan's tank on my expedition, and halted on the banks of the river of

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1. The laks in Fatah Dast-ul-Karb make 234.
2. One hundred and thirty-five miles.
3. Halheen, or Halas, is a town and district north-east of Bhopal, in Malwa. Sarangpur lies to the westward of Bhopal, north-east from (Ajmir).
4. Chatur, or Chotour, is the capital of the Rana, or head of the Rajput government. It lies in Mewar, south from Ajmir.
5. Nearly five miles.
6. About 142,000.
Berhânpûr. I dispatched from Bandir, Yekoh Khwâjah and Jâfâr Khwâjah, to bring vessels from Kâlpî to the passage at Kinâr.

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 Kunajû, had fallen back to Bâberi, and that a strong force had advanced and stormed the fort of Sheinsabad, which had been garrisoned by the troops of Abul Muhammed Nezâebax. 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 Kunajû, 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 Kunajû, when they returned with information, that, instantly on discovering that the troops who had advanced to reconnoitre, the son of Muârîf had fled from Kunajû and abandoned it, and that Bibân and Bâyâzîd, as well as Muârîf, on hearing of my motions, had recrossed the Ganges, and occupied the east side of the river opposite to Kunajû, hoping that they would be able to prevent my passage.

On Thursday, the 6th of the latter Jâmulî, I passed Kunajû, 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 Jalâshân 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, Usád Ali Kûlî brought a gun for the purpose of cannonading, and having pitched upon a proper spot, began his fire. Bâhâ Sultan and Dervish 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 reproached 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, passed 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, Usád Ali Kûlî 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 Big Ghazi (or the victorious gun). It was the

The passage of Kinâr, it will be recollected, is a kos or two below the junction of the Jamna and the Chambal.

*Big is now always applied to a musket. They seem, like ourselves, to have taken their name for it from the Greeks. The Turki bâœrâœ signifies, like big, a barrel.
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.

As soon as the bridge was nearly completed, on Wednesday the 19th of the last Jamadi, I moved and took post at the end of it. The Afghans, 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 Lakhiris 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 Afghans, 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 impetuousity, 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 foible 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, which fell upon a Wednesday, and that if we beat them on a Sunday, it would be a remarkable coincidence. On that account I 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, and next morning the troops had orders to cross. About the beat of the morning drum, information reached us from the advanced guard, that the enemy had gone off and fled. I commanded Chin Taimur Sultan to push on before the army, in pursuit of the enemy, and I appointed Mohammed Ali Jung-Jeng, Khisam-ed-Din, Ali Kifli, Mohib Ali Khalifeh-Koki, Biki Kushkheh, Dost Mohammed Bala Kushkheh, Biki Tashkendi, and Wali Kisan, 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. 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 Bangermon, on the banks of a pool. The detachment which had been sent on to harry the enemy, had little success. They had halted

1. Nework.
2. Nakara.
3. Sumes—are the prayers repeated after the first sheik.
4. Bangermon stands on the river of Belgrade, & E. from Kansa.
at Bangermon, 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 Bangermon, and, the same day, Tokhteh Bāghm Sultan, a younger son of my maternal uncle, the younger Khan, waited upon me. On Saturday, the 29th of the latter Jemādi, I reached Luknow; and, having surveyed it, passed the river Gūmī, and encamped. The same day I bathed in the river Gūmī. I know not whether any water went 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.

We were still a march or two from Oudh, when a messenger arrived from Chin Taimur Sultan, with intelligence that the enemy were encamped on the other side of the Sirwā, 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 Kizik. On Saturday, the 4th of Reja, I encamped two or three kos above Oudh, at the junction of the Gogrog and Sirwā. Till that day, Sheikh Bayezid had kept his station, not far from Oudh, on the other side of the Sirwā. 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 Kerāchākh to his assistance, and began to make preparations for passing the river. When Kerāchākh 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. Bishshān Sultan, Terdi Beg, Khāz Beg, Bābā Chebreh, and Bākī Shehghāwel, passed the river after Sultan. Those who had passed over first, continued till evening prayers in pursuit of Sheikh Bayezid, 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, 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; Bākī Shehghāwel with one division, following close upon the enemy, overtook their baggage and families, and brought in a few of the Afghans as prisoners.

I halted some days in this station, for the purpose of settling the affairs of Oudh and the neighbouring country, and for making the necessary arrangements. Seven or eight kos above Oudh, on the banks of the river Sirwā, is the well-known tract called the Hunting-ground. I sent Mr. Muhammed Jalehan to examine the fords of the rivers Gogrog and Sirwā, which he did. On Thursday, the 12th, I mounted, to set off on a hunting party.

[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.]

—EDITO.
On Friday, the 3d of Mohurrum, Askari, whom, before marching against Chanderi, I had sent for to advise with on the affairs of Multan, having arrived, I received him in my private apartments.

Next morning Khywand-Emir, the historian, Moulim Shefield the Enigmatic, and Mr. Ibrahim, the performer on the khanum, who were intimate friends of Yunis Ali, had come from Herat a long time before, from a desire to be introduced to me. I came, and were introduced.

About afternoon prayers, on Sunday, the 5th of the month, intending to visit Gallsar, which in books they write Gallar, I passed the Jumma, and entered the fort of Agra, and, after having taken leave of Fakhir-Jehan Begum and Khadijah-Sultan Begum, who were both to set out for Kabul in the course of two or three days, I pursued my journey. Mohammed Zaman Mirza, having asked leave, sat 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.

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, we left that place after noon-day prayers, and at Tal interaction, I drank a medicine which Mulla Rana had made for sustaining the spirits, and which I had carried along with me. It was very nauseous and unpleasant. Afternoon prayers were passed, when I alighted at a garden and palace which I had directed to be laid out, within a kos of Dhmiphur, 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 housing. 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 Ustad Shah Mohammed, my stonemaster, to make an octagonal covered tank on the top of the solid rock, which had been hewn into a platform. The stonemasters were ordered to work incessantly. To the north of the place in which I desired this tank to be hallowed 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 gus by ten, 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 Siskander had raised a mound, on which he had built houses. Above the mound, the...
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 Kewari 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 Moharram, the Id-e-Aushar,
I set out again, and passed the moon at a village on the road. About bed-time prayers
I alighted at a Chârlâgh, a kizz from Guâliâr, to the north, which I had last year or-
dered to be laid out. Next morning, before noonday prayers, I mounted, and rode
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 Hatipol-gate, which is close by
Rajah Mansing's palace, and proceeded to Raj Bikkuramjet's palace, where Raham-
dad 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, 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 Bikkuramjet. They are singularly beautiful palaces, though built in dif-
ferent 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 gur 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 Hindustan. The five large domes are covered with plates
of copper gilt. The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles.
All round they have inlaid the walls with figures of plantain trees, made of painted
tiles. In the tower of the eastern division is the Hatipul. They call it elephant 366,
and a gate pol. 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 Hatipul. 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

1 Probably the branch of the Kôhtar, or Kohatry, which reaches up by Sejama.
2 The Feast of the Truth.
3 The inhabitants of India, and the Persians, believe sometimes to be cold.
4 Eighty or a hundred feet.
story are the sitting apartments. You descend into these apartments, as well as to those last mentioned. Though they have had all the ingenuity of Hindustan bestowed on them, yet they are but uncomfortable places. The palace of Bikermajet, 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, Rahimdad erected a small minaret, when he took up his residence in Bikermajet’s palace. From Bikermajet’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 Rahimdad. 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 knuris in great numbers. The knuris of this country resemble the peach flower. The knur of Guailar is red, and of a beautiful colour. I took some red knuris from Guailar, 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 Shems-eddin Altefsh 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 Dhilpur, the fort of Guailar 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 talar (or grand open hall, supported on pillars) has been constructed. Low and elegant pillars have been erected at the garden-gate, according to the Hindustani fashion.

Next morning, about noonday prayers, I mounted, for the purpose of seeing such places about Guailar as I had not previously visited, and went to the palace called Badiger, on the outside of Mansing’s fort; after seeing which we entered by the Hati-pûl-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 feet. 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 well, 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 well within it. Above its gate is the name of Sultan Shems-ed-din Altefsh, sculptured in the stone. Its date is the year 630. Be-

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1 The palace seems to have been built on a slightity. 2 The morion odorum.
3 Sixty or eighty feet.
4 A large wall, with apartments round its sides.
5 Mr. Mozaffar’s copy reads. 6 The water proceeds from the greater rampart, down to the one. 7 &c.
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 Bāna, though not so red, being of a paler colour. They have been 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 feet 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-pūl, the gate of which had been shut up from the time of the Pāgan; and, about evening prayers, arrived in a garden which Hāmidīlāl had laid out, where I slept and spent the night.

Next day, being Tuesday the 16th, messengers arrived from Bikermājūt, the second son of Rana Sanka, who, with his mother Padmawati, was in Rantambōr. Before setting out to visit Gūliār, a person had come from a Hindū named Aūk, who was high in Bikermājūt's confidence, with offers of submission and allegiance, expressing a hope that he would be allowed seventy lākhs as an annuity. The bargain was concluded, and it was settled that, on delivering up the fort of Rantambōr, he should have Pargonnas assigned him equal to what he had asked. After making this arrangement, I sent back his messengers. When I went to survey Gūliār, I made an appointment to meet his men in Gūliār. They were several days later than the appointed time. Aūk, the Hindū, had himself been with Padmawati, Bikermājūt's mother, and had explained to the mother and son everything that had passed. They approved of Aūk's proceedings, and agreed to make the proper submissions, and to rank themselves among my subjects. When Rana Sanka defeated Sultan Mū'min and made him prisoner, the Sultan had on a splendid crown-cup and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the Pāgan, who, when he set Sultan Mū'min at liberty, retained them. They were now with Bikermājūt. His elder brother Rattusi, who had succeeded his father as Rana, and who was now in possession of Chelūr, 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 Bāna in exchange for Rantambōr. I diverted them from their demand of Bāna, and Shumālāl was fixed on as the equivalent for Rantambōr. The same day I bestowed dresses of honour on his people, and dismissed them, after making an appointment for a meeting at Bāna in nine days.

1 Upwards of sixty feet.
2 A very strong and important fort to the westward of Dholpūr, and S.E. from Jaipur. It is the Rantambour of Bengal.
3 About 21,500.
I went from the garden to visit the idol temples of Gujñāhr. Many of them are two and three stories high. The different stories are very low, in the ancient fashion. In the screened 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. After viewing the edifices, I went out by the west gate of Gujñāhr, and proceeding to the south of the fort, after examining the ground, reached the Charbagh which Rāhimnād had laid out before the Hātipūl gate, and there dismounted. Rāhimnād had prepared an entertainment for me at the Charbagh. He gave me an excellent dinner, and afterwards presented me with a large pakhāshī, to the amount of four lacs in money and goods. From this Charbagh, I arrived late at the Charbagh where I had my quarters.

On Wednesday the 15th, I set out to visit a waterfall, which lies about six kos to the south-east of Gujñāhr. 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. 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 meal; 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 Ti⟨nd⟩ū, 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.

On Friday the 17th, I visited Sokhāman, the birthplace of Sili ⟨h⟩āli ⟨l⟩i. Above the village, between the hill and valley, is the Lime and Sitaphal (or custard-apple) garden, which I walked through, and returned to the camp in the course of the first watch.

On Sunday the 18th, before dawn, I set out from the Charbagh, and having passed the Kermān, and halted during the moonrise, about noon-day prayers we again mounted, and having crossed the Chañibal at sunset, reached the Fort of Dhlūpār between evening and bed-time prayers. I visited, by the light of a lantern, the bath built by Abū 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

1 I am not aware that these excavations have ever been described. The account here given would lead as to conclude that they were Buddhist.
2 Nine or ten miles.
3 That is seven or eight gur—fifteen or sixteen feet.
4 The Rohā or Cobary.
which I had given orders for carrying out. 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-horse\(^1\) 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 masjidi party. On Tuesday I remained in the same place. On the eve of Wednesday I broke my fast, and ate little. Having mounted to go to Sikri, about noon I October 7, 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 October 8, set out, and having, in the course of one watch, reached the garden which I had formed at Sikri, 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 Sikri; and, after passing Maihaur, 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 Khadijah Sultan Begum, who, when Fakher-ud-Din Begum went away, had still behind on account of various affairs and business; I then crossed the Jamuna, and alighted at the garden of Hesht-Behist.

On Saturday, the 3d of the month of Sefer, three of my paternal aunts, Begums of October 12, high rank, Kher-Shah Begum, Badia-a-jemâl Begum, and Ak Begum, and of the Begums of inferior rank, Khan-sâdeh Begum, the daughter of Sultan Maanî Mirza; another, who was the daughter of Sultan Baháth Begum, and another, by name Zâlah Sultan Begum, the grand-daughter of Bâkâ Khan Bahâm, having passed Tutuch, 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.

On Monday, the 5th of Sefer, I sent the first convoy of Bekermâh, and the one whom he had sent last, accompanied by Hauvâ, the son of Hurrâ, a Hindu of Bârvehs, who had long been in my service, to receive the surrender of Kautenâh, 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 Chittor.

At this crisis, the treasures of Delhi and Agra that had been collected by Iskander and Hâshib 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 October 22

\(^1\) A water-horse was a large animal that could lift heavy loads.
A.D. 1526. having an office, should bring a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred, to the Diwan, to be applied to the procuring and fitting out the proper arms and supplies.

On Saturday the 10th, one Shah Kasim, a runner of Sultan Mohammed Bakhshi, whom, on a former occasion, I had sent with letters, offering protection and security to the natives of Khorasan, 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 Hindustan, as well as over the Pagans. That next spring, God willing, I would make an effort, and return in person to Kabul. I likewise sent a letter to Ahmed Afzal, and, on the margin, made a noting, with my own hand, in which I sent for Feridan Kahlid. That same day, about noon-day prayers, I began to take quick-silver.

On Wednesday, the 21st, a Hindustani runner brought letters from Kamran and Khwajeh Dost Khawend. Khwajeh Dost Khawend had reached Kabul on the 10th of Zilhajeh, and had set out to meet Humain. At that time, a man sent by Kamran reached the Khwajeh, desiring him to remain, that he might deliver to Kamran 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 17th of Zilhajeh, Kamran arrived in Kabul, and, after having conferred with him, the Khwajeh on the 28th took his leave, and proceeded for the fort of Zafar. These letters contained the pleasing intelligence, that prince Talarasp having marched to oppose the Uzbek, had taken Kenish, the Uzbek in Damghan, and put him, with all his men, to the sword; that Obed Khan, on hearing of the motions of the Kizilbash, had raised the siege of Heris, and retreated to Merv, from whence he had sent to invite the Sultans of Samarqand and the neighbouring countries to join him, and that the whole Sultans of Mawarish had, in consequence, repairing to that city to his assistance. The same runner brought the further news, that Humain had got a son, by the daughter of Y MGIR Takhir; and that Kamran had married in Kabul, having taken to wife the daughter of his maternal cousin, Sultan Ali Mirza.

The same day I bestowed on Syed Dekri Shirdi, the water finder; 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.

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 my prayers. Two days after, on Sunday, I had a fever and shivering. On the night of Tuesday, the 27th of Zafar, I turned over in my mind the plan of translating into verse, the tract in honour of the parents of the revered Khwajeh Obed. Placing my

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1 This appears to be an addition of 20 per cent to the old taxes.
2 The Khol is a sort of guitar, on which Feridan was a celebrated performer.
3 Quick-silver. Its liquid state has been long used in India, for removing obstructions in the bowels.
4 At this time Humain was at the fort of Zafar, in Balkhshain, and Kamar in Ghazni.
5 The King of Persia.
6 The Turkis has Rais.
7 Ab-jah—perhaps the term only means hydraulic engineer.
confidence in the soul of the venerable Khwajah, I indulged a hope, that perhaps his reverence might be induced to receive my poem favourably, and to remove my doubts, as he had done with the writer of the Kasidah, who, when he presented his Kasidah, 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 majhum metre; the measure, zerb garb, after gab, mahbûn mehraž, being the same in which the Schakhrs of Mumhshir Abâl-rahman Jami are composed; and the same evening I wrote thirteen couplets. I tasked myself to compose a certain number of couplets, never less than two 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 Khwajah, on Thursday, the 29th, the violence of the distemper was allayed, and I was again delivered from the disease.

On Saturday, the 8th of the first Rehâ, I completed my poetical version of the tract. I had composed every day, on an average, fifty-two couplets.

On Wednesday, the 25th 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 accouterments in readiness, and to meet me with all speed.

On Sunday, the 9th of the first Rehâ, Beg Mohammed Talikehi waited on me. Last year, in the end of Moharram, he had been sent to carry a dress of honour and a horse to Hûmahûn.

On Monday the 10th, Beg Khush, Wais Lughâí, and Bâhn Sheikh, one of Hûmahûn's servants, arrived from that prince. Beg Khush had come for the purpose of announcing the happy news of the birth of Hûmahûn's son. They had given him the name of Allahán. Sheikh Aml Wâjid discovered the date of his birth, in the words Shâh, Szâdkhwâl (the fortunate king). Bâhn Sheikh had set out long after Beg Khush. He had left Hûmahûn below Keshem, at a place called Dushumbeh, on Friday the 8th of Sefer; and on Monday, the 10th of the first Rehâ, he reached Agra, having made a very quick journey. The same Bâhn Sheik, on another occasion, had gone from the fort of Sefer to Kandahâr in eleven days. Bâhn Sheik brought intelligence of the advance of the prince, and of the defeat of the Usbecks. The particulars were these: Prince Tâhmâsp had advanced out of Irâk with forty thousand men, disciplined after the Turkish fashion, with an artillery and body of gunners, had marched on with great expedition, had arrived at Bögâm and Damghân; had taken Remish the Usbek, and put the whole of his people to death; after which he rapidly pursued his march. Kember All Bâ, the son of Kopak Bâ, was also routed by the Kazehbâches, 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

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1. Heri, unfortunately, Mr Elkington'sTurki copy finally ends.
2. Terms of Persia precede.
3. Shah Ismael had died in 1622, and was succeeded by his son Prince Tâhmâsp, 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, his father continues still to call him the Abûrâmad, or Prince, from the form of habît, or from his having mounted the throne at so early an age.
persons in great haste to call the Khans and Sultans of Balkh, Hisâr, Samarkand, and Tashkend, to come to his assistance, while he himself retired to Merv. These princes collected their forces with great expedition. From Tashkend, Sunjek Khan, the second son of Barak Sultan; from Samarkand and Mân-kâl, 1 Kochim Khan, Abdus-Said Sultan, and Polad Sultan, accompanied by the sons of Jan Beg Khan; from Hisâr, the sons of Khanzâd Khan and Mehibi Sultan; from Balkh, Kitan Kara Sultan, all advanced without loss of time, and joined Obed Khan in Merv, forming an army of a hundred and five thousand men. Their scouts brought them information, that Prince Tahmaasp, having understood that Obed Khan was encamped with a few troops in the vicinity of Heri, had at first pushed on with thirty 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 Aulem Zâdegân, where he now lay. On receiving this information, the Uzbeks, desiring 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 Kazakhbashis' 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 Jam and Khirgirt, 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 Hisâr abandoned the place and retired, leaving in it Can-meh, whose original name was Ismael, the son of Ibrahim Jahâ. I wrote letters to Hâmûn and Khurân, to be dispatched by the hands of the same Bün Sheik, who has been mentioned.

Nov. 27. On Friday the 14th, having got ready all the letters and dispatches, they were delivered to Bün Sheik, who took leave.

Nov. 28. On Saturday the 15th, I set out from Agra.

Copy of the Letter sent to Hâmûn.

To Hâmûn, whom I remember with much longing to see him again, health; on Saturday, the first of the former Ruhî, Bün Sheik, 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 Alûmûn; may the Almighty

1 Mân-kâl is the country nearly in the middle between Samarkand and Bokhara, on the Kobič.
2 Vedekh.
MEMOIRS OF BABIL.

prosper what you have done. You who are seated on a throne ought to know, that people in general pronounce it, some Alman (the protected), some Ilamun (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 learn, rendered happy by the fortune and fame of Alman. Indeed, the Almighty, from his grace and bounty, hath accomplished our desire in a manner not to be paralleled in the revelation of time.

On Tuesday, the 5th of the month, having received some information that the men of Balkh had invited Kamaran, and introduced him into the city, I sent orders to my son Kamaran and the Begs at Kabul to march and form a junction with you, when you might proceed to Hisar, 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 insolence and rash suit but ill with royalty.

(Proem 402.)—Ambition adorns a monarch.

The world is his who terrifies himself.
In wisdom's eye, every condition
May find repose, but sovereignty alone.

—If, through the divine favour, you subdue and secure Balkh and Hisar, your men must have the charge of Hisar, while Kamaran'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 Kamaran 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 Kamaran five; you must always attend to this rule, and unfailingly observe it. Remember too always to set homeliness 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 unbecoming. In many of your letters you complain of separation from your friends. It is necessary 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.

* A kurr is a Torki period of thirty-one years.  
* Humboldt was at this time in Babechistan.
There is no greater bondage than that in which a king is placed; and it ill becomes him to complete 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 decipher and comprehend the meaning of your last letter, but with much difficulty. It is excessively confused and crabbed. Who ever saw a Mousmm (a riddle or a charade) in prose? Your spelling is not bad, yet not quite correct. You have written /lirif/ with a 9 (instead of a l), and 8/nd8/ with a 8 (instead of a 8). 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 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 your 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 Khwajeh Kil'lan; 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 be and by become less oppressive, and you may not require Kâmrân. In that case, your brother may have 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 Wels, 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.

Bînâ Sheikth 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 12th of the first Rebi.²

I likewise sent Kâmran and Khwajeh Kil'lan letters to the same effect, written with my own hand.

¹ To drive the Uzbeks out of Balkh, Hindore, &c.
² In the Persian translation of the Memoir, this letter is given in the original Türkî, without translation.
On Wednesday the 19th, I convened the Mirza, 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, Askari should advance towards Purah (or the East Provinces); that, after the Arnar and Sultans beyond the Ganges had brought their troops and joined Askari, 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 Ghias-ed-din Koshi to Sultan Jumil Birlas, and the Arnar of the Purah, requiring them to meet me in twenty-two days, I instructed him verbally to inform them, that I would send on to Askari 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 Arnar and Sultans on the farther side of the Ganges to join Askari, 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 chief 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 Askari, and, with the divine blessing, decide on the general course expedient to be followed in that quarter.

On Saturday the 29th of the first Rehia, I presented Askari with a dagger enriched with precious stones, a belt, and a complete royal dress of honour; gave him the standard, the horse-tail, the kettle-drum, and a staff of Tipshik horns, ten elephants, a string of camels, a string of mules, and a royal equipage and camp-furniture, commanding him to take his seat at the head of a hall of state. I gave Mitla Dama Also a pair of brakins ornamented with rich buttons, and presented his other servants with thrice nine yards.

On Sunday, the last day of the month, I went to Sultan Muhammad Bakhshii's house. The streets were spread with rich stuff, and he brought and offered me a satchal, or formal present; the posheesh, or tribute offering, which he presented, in money and effects, exceeded two lacs. After dining and retiring this posheesh, we retired into another apartment, where we sat down and indulged in a masjida. About the third watch I rose, crossed the river, and went to my private apartments.

On Thursday, the 4th of the latter Rehia, I directed Chiknaik Beg, by a written order, under the royal hand and seal, to measure the distance from Agra to Kandah; that at every nine kos, he should raise a minar, or turret, twelve feet in height, on the top of which he was to construct a pavilion that, every ten kos, he should erect a gate, or post-house, which they call a Dal-chali, for six horses; that he should fix a certain

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1 Askari was one of Baber's men.
2 The presents of the Moghuls and Turks were equal to thrice nine annas, the number being deemed fortunate.
3 £300. About thirteen or fourteen miles.
4 Char-izmah. About fifteen miles.
5 Twenty-four feet.
allowance as a provision for the poshoun-keepsers, couriers, and grooms, and for feeding the horses; and orders were given, that wherever a poshoun for horses was built near a khâbah or imperial demesne, they should be furnished from thence with the stated allowances; that if it was situated in a pargana, the nobleman in charge should attend to the supply. The same day, Châmârî Phâshâhi left Agra. The kos was fixed in conformity with the mill, according to these verses:

(Turk.)—Four thousand passes are one mill,
Know that the man of Hindustan call it a kursh (kos).
This pass is a cubit and a half,
Every cubit is six hand-breathths;
Each hand-breathth is six inches; and more, each inch
Is the breadth of six barleycorn. Know all this.

The measuring tenâb was to consist of forty gez or pieces, each measuring one and a half of the gez or cubit that has been mentioned, and so equal to nine hand-breathths; and a hundred of these tenâbs were to go to one kos.

On Saturday the 9th, 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 khas-grass for coolness. On my right, at the distance of five or six gez, sat Hughes Sultan, Askeri, and the venerable Khwâjah's family, Khwâjah Abdal Shahid, Khwâjah Khân, Khwâjah Husain Khâillâh, and other couriers from Samarkand, the dependants of the Khwâjahs; readers of the Korâ, and Mulla. On my left, at an interval of five or six gez, were seated Muhammad Zumân Mirza, Autebak Istitâh Sultan, Syed Rafi, Syed Rumi Sheikh, Abul Fateh, Sheikh Jemâlî, Sheikh Shehabeddin Arab, and Syed Deferî. The Kezelbaugh, Uzbek, and Hindu ambassadors were present at this feast. An awning was erected at the distance of seventy or eighty gez to the right, in which the Kezelbaugh ambassadors were placed, and Yousuf Ali was selected from the Amir's 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 Amir's to sit beside them. Before the dinner was served, all the Khans, Sultans, grandees, and Amir, offered congratulatory presents of red, and, white, and black money, with cloth and other articles. I ordered creollen clothes 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 presents 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."
front. There were also some men, lights, and afterwards matches of wrestlers. When the dinner was placed, Khwajah Abdal Shafii and Khwajah Khilân were invested with muslin robes of very fine cotton, with suitable dresses of honour. Mullâ Farekh, Häfez, and those who were with them, received gowns of cloth. On the ambassa-
dors of Koctum Khan, and the younger brother of Hassân Chelebi, were bestowed Sirah-
maul robes of muslin, with rich button and robes of honour suited to their rank. To the ambassadors of Aboold Sultan, and Muhardin Khânim and her son Polad 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 Doosti Khwajah and the two great amba-
sadors, who were the servants of Koctum Khan, and to the younger brother of Hassân Khan Chelebi. The gold stone contains five hundred mishkals, which is one air Kahun measure. The silver measure is two hundred and fifty mishkals, which is half a Kahun sir, Khwajah Mîr Saltân, his sons, and Häfez Tashkendi, Mullâ Farekh and his follow-
ers, the servants of the Khwajah, and the other ambassadors, had each of them presents of silver and gold. Yâhir Nâsir had a hunger and thirst. Mîr Muhammed Jallâh had deserved great rewards, for the skill with which he had constructed the bridge over the Ganges. He and the other musketeers, Pehlivan Hajî Muhammed, and Pehlivan Behdil, and Wâz Fârûqa were presented each with a dagger. Syed Daud Germânî had a present in silver and gold. The servants of my daughter Masumâ, 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 Andijân, who, without a country, without a home, had roamed with me in my wanderings in Sikk and Hushâr, and many lands, to all my veterans and tried men, I gave vests and rich dresses of honour, with gold and silver cloths, and other articles of value. To the servants of Korchan and Sheikhî, and the natives of Kilmâ, presents were, in like manner, given. When the dinner was placed, the Hindustani jugglers were brought in, and performed their tricks, and the tumblers, and rope-dancers exhibited their feats. The Hindustani tight-of-hand men did 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 fingers, 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 three to represent the port of a pennant, all the while turning round, with a continued rapid motion, three rings placed on their hand and two feet. The tumblers of our country are two wooden poles to their feet.

1 Khocirn or Kocurin Khan has already been mentioned along with Aboold Sultan and Polad Sultan, as Czack chief of Samarkand.
2 Hassân Khan Chelebi was the Persian ambassador.
3 Bâcher’s residence in Sikk and Hushâr was the most trying period of his life. It immediately preceded his final abdication, and Fârûqa, when he set out for Khurasan, those two were his most faithful followers.
4 Jugglers. See a paper by Colonel Richardson in the Asiatic Researches, on this subject.
5 Ends.
and walk on these wooden supports; the Hindustani tumblers, clinging to a single
wooden support, walk on it, and that without fastening it to their feet. In our coun-
tries, two tumblers lay hold of each other, and go on tumbling when thus linked together:
whereas the Hindustani tumblers lay hold of each other to the number of three and
four, and go on tumbling intertined in a circle. One of the most remarkable feats
which they exhibit is when a tumbler, placing the lower part of a pole, or six or seven
feet 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 petrels, or dancing-girls, were also intro-
duced, and danced. Towards evening prayers, a great quantity of gold, silver, and
copper money was scattered; there was a precious hubbul and unspur. Between evening
and bed-time prayers, I made five or six of the most distinguished of my guests sit
down near me, and I concluded with them till the end of the first watch. Next morning,
in the forenoon, I went to the Heeds-Behslic in a boat.

On Monday, Askori, who had begun his march, and left the town, took leave of me
in my bath, and proceeded to the eastward.

On Tuesday, I set out to visit the tanks, gardens, and palaces, which I had ordered to
be made at Dholpur. I mounted at my garden-house at one giri of the second watch,
and five geras of the first watch, of the night were past, when I reached the garden of
Dholpur.

On Thursday the 11th, the water well, the cypresses, the twenty-six stone and stone
columns and the water-channels, which were all bayed on the hill from the solid rock,
were finished. About the third watch of that same day, they began to draw water
tmog the well. Presents were given to the stoncutters, carpenters, and all the labour-
eres, according to the usage of the artisans and labourers of Agra. By way of present,
in order to remove any disagreeable taste that might be in the water, they were
directed to turn the water twice of the well day and night incessantly for fifty days,
and let the water run off.

On Friday, while there was still one giri of the first watch remaining, I set off
from Dholpur, and the sun was not set when I had alighted, and passed the river.

On Tuesday the 16th, a man who had been in the battle between the Kedalshees
and Uzells, a servant of Deo Sultan, came and gave an account of the engagement.
He informed me, that the battle between the Uzells and Turkomans was fought on the
Rez-Asir, in the neighbourhood of Jam and Khargir, and lasted from the first twil-
light till noon-day prayers. The Uzells were three hundred thousand in number, the
Turkomans according to their own account, amounted to only forty or fifty thou-
sand, but, from their array, had the appearance of amounting to a hundred thousand;
while the Uzells made their own army amount to only one hundred and five thou-
sand. The Kedalshees engaged, after having placed their guns, artillery, and mus-
kettlers in order, and fortified their position, according to the tactics of Rom: they had two thousand artillery-men and six thousand matchlock-men. The Prince of Chokka, Sultan were stationed behind the guns, with twenty thousand chosen men. The other Amirs were placed beyond the guns, on the right and left flanks. The Uzbeks, on the first charge, having broken and defeated the outposts and flankers, about they drove in, and made a number of prisoners, advanced into the rear of the Karezkaul 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 Kochil Khan, were three broken, and three returned to the charge; but at length, by the divine favour, were totally routed, and nine Sultans, including Obed Khan and Ahmad Sultan, fell on the field, of which number, Ahmad Sultan was the only one taken alive, the other eight being slain. The head of Obed Khan could not be found, but his body was discovered. Fifty thousand Uzbeks and twenty thousand Turchanans fell in the action.

The same day, Ghisassoddin, who had gone to Jumadar, and engaged to return by a stated day, came back, having been absent sixteen days. Sultan Jumal and the officers who were with him, had raised an army, and advanced to Kherin, so that Ghisassoddin, being obliged to follow him thither, had been unable to return back at the time appointed. Sultan Jumal 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 sent to the Sultans, Khans, and Amirs 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 Taz received this answer from Sultan Jumal, yet as Mulla Mohammed Mashah, who, after the holy war against Sanka, the Pagur, and been sent on an embassy to Bengal, was daily expected back, I waited till I could hear his account of the state of things.

On Friday the 19th, I had taken a malting, and was sitting with a few of my particular intimates in my private apartments, when Mulla Mohammed Mashah 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.

On Saturday, I called the Turkia nobles and the officers of Hind, into my private apartments, and held a consultation with them. It was observed, that the Bengalis had sent an ambassador, and were subservient 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:

(Turke tear) — The country is rich, the Inhabitants Peace, the Road clear.
If that to the west be the same, 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.

* * * * *

* Khiril seems to have been below Ouda, towards the north of the Ganges, or Haridwar.
before I moved. I therefore once more despatched Ghiasabdin Karachi, directing him to return to me in twenty days, and write and send by him Firmans to the Amir of Surat (at the Enez), desiring all the Sultans, Khans, and Amirs on that side of the river Ganges, to join Afsari, and to march with him against the enemy. I gave him special directions that, after delivering the Firmans, he should collect all the news that he could relating to these parts, and return to me with speed by the appointed time.

News reached me at this same period, by despatches from Muhammad Gulkhân, that the Baluchi was again made an incursion, and committed great devastation in several places. In order to punish this insult, I directed Chin Taimur Sultan to proceed to assemble the Amirs of Schind and Samanah, and that neighbourhood, such as Adal Sultan, Sultan Muhammad Dabî, Khasru Dulkhân, Muhammad Ali Jeng-Jeng, Dilâwar Khan, Ahmad Yusuf, Shah Muhammad Basha, Muhammad Dulkhân, Abdal-aziz Mir Akhîr (or master of horses), Syed Ali Walla Keshebâb, Kirchhel Hilâhil, Ashik Behârâ, Sheikh Ali Kitch, Kajîr Khan, and Hussen Ali Siwâli; and orders were issued that these noblemen should join Chin Taimur, with arms and provisions for six months' service, and proceed against the Baluchi, 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-Ghauîr to tewâchi (or special messenger), to convey these Firmans. It was arranged that he should, in the first place, carry the Firmans for Chin Taimur Sultan, and afterwards proceed to deliver the Firmans 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 Chin Taimur Sultan for their assembling; that Abdal-Ghauîr should himself remain with the army, and report to me by letter if any of the officers betrayed inutility or want of zeal, in which case I would deprive the offender of his rank and station, and remove him from his government and Pergaum. Having written, and delivered these letters to Abdal-Ghauîr, I despatched him, giving him at the same time, additional verbal instructions.

On Sunday, the 24th, at three watches of night, I passed the Jumma on my way to the Bagh-i-Ata (Lotus Garden) which is in Delhi. It was near the end of the third watch of Sunday, 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 Amirs and courtiers were to build themselves palaces, and lay out gardens. On Thursday, the 2d of the first Jumma, 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.

The same day I received letters from Karî Jhâ and Ner-Singh Deurâ, which contained...
been forwarded by Khalifeh from Agra, and which contained intelligence that Mahmud, the son of Iskander, had taken Behar. The moment I received this information, I resolved to join the army. Next morning, being Friday, I mounted at six geras from the Nilofar garden, and reached Agra at evening prayers. I met by the way Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who was on his way for Delhi. Chah Tanvir Sultan too arrived the same day in Agra.

Next morning, being Saturday, I called the Amir to a council, when it was resolved, that we should set out for the Purush on Thursday the 10th. That same Saturday, letters and intelligence came from Kabul, by which I learned that Hamaun had collected the army of those provinces, and accompanied by Sultan Weiz, had set out with forty or fifty thousand men on an expedition against samarkand; that Shal Kali, the younger brother of Sultan Weiz, had advanced and entered Herat; that Torsun Muhammed Sultan had proceeded from Turkestan and taken Khulafia, and had afterwards sent to ask support that Hamaun had sent Tapp Gohristah and Mir Kurdish, with a number of troops and a body of Moghuls, to the assistance of Torsun Muhammed Sultan, and himself followd after them.

On Thursday, the 10th of the first Jumadi, after three geras, I set out for the Purush, and passing the Jumna in a boat a little above Jaleunj, came to the Bagh-Zeraikhan. I gave orders that the horse-toot, standards, the kettle-drum, the drum, 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 karwah to the Emperor should cross in a boat.

On Saturday, Ismail Mutsa, who was the ambassador of Bengal, brought his pesh-kesh, and paid his respects according to the usage of Hindustan. 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-Makwineh (or hair-tuot), and introduced. In conformity with our custom, he next made his three genuflexions, and then advanced and delivered Nasir Shah's letter; and, finally, retired, after presenting the offerings which he had brought.

On Monday, Khiitch Abdul Hak having arrived, I entered the river in a boat, and went to his tent, and waited on him.

On Tuesday, Hassam Chahali waited on me.

I had halted several days at the Chat-bagh, for the purpose of collecting the army. On Thursday, the 17th, after three geras in the morning, we commenced our march. I embarked in a boat, and went to the village Ansar, which is seven bow from Agra, and there landed.

On Sunday, I gave the Usbuls, ambassadors, the audience of leave. To Amir Mirza, the Peer of the sayree of Koshin Khan, I gave a dagger and belt, with an elegant knife, a milk of brome, and seventy thousand tanges as a present; to Mulla Tushah, the servant of Ahmad Sultan, and to the servants of Meherban Khan, and of her son Polak.
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, Khwajah Abul Hak took leave, to go and live in Agra; and Khwajah Khan, the grandson of Khwajah Yahia, who had come with the envoys from the Khan and Sultans of the Uzbek, had his audience of leave, previous to setting out on his return to Samarkand.

As a demonstration of joy on the birth of Humayun's son, and on Khanzad's marriage, I sent Mirza Tebeldiz and Mirza Beg Taghahi 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 Mulli Dilkush, I sent to Hindustan an enamelled dagger and belt; an inlaid set with jewels; a zool, inlaid with mother-of-pearl; a short gown, from my own wardrobe, with chaps; and an alphabet of the Baberi characters. I also sent some fragments, written in the Baberi character. To Humayun, I sent a copy both of the translations and original poems that I had written, since coming to Hindustan. I likewise sent to Hindustan and Khwajah Khan my translations and poems. To Khanzad, by the hands of Mirza Beg Taghahi, I sent uncle 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 Kâhpur, and given them leave, I had a conversation with Mulli Kâsim, Usta Shah Muhammed, the stone-cutter, Mirzâ Mir Ghulâ, Mir the stone-cutter, Shah Bahâ Bihâr, and explained all my wishes regarding the buildings to be completed at Agra and Dâhâpur, and having instructed the work to their ears, I gave them leave. It was near the end of the first watch, when I mounted to leave Aâvar, and noon-day prayers were over, when I halted within one kos of Chandwâr, at a village named Aâsar.

On Thursday eve, I dismissed Aâdar Mulli Korsch, who was to accompany Hassan Ghâlebi, as ambassador to the King (of Persia), and Chunak, who went along with the Uzbek ambassadors, on a mission to the Khans and Sultans. Four geris of the night were still left, when we reached from Aâsar. I passed Chandwâr about dawn, and embarked in a boat. About bed-time prayers I landed from the boat, before Râber, and joined the camp, which lay at Fûtch-pur. At Fûtch-pur, we halted one day. On 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. Montân Mâhmd Fâshâ 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 Turkish measure for eleven verses. This day the words of the man of God, produced some emotion in my heart. Having drawn the boats to the shore opposite to Chakha, one of the Pergame 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 Sultan Muhammed Bukshâl arrived, bringing with him one Shemsuddin Muhammed, a servant of Khwajah Khan, who had

1 A builder is a painter; but in civil works, he is the well or tank digger.
2 Near 9 a.m.
3 About an hour and a half.
conce with letters. From the letters, and by the information collected from the messenger himself, we learned everything that had passed at Kâhul. Meholi Khwâjah 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 Eâwa, lathit in the Jumâ, and said my noon-day prayers. Having passed over from the place where I had prayed, I came to the Eâwa side, and, under the shade of the trees of the same garden, and sitting on the top of the eminence which overlooks the river, we set some men to wrestle before us for amusement. The dinner which Meholi Khwâjah 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 Kâhul by Shamsuddin Muhammad.

On Wednesday, the 30th of the first Jumâh, I marched from Eâwa, and after proceeding eight kâs, halted at Mûri and Adâsâh. Several letters for Kâhul, which I had not had time to write, I finished at this station. I wrote to Khwâjah, that if the incursions which had broken the tranquility 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 Kâhul a Royal Government, that therefore none of my children should presume to levy any money in it. I likewise sent instructions to Hindâ to repair to the Court. To Khwâjah 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 Mûlihân, and informed him that Kâhul 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 Khwâjah Khâlah, I subjoin a copy of it, precisely as it was sent:

To Khwâjah Khâlah, health.

* Shamsuddin Muhammad reached me at Eâwa, and communicated his intelligence. My solicitude to visit my western dominions is boundless; and great beyond expression. The affairs of Hindistan 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 these lands should ever be erased from the heart? Above all, how is it possible for one like myself, who have made a vass of abstinence from wine, and of purity of life, to forget the delicious musk-ambrosia and grapes of that pleasant region? They very recently brought me a single musk-ambrosia. While eating 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.

1 Meholi Khwâjah had held the government of Eâwa. He was Baber's son-in-law. 2 Khâlah.
You take notice of the unsettled state of Kābul; 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 chieftains, nothing regular or settled is to be looked for. I have therefore sent for my sisters and the females of my family into Hindustān, and having resolved on making Kābul, and all the neighbouring countries and districts, part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subject to Humāyūn and Kamān. Let some man of judgment deliver to them the letters now sent. I have formerly written on the same subject to the Mīrāz, 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 dissatisfied, 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 barracks 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 Mohammad. 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 Kābul, near Badush-Khāk, must be attended to, and the Water-mound of Ghazni must likewise be thoroughly repaired. As for the garden of Hanāwín, it has but a scanty supply of water; a stream, large enough to turn a mill, must be purchased, and laid through the grounds. Again, to the south-west of Khwājeh (Besteh), I formerly led the river of Tiṭān-darzā 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 Nazargah (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 Kāsim has been appointed to accompany the artillery-men.

You must remember too, to pay particular attention to Usta Muhammad 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 Nikāb; so that, whatever impediments there may be to their leaving Kābul, they must, at all events, set out from it within a week after this arrives; for as a detachment has left Hindustān, 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 for their support.
2 Perhaps Būkhārī.
3 Tsūn-dara is a valley about eight or north-west of Upīān.
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.

{Tartik verse} I am distressed since I renounced wine;
I am confounded and woe for business.
Regret leads me to penitence,
Penance leads me not to regret.

I remember an anecdote of Bi‘ni. He was one day sitting by Mīr Ali Shīr, and had said something witty. Mīr Ali Shīr, who had on a vest with rich buttons, said, "The witicism is excellent; I would give you my vest were it not for the buttons." Bi‘ni answered, "Why should the buttons hinder it? I fear the button-holes 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 mores of me for them. I wrote last year the tetrasyllable 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 Shīr Ahmed, and Ḥabīb Kūlī, 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 Jumādī."

I was much affected while writing these letters, which I delivered to Shems eddīn Muhammad, and having given him such further verbal instructions as seemed necessary, dispatched him on Friday eve.

On Friday we advanced eight kas, and halted at Jumandain. One of Kitin Kara Sultan's servants, who had been sent to Kurāl-ed-din Kānak, 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 Amir on the frontier, and recommending against the robberies and pillage that were committed. Kānak sent me the man who had come to him. I gave Kānak leave to return home, and issued orders to the Amir 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 letters I delivered to the man who had come from Kitin Kara Sultan, and sent him back from that very stage.

One Shah Kūlī had been sent by Ḥassan Chalebi, to give me the particulars of the
battled. 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 Gakura and Hemawali, pargana of Kâîpî.

Feb. 14. On Sunday the 5th, we marched nine kos, and halted at Dereh-pûr, a pargana of Kâîpî. 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 Chîrgûrâh, which is also a pargana of Kâîpî.

Feb. 16. Next morning, being Tuesday the 6th, a Hindustani servant of Korâchek arrived, bringing Firmân from Maham, directed to Korâchek. He had also received Perwancha, written in my style, and in the manner I wrote Perwancha with my own hand, directing the people of Behreh and Lahore to escort him in his road. This Firmân had been written at Kâîlî, on the 7th of the month of the first Jumîh.

Feb. 17. On Wednesday we marched seven kos, and encamped in the Pargana of Adampûr. That day I had mounted before dawn, and setting out unaccompanied a little after mid-day, reached the banks of the Jumma. 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 near the camp, and took a munhum. I there made Sâdîk wrestle with Kiliâl. Kiliâl came on a challenge. At Agra he had inured himself to 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. Today he wrestled, being now quite without excuse. Sâdîk wrestled admirably, and threw him with the greatest ease. I gave Sâdîk ten thousand tangas and a saddled horse, a complete dress, and a vest wrought with buttons, as a present. Although Kiliâl 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 loaded from the boats, and that in the meanwhile a road should be made, and the ground levelled to admit of their moving forward. In this station we halted three or four days.

Feb. 22. On Monday the 12th, we marched twelve kos, and halted at Kora. This day I moved in a Takhtevân (or litter). After advancing twelve kos from Kora, we halted at Kurich, one of the parganas of Karrah. Advancing eight kos from Kurech, we reached Fatehûr Aasah; and after marching forward eight kos from Fatehpûr, we encamped at Srinâ Mîdîh. As I was halting here, about noon-time prayers, Sultan Jilákîâdin waited on me to offer me his duty. He brought along with him his two young sons.

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1 Between the Pilanes and Ursaks, near Jûmâ.
2 Perwancha are royal letters.
3 Kiliâl.
4 Here Baber begins to cross over from the Jumma to the Ganges.
5 Kora or Currah, stands low down in the Delta between the two rivers, on a small river that joins the Jumma.
6 Karrah or Currah, stands on the Ganges, below Manikpûr.
7 Sultan Jilákîâdin was descended of the Purâh race of Princen.
MEMOIRS OF BABER.

Next morning, being Saturday, the 17th, we marched eight kos, and halted at Dokdaki, a forger of Karrah, on the banks of the Ganges. On Sunday, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, and Káïm Husain Sultan, Naikbrab Sultan, and Terdikah, waited on me at this station; and, on Monday, at the same station, Aq Feri also came and offered me his duty. All of them had come from the eastward of the Ganges. I ordered that Aq Feri 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.

While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultan Mahmúd had gathered round him a hundred thousand Afghans, that he had detached Sheikh Bayezid and Bahian, with a large army, towards Sírvar, while he himself and Fath Khan Sirwání occupied the banks of the Ganges, and were moving upon Chünár; that Shír Khán Sír, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several Parganas, and whom I had left in a command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghans; that, with some other Amirs he had passed the river, and that Sultan Jílkháddin's people, being unable to defend Benares, had abandoned it and retreated. They excused themselves by saying, that they had left a sufficient force in the Castle of Benares, and had advanced in order to meet the enemy on the banks of the Ganges.

Marching from Dokdaki, we advanced six kos, and encamped at Késár within three or four kos of Karrah. I went and stood on board of a vessel. We halted two or three days at this station on account of a grand entertainment, which Sultan Jílkháddin gave me. On Friday I went to the palace of Sultan Jílkháddin, 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 Yektá of cloth of gold, a jumeh, and a níndích, and, at his desire, gave his eldest son the title of Sultan Mahmúd.

After leaving Karrah, I rode on about a kos, and halted on the banks of the river Ganges. Shehreik 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 Kilán, 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 Shehreik.

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 námaín, still remaining on board. Khwâjeh Abdul Shahid was in Nárber's house; we sent for him; we also sent and brought Mílìa Mahmúd from Mílìa Ali Khan's house. After sitting some time we passed over to the other side, and sat some wrestlers to wrestle. We directed Dost Yahia Khán to try his skill with the other wrestlers, without engaging Sádik 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.

1 Chünár is a very strong hill-fort on the Ganges, about 18 miles west of Benares.
2 The Yektá is a vest without a lining; the jumeh is a long gown; the níndích a vest that reaches only down to the middle.
About six o'clock in the evening, Sultan Muhammad Bakhshi came in a boat from the other side of the river. He brought accounts of the ruin of the affairs of Muhammad Khan, the son of Sultan Iskander, whom the rebels had disgraced with the title of Sultan Ahmad. 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 Tājkhan Sārangkhanī, which corresponded with the information of the spy. Sultan Muhammad, on his arrival, now detailed the whole particulars. It appeared, that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunhār, 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 Afghans, who had passed over to Benares, had also retired in great confusion; that two of their boats sank at the mouth of the river, and that several of their men were drowned in the river.

Next morning also, I embarked in a boat. When half-way down, I saw Isan Ta'mur Sultan, and Tekhtib Bāgha Sultan, who had dismounted for the purpose of performing the Kornish, and were still standing. I sent for the Sultan into the boat; Tekhtib Bāgha Sultan performed some of his enchantments. A high wind having risen, it began to rain. The violence of the wind induced me to eat a maqām. Although I had eaten a maqām the day before, I found it necessary to extend the day. I had a little money in the boat. 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 rewed over in the boat to the Prāg side, and at one watch and four geris, we reached the camp.

On Wednesday at noon, the army began to cross the Jumna. We had four hundred and twenty boats.

On Friday, the 1st of Rejel, I crossed the river.

Sultan Iskander Lodi, the predecessor of Sultan Tājkhanī.

The Kornish is the Turkic and Persian mode of paying obeisance to a sovereign. See Note, p. 196.

Tājkhan, which has already been repeatedly explained, as the power of bringing on wind, rain, and snow, by means of incantations.

I knew no place of the same name of Averd. Perhaps it should be Averd, the camp.

The two rivers unite at Prāg, properly Prang, a famous place of pilgrimage with the Hindus. The tomb of Allāh-Allāh is built at the confluence of the two rivers.

About half past 12 p.m.
On Monday the 4th, I marched from the banks of the Jumna against Behar. Having advanced five kos, we halted at Lwâlîn. 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 Ahâmpûr to be again embarked at Pâg, and sent forward by water carriage. Having reached our ground, we set the wrestlers a-wrestling. Dost Yasin had an excellent wrestling match with Pêhâyann Lâhoti 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 Tis, 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 wagons could not cross on account of its broken, stony bottom. Orders were, however, given that exertions should be used to transport the baggage carts across by that ford.

On Thursday, having marched thence, I went in a boat as far as the point where the river Tis emptyeth itself into the main river. At this point of junction I landed, rode up the Tis, and returned about noon; prayers to the camp, which, in the meantime, had crossed that river and taken its ground. This day the army marched six kos.

Next morning we halted on the same ground.

On Saturday we marched twelve kos, and reached Nihâbul-Gang; whence next morning we marched, and having advanced six kos, halted above Deh. From thence we went on seven kos, and reached Nâmâpur. At this station Bâhi Khân arrived with his sons from Chumrûn, and paid his obeisance.

At this time a letter from Mâhomed Bakhshî gave me certain information, that my wives and household had set out from Kâbul.

On Wednesday I marched from that station, and visited the fort of Chumrûn; the camp halted after having advanced about one kos beyond it. In the course of my march from Pâg, some painful sores broke out on my body. At this stage, Râmî administered to me a medicine, which had lately been found out in Râm. 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 close on the edge of the camp, he had seen a lion and rhinoceros. Next morning we drew a ring round the ground; we also brought elephants to be in readiness, but no lion or rhinoceros was found. On the edge of the circle a 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 Chumrûn, there are many elephants. We were just setting out from this station, with the intention of having the sport of elephant hunting, when Bâhi Khân brought information, that Mâhomed Khân was on the banks of the Tis.

The Tumus of Rosmell. That is, an Ottoman Turc. Râm is Turkey. Arch.

Neither lions nor rhinoceroses are ever heard of now in Benares. The former might have been a bison.

No wild elephants are ever found now in that quarter, or nearer than the hills.
the river Sûn. I immediately convened the Amils, 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 marched nine koss, 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 drafts for the 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 embarked before dawn, and having reached the place where the river Gânti, which is the river of Jumâpur, 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, or on horseback, or sometimes by swimming. I visited and rode over the last year's encampment, from which our troops had advanced to Jumâpur. 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 koss higher up. Nearly two gers of the day were still left when we reached the camp, having met with nothing to delay us; the boats that followed us with the 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, Lûtâf Beg should measure along the bank of the river. The straight road was eleven koss, that along the river eighteen.

March 30.

Next day we remained at the same station.

On Wednesday, too, I embarked on the river, and halted a koss below Ghazipûr.

On Thursday, while at the last-mentioned station, Mahmûd Khan Luhnâni came and waited on me. The same day, letters came from Shâh Shâh, Behâr Khan Behari, from Ferîd Khan, Naṣir Khan, and Shâh Khan Sur, as well as from Alâ al-Dîn Khan Sur, and from a number of the Afghan Amirs. This day, too, I received a letter from Abdal-arâs Mir Akhûr, dated at Lahore, the 29th of the latter Jemâdi. The day on which this letter was written, Karâchef's Hindustâni servant, whom I had sent from the neighbourhood of Kâlp, had arrived. Abdal-arâz's letter mentioned, that he and others had advanced, as they had been ordered, and on the 9th of the latter Jemâdi had joined my household at Nilâb. Abdal-arâz, 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 latter 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 Chûsh, at the encampment of the former year, where the sun had been eclipsed, 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 manjûn. The army encamped on the banks of the Kermâs. The Hindus rigorously avoided this river. The pious Hindus 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

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1 The Scops of the maps.
2 Higher probably than the junction of the Ganges and Gânti.
3 There is a place called Chowsar at the mouth of the Kermâs, or Carmania.
4 This must have been the eclipse of the 10th May 1328. A fast is enjoined on the day of an eclipse.
to its name 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. Siki Mohsin challenged four or five people to wrestle with him. One man he laid hold of and immediately threw; Shukman being the second, threw Mohsin, who was miserably ashamed and affronted. The professional 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 Kermānā. 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 Chüsch. 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 started next morning on the same ground, for the purpose of mending the road across it.

On the eve of Monday, the Hindustani runner, who had brought Abdlasa'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 Bakurah. 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 manjān, and having anchored the boat higher up than the camp, at an island, 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, 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 sat up.

Next morning, being Tuesday, Kerim Berdi, Muhammed Ali, Haidar Khusaib, and Hāba Sheikch, 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.

On Wednesday, Yunis Ali, whom I had sent to Muhammed Zenda Mira, to sound his dispositions regarding Behār, returned, bringing back a shuffling answer. A man belonging to the Sheikh-Zadehs of Behār arrived with a letter, which contained information that the enemy had retreated and abandoned Behār.

1. Kermānā, ruin of religion or sanctity.
2. Behār, well known for the decisive battle, gained by the British troops under Sir Hume Macn, in its neighbourhood.
3. April.
4. Behār 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.

It will be recollected that Muhammed Zenda Mirza was the son of Babu-ud-Zenda Mirza, king of Khāsin. Behār at this time wished to know on him the government of Behār, which he does not appear to have been eager to receive.
On Thursday, having written letters of protection, I sent them to the people of Behár by Terdi Muhammed and Muhammed Ali Jeng-Jeng, whom I ordered to set out, accompanied by some Türki and Hindo Amirs, and by the bowmen, to the number of two thousand men. Having made Khwâjeh Murshid Irâki, Diwân of the Sirkâr of Behár, I sent him along with Terdi Muhammed. Next morning, Muhammed Zamân Mirza having consented to go, petitioned for several things through Sheikh Zein and Yânis 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.

On Saturday, the Ist of Sha'bân, 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 and Bâhâ, 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.

Next morning we marched, and I went on board of a boat. At this stage I bestowed on Muhammed Zamân Mirza a full dress of honour from my own wardrobe, a dagger and belt, a charger, and the umbrella. He bent the knee, and did me homage for Behár; and having fixed the revenue payable into the private treasury, from the Sirkâr of Behár at one crûn and twenty-five lâkhs, I gave the charge of it to Murshid Irâki, as Diwân.

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 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 Baber, which had been finished before, the war with Rana Suna, I called Aânish. This same year, before I joined the army, Aânish Khan had built a vessel, and presented it to me as a peashkash. On going on board of her, I had directed a scaffolding to be raised in her, and bestowed on the vessel the name of Aânish. In the ship which Sultan Jâhâleddin had given me as peashkash, I had

1. Bhujpûr, the Bourjpur of Rennell, lies on the right bank of the Ganges, below Buxâr.
2. Sirpur Khânch.
3. The umbrella was a symbol only given to viceroys and princes of the highest rank.
4. The crocodile is the round-mouthed crocodile.
5. The Repose.
caused a large scaffolding to be raised, and I now directed another scaffolding to be erected on the top of that, which I called the Gunjâsh. Another small bark, used as a vessel of communication, which was sent on every business and occasion, got the name of Farrûsh.

Next morning, being Friday, I did not march. All the preparations and arrangements for Muhammad Zaman Mirza's departure being completed, he was separated from us, and embarked in a little vessel of two or three men, for the purpose of proceeding to Behar. The same day, he came and had his audience of honor. Two spies, who came from the Bengal army, informed me that the Bengalis, under the command of Makhâlam Affûn, were separated into twenty-four divisions on the banks of the river Ganges, and were raising works of defence. A body of Afghans, under Sultan Mahmud, who had wished to send away his 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 Muhammad Zaman Mirza, forbidding him to march, and sent forward Shah Iskander, with only three or four hundred men, to Behar.

On Saturday, a messenger from Delhi, and his son Jâli Khân Behîr Khan, arrived in my camp. It appeared that the Bengalis 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 Behar, whence they were now on their way to tender me their allegiance. The same day, I sent word to the ambassador of Bengal, Ismail Mîthâ, 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.

On Sunday eve a messenger arrived from Tezâr Muhammad Jung-Jung, by whom I learned, that on the morning of Wednesday, the 9th of Shânî, his advanced guard had arrived on one side of Behar, whereupon the Sûlahâr (or Collector) had instantly fled by the opposite gate, and made his escape.

On Sunday I marched from that station, and halted in the Pargana of Arr. Here we received information, that the army of Kherâli was encamped at the junction of the Ganges and Sirhâ, on the farther side of the river Sirhâ, 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 Mulla Muhammad Mâshîh along with Ismail Mîthâ the same day.
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 Khurshid to leave the tract, in which I was marching, and return to Khurshid, I was willing to send some Turks to accompany them on their march; that I would give the Khurshid 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 Jerusalem, the Bengal ambassador, and gave him presents and his audience of leave.

April 22. On Thursday I sent Sheikh Jamali to Duddi, and his son Jilal Khan, with letters of protection, and a gracious message. The same day a servant of Muhum arrived, who had parted with my family at Depall, on the other side of Bugh-e-Safi. He brought letters from them.

April 23. On Saturday, the ambassador of Irak, Murad Kereki, had an audience.

April 25. On Sunday, having delivered suitable presents to the king of Mulla Muhammad Massih, he took leave.

April 26. On Monday, I sent Khallilish and some other Akhsa, to examine in what place the river could be passed.

April 27. I rode out to the south, nearly to Arc, for the purpose of examining the beds of water-lilies. While I was sitting about among them, Sheikh Karim brought me some fresh seeds of the water-lily. They bear a perfect resemblance to fresh pistachio, and have a very pleasant taste. The flower, which is the Nilot, the Hindustani call Kasvi-Gakari; its seeds they call Duddi. As they informed me that the Son was near at hand, we rode to see it. In the course taken by the river Son below this, there are a number of trees, which they say lie in Munir. The tomb of Sheikh Yaha, the father of Sheikh Sheref Munir, is there. As we had come so far, and come so near, I passed the Son, and going two or three lous down the river, surveyed Munir. Having walked through its gardens, I passed the Munir, and coming to the banks of the Son, 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

* = Muhum was Homailin's mother.
* = The Kereki are the Turki tribe, to which the present Persian royal family belong.
* = The Lawas.
* = The Munir last known, lies on a river that joins the Kermansch, in the upper part of its course. The Munir hare spoken of, was probably some village dependent on the other.
MENOIRS OF HABER.

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, or forcing Mundu, to count the passes 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 pieces, amounting to eleven koss and a half. From Mundu to the river Sôn is about half a koss, so that the whole distance we travelled in returning was twelve koss. As in moving from place to place, in order to see the country, we must have gone fifteen or sixteen koss, we could not in all have ridden much less than thirty koss this day. About six Gurus of the first watch of the night were past, when we returned to the camp.

On the morning of the same Thursday, Sultan Jînil Hûrûs arrived with the troops from Jounpûr. I showed him marks of my great dissatisfaction, upbraided him with his delay, and did not salute him. I, however, sent for Kaûr Jina, whom I embraced.

That same day I called the Amir, both Tûrhû and Hindû, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river. It was finally settled that Untâ Ali should plant his cannon, his Firinga pieces and servels, 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 house down than the junction of the two rivers, opposite to an island, where there were a number of vessels collected, Mustafa, on the Behar side of the Ganges, should get all his artillery and ammunition in readiness, and command a cannonade; a number of matchlock-men were also placed under his command; that Mahammed Zaman Mîrzâ and others, who were appointed for the service, should take their ground behind Mustafa to support him; and that overseers and superintenders should be appointed to attend Untâ Ali Kûhî and Mustafa, for the purpose of over-seeing 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 Anshiri, and the Sultans and Khans named for the duty, should set out expeditiously, and pass the Sirû, at the Ghânt of Halûh, in order that, when the batteries were completed, they might be in readiness to fall upon the enemy, who might then be attacked in different quarters at the same time. Sultan Jînil, and Kaûr Jina, having informed me that there was a ford eight koss higher up, I appointed Zardê to take one or two boats, and accompanied by Sultan Jînil's men, and Mahmed Khan, and Kaûr Jina's people, to proceed in search of the ford, and to cross over if it was found possible. Our people had a report, that the Beûlûs intended to place a party at the ford of Halûh, for the purpose of guarding it. We received letters from the Shahs of Iskanderpûr and Mahmed Khan, that they had collected about fifty vessels at the passage of Halûh; and

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Footnotes:
1. The koss being two pieces. If we take the pace of two feet and a half, this would make Rober's horse nearly a mile seven furlongs and thirty-three yards.
2. Nearly half past eight p.m.
3. The Ghânt of Halûh seems to have been a passage over the Ganges. The Ghânt on a river is the landing-place on the bank.
4. Iskanderpûr, the Soondarpur of Hindû, stands on the right bank of the Ganges, about 50 miles above in junction with the Ganges.
had hired boatmen, but that the sailors had been struck with a panic upon hearing a report that the Bengalis were coming. As there was still a chance of effecting a passage over the river Sirh, without waiting for the people who had gone to look for the ford, on Saturday I called the Amirs to a council, and told them that from Iskandarpur Chitermük, as far as Oud and Behrai, the whole river Sirh 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 Kuli and Mustafa could cross the river and take post with the guns, matchlocks, feringlis, and artillery; that I myself would pass the Ganges with Usta Ali Kuli, 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; that Muhammed Zamun Mirza, and those who were appointed to act with him on the Behar 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 Askari, I ordered it to advance to the ford of Haldi. One of the divisions was under the immediate command of Askari, and was composed of his servants; another was commanded by Sultan Jilâleddin Sherki; the third was composed of the Sulhans of the Uzbek, Kâsim Hussain Sultan, Bihâb Sultan, Tung Itmish Sultan, Muhammed Khan Lohâni Ghazipuri, Sûki Bâha Kâblî, Kurbân Ushak, Kurbân Cherki, Hussain Khan, with the Deria Khanins. The fourth division was under the conduct of Mûsul Sultan, and Sultan Jumâl Bîrîn, who had with them the whole army from Jempur, 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 evening.

May 2. On the morning of Sunday the army began to pass the Ganges. I embarked and crossed over about the first watch. The third watch was past; when Zerd-To, 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 3. 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 bow from it. I myself went and saw Usta Ali Kuli employed in firing his feringlis and artillery. That day, Usta Ali Kuli struck two vessels with shot from his feringlis, and sunk them. Having dragged on the great ramun towards the field of battle, and appointed Mulla Gholam to forward the necessary preparations for plantation.

1 Iskandarpur being a common name, Chitermük, probably the name of some neighbouring village, is added to discriminate it from the others.

2 It will be recollected, that Ali Kuli was to cross the Ganges above its junction with the Bogra, while Mustafa was to cross the Ganges below its junction with the Bogra.

3 Baber's division was to cross over under cover of Ali Kuli's fire, and Muhammed Zamun Mirza, under that of Mustafa.

4 They passed from the right to the left bank of the Ganges, preparatory to crossing the Ganges.
ing it, and left him some yeastwels and officers to assist him, I embarked in a boat and went to an island opposite to the camp, where I took a vaisin. While I was under the influence of the vaisin, 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 Ferhadas, in which I slept, was close by the Asahah, on board of which was a tenkithur, who, as he waked from his sleep, saw a person that had laid hold of the ship Asahah, and was endeavouring to climb up her side. The tenkithur 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 tenkithur, and wounded him a little. The man made his escape in the river. This had produced the alarm. The night that I left Mumlū, one or two of my tenkithurs had chased a number of Hindustanis who had come near my vessel, and took two of their swords and a dagger, which they brought in. Almighty God preserved me—

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 Gzunahlah, and having approached the place where they were firing the artillery, I allotted to every one his particular duty. I dispatched a thousand men, under the command of Augustin Berdi Moghul, with orders to ascend the river for two or three lacs, and use every endeavour to cross it. While they were on their march, not far from Askari's camp, they fell in with twenty or thirty Bengali 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 Bengalis landed from a number of vessels, near Muhammad Zemān Mirzā's quarters, 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 these vessels were drowned, and one vessel was taken and brought to me. On this occasion, Baba Chirench particularly exerted himself and signified his bravery. I ordered Muhammad Sultan Mirzā, Yekeš Khwājah, Yuni's All, Augustin Berdi, and the body which had previously been appointed to pass the river, to make me of the seven or eight ships which Augustin Berdi and his men had taken, to row them over during the night while it was dark, and so cross the river.

The same day, a messenger arrived from Askari 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 Askari and fall upon the
enemy, in conjunction with him. About noon-day prayers, a person came from Usta with notice that the bullet was ready to be discharged, 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 Bengali boat, and proceeded to the place where the batteries had been erected. Usta discharged a very large stone bullet once, and fired the seringis several times. The Bengalis 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 Sirh, 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 Ishen Taimur Sultan, Tekhleh Bugha Sultan, Baba Sultan, Ariksh Khan, and Shahi Kutum, 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 Bengali 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.

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 Muhamed Sultan Mirza, and the detachment which had been appointed to pass, with orders for them to cross without delay, and to join Amberi. I ordered Ishen Taimur Sultan and Tekhleh Bugha Sultan who were protecting the vessels, to lose no time in crossing. Baba Sultan had not yet reached the appointed place. On this occasion, Ishen 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 Bengali infantry marched down to attack them. Seven or eight of Ishen Taimur Sultan's men mounted their horses, rode out to meet them, and kept them occupied in skirmishing, drawing them on towards Ishen 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 horses, 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 coni—

1 At this period the Asiatists were fond of artillery of magazine, 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 Amberi.
fusion and defeated. Teektib Búgha Sultán also passed the river; and the vessels now began to cross in uninterrupted succession. The Iáhóris and Hindóoumás 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 Bengáli ships, which lay opposite to the batteries down the river, began to flee. Dérwhiáb Múhammed Síránk, Dúst Iákhuq-Aghá, Ná́r Beg, and numbers of our troops now passed, opposite to the batteries. I dispatched a messenger to the Sultáns, 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 Sultáns 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 they moved from their position to follow and support their advance. Kói arrived with a detachment from Askérí's division on the one side, and the Sultáns advancing on the other direction, they both charged. They fell furiously on the enemy, whom they drove down, taking a number of prisoners; and, finally, drove them from the field. Kói overtook one Basánt Ráô, a pagan of rank, and having mastered him, cut off his head. Ten or fifteen of his people, who threw themselves upon it, were killed on the spot. Toktóáb Búgha Sultán signalized his valor by pushing on, and engaging the enemy hand to hand. Dúst Iákhuq-Aghá also showed great intrepidity. Múshfil Abdul Wáliáb and his younger brother likewise distinguished themselves. Although Múshfil could not swim, he yet contrived to get across in his corset.

My own ships were still behind. I sent orders for them to come up. The Fírändís came first, and having gone on board of her, I crossed, and examined the position of the Bengáli; after which I embarked in the Gúmjálíh, and made them pull up the river. Músh Áhmad Jaláshkí informed me, that higher up, the river afforded more favorable situations for passing. I gave orders for the troops to pass with all speed by the passages which he mentioned. While Múshfil Sultán Aír, and the other officers who had been ordered to cross, were engaging their passage, Yékch Khwájeh's vessel sank, and Yékch Khwájeh went to the mercy of God. He showed his retainers and government on his younger brother, Aáshir Khwájeh.

About noon-day prayers, while I was bathing, the Sultán waited on me. I praised their conduct in high terms, and led them to indulge hopes from my favor and good opinion. Askérí, too, came at the same time. This was the first time that he had seen service, and it afforded a favorable chance. That night, the ramp equipage was not yet come over, I slept in a platform on the Gúmjálíh.

On Friday we halted at a village called Gúndálíh, in the government of Kheríd, in the vicinity of the pargáms of Náthán, to the north of the Sóra.

On Sunday, I dispatched Kói with his party towards Hákpiá, for the purpose of procuring information. Shah Múshfil Múshfit, on whom I had conferred great favors when he had waited on me last year, and on whom I had bestowed the com-

1 The chamberlain.
2 The Núrshák, an island below Iákhuq-Aghá, on the left bank of the Gomti.
3 Hákpiá stands opposite to Pázím, on the Gomti.
A. D. 1526. I now, for the first time, found myself on the slopes of Sarm, and conducted myself to my satisfaction on several occasions. He had twice engaged his father, and had defeated and taken him. When Sultan Mahamud took Behar by stratagem, Baben and Sheikh Bayezid 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 Askari had passed at Hardi, he came to the head of his men, waited upon Askari, and joined him in his operations against the Bengal. While I remained at this station he waited on me, and tendered his services.

We next learned by successive messengers, that Baben and Sheikh Bayezid intended to cross the river Sirmu. At the same time an unexpected piece of news came from Samhah. Ali Yashoo, who was in command there, had employed himself in reducing the country to order, and in introducing regularity into the government. He had a person who acted as his physician, both died on the same day. I ordered Abdulla to proceed to Samhah, for the purpose of maintaining order and good government in 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 ChhLN Taimur Sultan, informing me that several of the Amir who had been appointed to accompany my household from Kabul, would not be able to attend them. Muhammad Ali 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 Baluchis. I sent notice through Abdulla to ChhLN Taimur Sultan, that Sultan Muhammad Daddi, Muhammad Ali, and several Amirs and officers in that quarter, had orders to join him in Agrabad, and remain there in readiness to march against the enemy in whatever direction they showed themselves.

On Monday the 8th, Jilai Khan, the grandson of Darla Khan, to meet whom I had sent Jumali Khan, arrived with a number of his chief Amirs, and waited on me. The same day Yahan Lohani, 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 Lohani Afghans had come in hopes of employment, to keep them in good humour, I set apart one kharoo from the Khulab or imperial revenue of Behar, of which sum I gave fifty laka to Muhammad Lohani; the rest I granted to Jilai Khan, who had orders to levy another kharoo for my service. Mulla Gholam Yashoo was dispatched for the purpose of receiving this money. I bestowed the government of Jumphur on Muhammad Zaman Mirza.

On Thursday evening, one Gholam Ali, a servant of Khulath, who, before Ismail Mihr returned to his court, had carried the three propositions, in company with Abul Fath, a servant of the Prince of Mungir, returned along with Fath, bringing letters from the Prince of Mungir, and Hassan Khan Leshker the vizir, addressed to Khulath. They assented to the three propositions, took upon themselves to act for Nasir Shah, and proposed that a peace should be concluded. As this expedition had been under-

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1 About 253,600
2 About 218,300
3 A famous city in Behar on the Ganges, considerably below Patna. It was now held by a Shahzade, or prince.
4 Nasir Shah, it is if he recollected, was King of Bengal.
taken for the purpose of punishing the rebellious Afghans, 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 Bengalis, 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 Ismail Jilwâni, Ilavel Khan Lobání, Aslan Khan Usterâni, together with several other Amirs, waited on me, to tender their submission.

The same day, I presented Ismail Taimur Sultan, and Tokhteh Bughâ Sultan, with a sword and belt, a dagger for the girdle, coats of mail, dresses of honour, and Tipshâh hores. To Ismail Taimur Sultan, I gave thirty laks from the Perganna of Nâruð, and to Tokhteh Bughâ Sultan, thirty laks from the Perganna of Shamshâd, for which they knelt, and offered their duty.

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 Sirâ and the vicinity of Koudnâ, in order to check the hostilities of Baben and Sheikh Bayezid, who were still refractory. After marching two stages, the third, on Wednesday, brought us to the passage of Chonpareh Chitermukh, at Sekanderpâr. That same day our people began to buoy themselves in crossing. Intelligence arrived again and again, that the insurgents had passed the Sirâ and Goger, and were marching towards Lucknow.

In order to check their progress, I appointed, out of my Turki and Hindustâni officers, Sultan Jilâluddin Sherki, Ali Khan Fermons, Tardîkhz. Nizam Khan, Sali Karîmah Usbek, Kâbirân Cherkhi, Hassûn Khan Deria-Khânî, who took leave on Thursday eve. That same night after the Terâwîk prayers, when about five Geris of the second watch were past, 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 wooden cloth, and placed under a bed, over which coverlets were thrown. The storm abated in two geris. We contrived to get up the Toshâk Khânâ's 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.

On Thursday I crossed the river.

On Friday I mounted and rode round Kheri and Sekanderpâr. The same day I received Abdalla and Baki's letters, announcing the taking of Lucknow.

On Saturday I sent forward Koki with his party, for the purpose of reinforcing Baki.

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1 About 45,000.
2 Or rather did remain, had not the expression a feudal air.
3 The river Goger.
4 The Terâwîk are certain prayers said late at night, during the Ramăsul.
5 That is after 1 o'clock at night. This storm marks the setting in of the rainy season.
6 About three quarterns of an hour.
7 The Toshak-Khânâ was the store-room, in which the clothes, carpets, &c. were kept.
8 By the enemy.
On Sunday I dispatched Sultan Janid Birlas, Hassan Khalifeh, Mulla Apak's men, and the brother of Momun Utekh, with orders to proceed and join Baki, 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 Tipchak horse, on Shah Muhammed Manru, 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 Ismael Jilwani an allowance of seventy-two lacs out of Sirwar, bestowed on him a dress of honour from my own wardrobe, and a Tipchak horse, and dismissed him. To Harvel Khan Lohani, and the body of men that accompanied him, I also gave assignments on Sirwar, 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 Bengalis, that they should carry, by way of Termulani, to Ghuzipur, the Gunajash and Askash, with two Bengali ships which I had selected from among those that had fallen into my hands in Bengal. I ordered the Fernkish and the Askash to sail up the Siru along with the camp.

May 31.

Having accomplished all my views in Behar, and on the Siru, on the Monday, after crossing at the passage of Chonparec Chiterman, I marched up the Siru towards Oud, keeping close along the banks of the river. After a march of ten kos, we encamped on the banks of the Siru, hard by a place called Kilarah, dependant on Fatehpur, 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 Ghuzipur; Ismael Khan Jilwani, and Harvel 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.

A number of our troops being overtaken by night, lost their way, and went to the great tank of Fatehpur. Some men were dispatched to bring in such of the stragglers as were near at hand, while Kubeck Khalifeh 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 halted there. We marched thence early in the morning; in the middle of the march I embarked in the Askash, and we were pulled up to the camp. By the way, a son of Shah Muhammed Dwangan, who had been sent by Baki with letters for Khalifeh, met us, and gave an accurate statement of the transactions at Lohawar. It appears, that on Saturday, the 13th of Hamsan, 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,
the enemy marched towards Dilma. This day also, we advanced ten kos, and halted hard by a village named Jalia, in the parganah of Sikri, on the banks of the river Siru.

On Wednesday, we continued in the same station, to rest our cattle. Many came in with reports, that Sheikh Bayezid and Baben had crossed the Ganges, and intended to press on with their troops, and fall upon the territories of Joon [pūr] and Chunār. The Amir were summoned, and a council held. It was arranged that Muhammad Zamin Mirza, Sultan Jumud Bihās, who had got the government of Chunār and some other parganahs in exchange for Jumpur, Mahmud Khan Lohāni, Kazi Sul, and Tāl Khan Sermagdāni, should march, and prevent the enemy from reaching Chunār.

Next morning, being Thursday, we marched early, left the river Siru, and having advanced eleven kos, and passed Perseā, encamped on the banks of the river Perseā.

Here I assembled the Amirs, and held a consultation; after which I appointed Isān Taimūr Sultan, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Tekkhteh Dūgha Sultan, Kāsim Husein Sultan, Nābih Sultan, Maseffer Husein Sultan, Kāsim Khwājeh, Janfar Khwājeh, Khwājeh Zāhid, Khwājeh Jān Beg, with the servants of Askari, and Kuchik Khwājeh; and from among the Amirs of Hind, Amin Khan Khālp, Malekādār Karrān, and Ranji Sarswāni, to proceed towards Dilma in pursuit of Baben and Bayezid, ordering them instantly, to separate from the army, and to follow the enemy with all celerity. I purified myself in the Perseā, and those who were along with me took a number of fish by fixed lights in a piece of frame-work, which was then moved along the water.

On Friday we encamped on one of the branches of this Perseā. 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, for the purpose of bathing; we passed the eve of the 25th at this same station.

Next morning we left this stream and encamped, after passing the river Tousin.

On Sunday too, we encamped on the banks of the same river.

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 bare testimony to the fact, in presence of the Kazi. This fixed the end of the month.

Next day, being Tuesday, we set out, after we had and the prayers of the laj. Having marched ten kos, we halted within one kos of Tuck, on the banks of the Gúmti.

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1 Dilmā, or Dilma, on the Ganges, south-east of Bānālī.
2 This fragment is from Mr. Metcalfe's MS. folio 160, p. 8.
3 After leaving the Siru or Gogra river, Baben marches west, and comes on the Persā, the Sājan of Kowsmān, which seems to be chiefly formed by branches coming off from the Gogra below Mōrēganga.
4 This mode of fishing is still practised in India.
5 About twenty feet square.
6 The Tousin, or Tumān, is a branch from the Gogra, coming off above Fyzabad, and joining the Sājan, or Persā, below Asinpur.
7 This being the month of Rāmaḍān, the great fast of the Muhammadans, they were anxious to see the new moon of Shawal, which is concluded.
8 The great festival on the conclusion of the Fast of Rāmaḍān.
9 Rather always demands the Gúmti, Cutch.
wards noon-day prayers, I took a maqṣūn with Sheikh Zin, Mulla Shehāb, Chand Anis—

(Twice served.)—They dropped in by threes, and twos, and ones.

Derwīsh Muhammed, Yūnis Ali, and Abdalwa, were also there. The wrestlers amused us with wrestling.

June 9. On Wednesday we continued to halt on the same ground. About luncheon time, I took a maqṣūn. Tāj-Khan, who had gone to keep the Sherki Princess from Chunar, returned this day. We had a wrestling match. The champion Oudi, who had arrived some time before, tried his skill with a Hindustani wrestler who was there, and threw him. I bestowed fifteen kahs on Yahia Lohání in Sirů, 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 Sultan and Amir, who had been sent on the expedition, had reached Dilmūr, that they had passed first the Ganges, and afterwards the Jumna, in pursuit of the enemy; that they had taken Allī 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 Dilmūr. This day, most of our troops passed the Ganges by a ford. Having sent the camp equipage and troops across, I took a maqṣūn lower than the ford, on an island. We halted on the spot where we passed the river, to give time to those who had not crossed to come over. That same day Bābī Tashkundī arrived with his troops, and was introduced.

Passing the Ganges.

June 11. Advancing two marches from the Ganges, we halted in the neighbourhood of Kora, on the banks of the river Rind. From Dilmūr to Kora is twenty-one kos.

June 12. On Thursday we marched early from our ground, and halted before the pargana 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 had 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 Bābī Shehāved with a few troopers across the river, to procure intelligence of the enemy.

June 13. Next day, about afternoon prayers, Jumna, a servant of Bābī, arrived with information, that he had routed one of Sheikh Bayezid and Bālān's outposts, killed Muhārēb Khan Jilwānī, 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 18th, the river Jumna rose, so that we could not remain in the tent, which in the morning had been pitched on the island; we

* Chandra.

1 Kora, or Corb, lies between the Ganges and Jumna rivers. Arrowsmith, I suppose by a mistake of the pen, places it on the Ganges, instead of the Jumna.

1 Milangi—perhaps basins.
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, Jiláli Tashkondi arrived from the Sultan and Amirs who had gone on the expedition. Immediately on discovering some men of their left wing, Baber and Sháhí Bayezid had fled from the parganahs of Mámúleh. 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 notes to the Sultan and Amirs 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 Báklí Shéghawał and his party leave to go home. To Músá Moṣúf Fárumí, who had come and offered me his allegiance when the army was passing the Sira on its return, I gave a pargannah of thirty lacs out of Amschár for his support, a complete dress of honour from my own wardrobe, and a horse with its saddle, and dismissed him to Amschár.

Having settled everything in this quarter, on Tuesday eve, after about one hour of the fourth watch was past, I set out post for Agra.

Next morning, after having ridden sixteen lacs, I passed the noon in a pargannah dependent on Kálpí, called Palídar; whereas, after resting our horses, we set out at evening prayers. This night I rode lacs, and at the end of the third watch halted at the tomb of Músá, in Sonqandur, one of the pargannahs of Kálpí. Having mounted by noon prayers, I had advanced fifteen lacs, and at midnight reached the camp of Hecht Beháí at Agra.

Next morning, being Friday, Múllá Múllá Bakshí and some others came and paid their respects, after which I went into the castle and visited the Begum, my paternal aunt. A native of Bálkí 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 Hecht Beháí, which I found had produced some fine grapes. Sheikh Káran also sent me a basket of grapes, which were very excellent. I was thankful with having produced such excellent melons and grapes in Hindustán.

It was Sunday at midnight when I met Maham. I had joined the army on the 10th of the first Jumáá. It was an odd coincidence that she had also left Khánúf the very same day.

Thursday, the 1st of Zikárí, was the day on which the Padshah gave tributary offerings were made to Hámíní and Maham in the great Hall of Audience, on a grand levee day. The same day we dispatched a servant of Fughár the Diván, accompanied by a hundred or a hundred and fifty hired porters, to bring melons, grapes, and other fruits from Khánúf.
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 Yusuf, arrived and was introduced.

Hiskâm-ud-dîn Khâlîfî, having arrived from Alwâr, also waited on me this day.

Next morning, being Sunday, Abîlalla, who had been sent to Ternâhâl in consequence of the death of All Yusuf, returned back.

From the men who had come from Kâbul, we learned that Sheikh Sherif Karabîghî, whether from the evil suggestions of Abdal-azîz, or from mere attachment to him, ascended to us tyranny, that never had been exercised, and offenses never committed, had written certificates, to which he had compelled the Imams 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 acting some most improper acts; on these accounts, on Sunday the 11th, I sent Kamber Ali Azam apprehend and bring to the presence Sheikh Sherif, the Imams of Lahâr, and Abdal-azîz.

On Thursday the 15th, Sultan Taîmûr arrived from Tejâver and waited on me. The same day the champion Sadîk, and Ould, had a great wrestling match. Sadîk threw Ould with great ease, which vexed the emir thereof.

On Monday the 19th, having given Morâd wani, the joint Russian ambassador, a side-daggar, clothed him in a suitable dress of honour, and gave him as a present of two hundred thousand tankobs, I gave him leave to return.

At this time, Syed Mehûl arrived from Guflâr, and informed us of the revolt of Rahîmâd. Shah Muhammed, the seal-bearer, a servant of Khâlîfî's, had been sent by him to Rahîmâd with a letter of advice. Shah Muhammed went, and in a few days returned with Rahîmâd's son, but he himself did not choose to come. In order, however, to null our suspicions asleep, Nur Beg came, and having preferred the same request that Rahîmâd had formerly made, actually gained Fardan, conformable to his wishes. When the Emissaries were on the point of being duly discovered, one of Rahîmâd's servants arrived, and gave us information that he had hitherto 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 Guflâr. Khâlîfî, however, requested that he might be permitted to address one other letter of advice to Rahîmâd, as probably he would submit peaceably. Shâh-i-ud-duin Khașora was sent to carry this remonstrance.

On Thursday, the 7th of the month, Mehûl Khâvâjâ, arrived from Bâwa. On the day of the Id, I bestowed on Hindu Beg a complete dress from my own wardrobe, a sword and belt enriched with precious stones, and a Tipelâk horse. To Hassan All, who was one of the most eminent among the Chaghâtâi Turkomans, I gave a Siropâ (or complete dress of honour), a side-hanger adorned with jewels, and a perganna of seven lâks.

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1 He had been sent to Samhâl on the occasion mentioned. Ternâhâl is mentioned p. 429.
2 This Mohîl Khâvâjâ was Babâr's son-in-law.
3 Siropâ.
4 About 1739. The rate used for reducing Babar's crown and lâks to English money, may sometimes appear to reduce them too much; yet it is probably near the truth.
TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 936.

On Tuesday the 3d of Jumārūm, Sheikh Muḥammad Ghus came out of Gaūhār, accompanied with Shāh Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn Khosru, as intercessor for Raḥīmādūd. As this man was a humble and saintly personage, I forgave, on his account, the offences of Raḥīmādūd, and sent Sheikh Ḳaraẓ and Nūr Bāhū to receive the surrender of Gaūhār.
CONTINUING SUPPLEMENT

BABER'S MEMOIR

From the first day of his entry into the year 1526, the events have been recorded in the journal of every action, event, and movement of his heart, and all his activity. This journal, however, has been published to the public in his death, and to be near the end of his reign. The unhappy Baber, having recovered his health, suddenly died in 1530, after being poisoned by one of his enemies. Babur, the son of Sultan Wali, was the last of the Baber family, and Babur's reign was peaceful and content with his subjects. However, Babur has not arrived at the throne, which he never

He had been invited by the leaders of the other states, and the notice of his approach, threw himself into the sea.

In the meanwhile a report reached Baber, that Said Khan was

The unwelcome intelligence that daily arrived from that quarter pressed upon his mind, and helped to impair his declining strength. He sent instructions to Khai-a 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 Hīmālīn's mother, who had a great ascendancy 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 Hīmālīn, whose government Badakhshân was, but that
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 Sala-
mun, the son-in-law of Sultan Wais, was then dispatched, with instructions to assume the government of the court, and was at the same time furnished with letters for Sadil Khas, complaining of the persecution. Before reaching Kābul, Sulaimān heard of Sadil’s retreat; he, however, prosecuted his journey, and received charge of the country from Hindūkush, who set out for Hindustān, and the civil wars that followed the death of Babur enabled Sulaimān to keep possession of Badakhshān, which was long held by his posterity.

Hūmāīn was sent for, nor expected, but the affection of his father, and his death procured him a good reception. His office was far from a sinecure. He was sent to Sambal, about six months, he fell dangerously ill. His father, whose he was 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 Fazl, a persian highly versed in his name, offered the most valuable thing possessed by a friend for the life of another. Babur exclaimed, 'Abul Fazl was dearest to Hūmāīn, as Hūmāīn’s was to him, and Hūmāin, his own, was what he most valued, devoted his life. The noblemen around him entreated him to renew his oath of his first offering, to give the diamond taken at Agra, which the ancient sages had said, that it was not that was to be offered to Heaven. But he answered that no stone, of whatever value, could be put in contrast with a life. He three times walked round the dying prince, a solemnity of sacrifices and leave-offerings, and retiring, prayed earnestly to Heaven that he be heard to exclaim, 'I have borne it away! I have borne it away!' and the historian assures us, that Hūmāin almost immediately began to recover, and that, in proportion as he recovered, the health and strength of Babur visibly decayed. Babur communicated his dying instructions to Khurshid Kha-
lish, Kambir Ali Beg, Tersil Beg, and Hindu Beg, who were then at Cauri, commanding Hūmāin to their protection. With that unvarying affection for his family, which he showed in all the circumstances of his life, he strongly besought Hūmāin to be kind and forgiving to his brothers. Hūmāin promised, and, what in such circum-
stances 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.
expired at the Churabgh, near Agra, on the 6th of the first Jumad, A. H. 937, in the
fiftieth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign as a sovereign prince. His body
in conformity with a wish he had expressed, was carried to Khud, where it was
interred in a hill that still bears his name. He had reigned five years over part of
Hindustan. Hämätim ascended the throne on the 9th of the same month without
opposition, by the influence of Khudbist.

Though Baber has given us such a minute account of the wives and families of his uncles and cousins, he has omitted few particulars regarding his own. It appears that he only married at the age of 12 years, and he was betrothed to his cousin Aisha Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the King of Samarkand, by Khamer after his first expedition to Samarkand, and had by her six sons. They seem to have quarrelled, and Baber says she was Rahnán Sultan Begum, who induced him to leave his house after the surrender of Samarkand.

Sultan Mähíy, Mir Burchur or Timur, King of Hisar, by Khurramkhil Begum, Termiz. He informs us that he married her at an early age, and that in two
years she bore him a son, named Selyat Begum, by Hâmätim. She was killed by Habibah Sultan Begum. She was and not
born to Khurramk, and fell to be with him. It was arranged out, where he afterwards married her. She had one daughter,
Mallik, or chief of the chief Afganas. She is said to have lived to be two of his other wives, and of the ladies of his
young. He himself mentions the birth of a prince named Amir, and

Of his death, six children alive, four sons and three daughters. The names of his mothers are not recorded. The eldest son, Nathrudin Mä-
hâmätim, succeeded him as Supreme Emperor in all his dominions. Hämätim, on his accession, gave to his second brother, Kamran Mirza, the Punjab, in addition to the government of Khud and Kandahar which he had formerly held; to Hindal Mirzâ, who had just arrived from Inkhah-linar, he gave the country of Meele, and to Atker, he assigned the province of Sambul, which he had himself held. All these princes added a considerable part in the confusions of the surrounding reign. Baber's three daughters, were all by one mother.

Zahir-ed-din Mühâmur, his age, and one of the

was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his
out and accomplished, prince that ever ascended an
prominent, his death on Monday 9th of the first Jumad.

-Comprising his entire years, he died in

fourty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of her reign.
"A book that is shut is but a block"

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